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The
One Big Union
Monthly

DREWTON *
 STAR ROUTE B 48
 CARNEGIE. OKLA.

SPECIAL

BOLSHEVIK

NUMBER

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Allen*

* J D NEWTON, *
~~STAR ROUTE B 48.~~
 * CARNEGIE. OKLA. *



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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the 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.

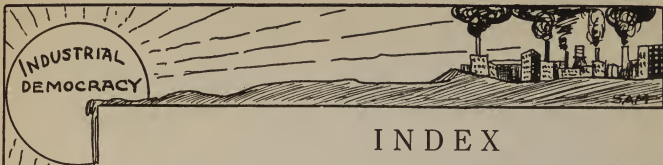
These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one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

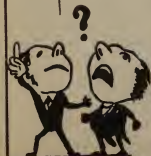
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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Adelphi



THE MONSTER WHICH CAUSES MOST OF OUR SUFFERINGS

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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ANNOUNCEMENT

This number of The One Big Union Monthly retails at

25 CENTS PER COPY

We will take our readers into our confidence and tell you why.

The cost of production per copy has been on the increase from the very start. The printshop bill for March-July 1919 varied between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 cents per copy. In May 1920 the printshop bill was 7.47 cents per copy. It has been going up ever since, getting closer to 10 cents per copy. Please remember that this bill is the printshop bill alone. To this must be added the cost of the illustrations, which is quite considerable, a large part of the postage, duplication of copies lost in the mail (a large item), uncollectable accounts, sample copies, office expenses and wages of editor and business manager, etc.

We have recently been running at some loss, but have delayed the raising of the price in the hope that the circulation would possibly rise to a point where the magazine would still be on a paying basis. The circulation has been going up all the time, being at present round 15,000, and thus warranting such hopes. And it would have been a great advantage to be able to keep it at a low price, but all such aspirations were crushed by the manager of the printshop who showed us that he was paying about 23 cents a pound for the paper, which is quite a jump from previous 14 cents. A raise of the price to 15 cents per copy wholesale will barely put us on the safe side for the time being.

The last I. W. W. convention recommended an enlargement of the magazine by about one-third and the adding of a colored cover as well as the raising of the price to 25 cents. The reason this recommendation has not yet been carried out is solely the fact that we have so far been unable to secure the proper printpaper for the purpose.

As soon as we succeed in getting that paper, and we hope it will be soon, we shall come out in larger size and with a substantial cover in colors.

In the meantime the new prices in effect with the September issue will be:

25 cents per copy retail.

15 cents per copy wholesale, express charges collect.

\$2.50 per year; \$1.25 for 6 months.

Old subscriptions will continue to run at the old price. The new price takes effect at renewal. Those subscribers who are not getting their magazine regularly through the mail could secure prompter delivery by having it sent by first class mail. This will cost them 10 cents extra per copy, or \$1.20 per year.

Our bundle order agents everywhere are urgently requested to try to help us over this change in price without a loss in circulation. The magazine is cheap anyhow, considering that it is all text and illustrations and no advertisements.

All together for an increase of our circulation to at least 25,000 by Christmas. If we all help, it can be done.

THE EDITOR.

Philadelphia Marine Transport Workers Charter Revoked

The following statement issued by the General Executive Board and the General Secretary-Treasurer speaks for itself.

STATEMENT ON PHILADELPHIA MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS

On August 11, 1920 the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World learned, for the first time of the treasonable action of the Philadelphia branch M. T. W. No. 8. This situation is the result of circumstances over which the General Executive Board had no control.

This branch was immediately expelled from membership and their charter revoked.

We consider that these misguided longshoremen have been guilty of a crime against the working class. They have betrayed the international labor movement by loading shrapnel shells consigned to the infamous Allied catspaw, Wrangel, for the purpose of drowning the Russian revolution in a sea of blood.

Such action is diametrically opposed to every principle of working class honor that the I. W. W. has stood for, fought for and bled for from its inception.

The I. W. W. views the accomplishments of the Soviet government of Russia with breathless interest and intense admiration.

Workers who load munitions of war at the behest of any capitalist government to help defeat any working class revolution are guilty of high treason to their class.

The I. W. W. has stood for unqualified industrial solidarity to defeat such ignoble ends and it stands for it now. The organization would rather face death and dismemberment than stand the disgrace of having its members render any assistance in keeping its workers enslaved to the Moloch of capitalism.

The I. W. W. has always expelled members who were not true to the basic principles of the world revolution. We would expel members for aiding in the overthrow of a working class government in Poland as readily as for aiding in the overthrow of the working class government of Russia. We look forward joyfully to the day when the proletariat of Poland will cast into oblivion the imperialistic fakirs who now dominate the nation.

The I. W. W. has proved by deeds that it is willing and eager at all costs to fight and sacrifice for the cause of international solidarity. It still keeps the faith.

The organization was designed to make it impossible for one group of workers to be used against another group in the great struggle of the classes. We do not want and will not tolerate in our membership men who can stoop so low as to aid and abet any capitalist government or any other national or international section of the common enemy in keeping the working class in slavery.

We look with horror and disgust upon the action

of the Philadelphia longshoremen in loading high explosives on ships for the purpose of butchering our brave fellow workers in Russia who have established the first working class government in the world.

The I. W. W. has stood the brunt of the fury of master class hatred in America. More of our members have been imprisoned, murdered and brutalized than all other revolutionary organizations combined. The reason is that we stand and have always stood for the use of militant direct action to overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

The I. W. W. wishes to keep its fair name untarnished in the eyes of the world's proletariat.

We call upon the membership of our organization to use their utmost power to assist the Soviet government of Russia in fighting the world's battle against capitalism.

We pledge ourselves and our organization to help overthrow capitalism and everything that stands for capitalism.

We appeal to the working class in general and the United Communist Party in particular to take a stand in industry and help build up a revolutionary organization that will make forever impossible repetition of the dastardly action of the Philadelphia longshoremen.

The I. W. W. holds out the clean hand of brotherhood to the revolutionary workers of the world.

Signed by General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

Thomas Whitehead,
Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

August Walquist
Patrick McClellan
P. F. Mashlykin

George Speed,
Chairman, G. E. B.

That this action of the General Executive Board meets with the approval of those I. W. W. members who are nearest to and best in touch with the situation is proven by the following resolution from New York, which has arrived after the revoking of the charter.

Word reached members of the I. W. W. of New York on Aug. 8th, 1920, that Longshoremen, members of the I. W. W. at Philadelphia, Pa., were loading ammunition that would be sent to General Wrangle. The Sec'y Treas. of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union District No. 8 and two members of the newly elected General Executive Board went to Phila. Pa. to investigate. The Longshoremen refused to quit loading the ship. Whereon a general membership meeting of the New York membership was called to take action. The following resolutions were adopted.

1. At a special general membership meeting on August 10th, 1920, of the New York I. W. W. con-

sisting of all the Industrial Unions the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

2. Whereas it has been brought to our attention that I. W. W. members of Philadelphia District No. 8 Marine Transport Workers have knowingly and wilfully loaded ammunitions of War bound for Poland, to be used against the Workers of Russia in their fight for freedom from the world Imperialist, and

Whereas they have violated the spirit of working class solidarity and their right to continue as an integral part of the Industrial Workers of the World,

Be it therefore resolved that we, the I. W. W.

members of New York refuse to have any relations with the Philadelphia District No. 8 M. T. W. and demand from the General Executive Board that they revoke the Charter of the above mentioned Branch instantly, and that the expulsion of the entire Branch be made Public in all of our official Organs.

(Signed) RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Irving Freeman, No. 299409 M. M. W. No. 300

Albert J. Carrol, No. 515157 M. M. W. No. 300

John L. Jones, No. 472830 M. M. W. No. 300

Dan Rickert, No. 289028 M. M. W. No. 8

John L. Maning, No. 741159 M. M. W. No. 300

The Lesson of Philadelphia

That a union of the I. W. W. should be so derelict in international solidarity as to actually load munitions with which to kill the Russian workers now fighting our battle against the combined capitalist powers over in Europe seems almost incredible and requires an explanation.

The I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers had job control in Philadelphia, and that means that in order to get a job on the water front of that city you had to have an I. W. W. card. By holding the club of job control over these workers we made "adherents" and "converts" by the thousands, much as the Swedes made "converts to christianity" of the Finlanders in the 11th and 12th centuries. They went over there with big armies and conquered the Finns in battle and then drove them down into the rivers by the thousands to baptize them in a bunch.

Before his clothes were dry the outraged Finnlander again prostrated himself before his "idols" and prayed for the death of the invader.

The Philadelphia Marine Transport Workers, at least part of them, have been taken into the I. W. W. by the wholesale without previous education in our principles. They lined up because they liked the economic advantages gained through the I. W. W. method of fighting and not because they had absorbed our philosophy.

Such a state of affairs quickly revenges itself, as we have seen in this case. The I. W. W. had bit off more than it could chew and we had to spit it out.

The lesson to be drawn from this incident is that EDUCATION IS THE PRIME FACTOR in our work. If we build up a membership without education it will grow into a tail which will wag the I. W. W. dog. When we are again confronted with a situation of mass affiliation, the first thing to do is to put our literature into the hands of every new member by any means in our power. **THEY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE IGNORANT.**

No doubt the numerous I. W. W. element on Philadelphia's wharfs will again get in control of the situation, but when they do, it is to be hoped they will be wise from this experience and make every member take our papers and magazines and read our books, each one in the language he best understands. We have plenty of literature of the right kind.

Criminal Syndicalism

Criminal Syndicalism continues to be the club with which the master class tries to keep the slaves subjugated in California.

There are now twelve of our fellow workers in San Quentin Penitentiary under this vicious law. **MONEY IS BADLY NEEDED FOR THE APPEALS OF THESE CASES AS WELL AS FOR THE OTHERS THAT ARE STILL PENDING IN THE SUPERIOR COURTS.**

Send all remittances to:

W. I. FRUIT,

Sec. Cal. District Defense Committee,
219 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.

What is Bolshevism?

As announced, this is a bolshevik number.

We have made it our object to answer, as fully as our limited space permits, the question "What is bolshevism".

To that end we printed in our July issue several articles which had appeared in "Soviet Russia," covering agriculture and the co-operative movement in the Soviet Republic. As promised, we are in this number printing some chapters from a book recommended to us by the same "Soviet Russia", covering nationalization of industry, the position of the unions and the status of the workers.

In addition we are publishing the reports of two of the largest Industrial Unions in Soviet Russia, the Food Stuff Workers Union and the Civil Servant' Shop assistants' and Clerks' Unions. By means of these two reports, which are fresh here from Russia, we have furnished a first hand insight into the life of the union movement of Russia which will help our readers to grasp Russian present day conditions.

Finally we are in this issue publishing two documents signed by G. Zinoviev, the president of the Third international. The one is an appeal to the I. W. W. calling upon us to accept the program of the Third International and to seek unity with the members of that international in this country. The second one is called "The Communist Party and the Industrial Unions" and contains the communist view of the relations between the political party and the unions.

All these documents speak for themselves and we admonish our readers to study them carefully in order to be able to form an opinion independently.

We only wish to point out from "The Communist Party and the Industrial Unions" that Zinoviev recognizes the necessity of an industrial international as separate from the political international. The invitation to join such an industrial international, issued recently by the Russian Industrial Unions and reprinted in the February and April issue of this magazine is in line with this suggestion. The I. W. W.

has not yet been able to directly connect with the Russian Unions, but we are sure that not a voice will be raised against affiliating with such an industrial international. On the other hand we think that the number of I. W. W. men that would affiliate directly with the political, The Third International, are easily counted. We always have been and are now a purely industrial organization and expect to solve the whole social problem on an industrial union basis. We want to build industrial unions as organs of production and distribution and central councils emanating from the industrial unions as organs of local and regional administration, subordinating both these kinds of organs to the I. W. W. general administration. That is how we propose to solve the social problem. We cannot introduce a political party, communist or otherwise, into this scheme, without surrendering our fundamental principles and abolishing our own independence. For us to adopt the plan of the Third International would mean that we step down from our assumed position of world leadership and acknowledge as our masters and leaders the membership of a political party recruited from all layers of society. The I. W. W. membership, having once tasted spiritual independence and feeling that they now are the masters of their own destiny, will never seriously consider any such proposition.

They are out to establish the rule of the workers, they have been at it now for fifteen years and grown into a world movement on the strength of it. They are not likely to adopt a program which saddles a political party on their back as their task-masters.

As for endorsing armed insurrection as a means of attaining our ends, no body of men in possession of their senses would advocate such a policy. To do so would undoubtedly immediately result in our being wiped off the earth here in America and driven "under ground", compelling us to cease being a bona fide industrial movement and becoming a hunted set of underground political conspirators. But even if

we were secure for such a fate, an endorsement of such a program would be outside our sphere. We are in the business of creating new organs of productions, distribution and administration. Our fear is not that capitalism will not be overthrown. Our fear is that we shall not be able to get the new organs ready in time for the collapse.

In our opinion capitalist government will collapse of itself when capitalism collapses. Capitalism will collapse politically soon after it has collapsed economically, as a sort of reflex. Capitalist government exists on revenue, principally taxes. When capitalism collapses industrially, as it is doing throughout the world, the capitalist governments will collapse from insufficient revenue if for no other reason. Italy today is a case in point. Being too weak numerically to speed on this collapse by artificial means, even were it desirable, we have no choice but to go ahead and teach industrial organization and create what new organs we can. By doing this we are both undermining and overthrowing capitalism to the limit of our ability and at the same time providing for the future.

Armed insurrections may come without our assistance. By the way the capitalist class is now treating the people they are driving the masses to despair. The masses will stand cold steel just so deep. When they can go no longer they will revolt, first sporadically and on a small scale, as the coal miners and the outlaw railroad strikers, then in greater masses. Out of this clash of interests a head-on collision is apt to result in due time, when the discontent of the masses has gathered a sufficient momentum. In rejecting the program of armed insurrection we, consequently, do not by any means imagine that we will be able to avert the calamity of such a collision. But we do not wish to bring about that calamity and try to cause a premature collision by artificial stimulation. If it has to come, let it come about naturally as a result of insufferable conditions. We the I. W. W. will be on the spot when that time comes, trying to bring order out of chaos.

So much for the general principles involved in the above manifestoes.

But the Third International is one thing and the Russian Revolution is another.

The Third International is composed of various political and some industrial organizations of many different countries. The Russian Revolution is a living fact in which we rejoice as a great movement of the people for freedom. To the Russian people in revolution we extend the hand of fellowship and pledge them all the assistance in our power. But to the Third International we must say, that our place is with the Industrial International that has been proposed and that we will have to work out the solution of the social program along the lines proposed by ourselves and outlined above.

With this understanding we grasp the outstretched hand of the Third International, through its president, and pledge our solidaric co-operation in the struggle for Industrial Communism.

We wish to call the readers' special attention to the series of articles by HOWARD SCOTT commencing in this issue. As you will no doubt immediately notice this writer projects his mind still further than we are used to doing and penetrates deeper into the question of production and distribution than we usually do. By paying close attention to these articles we shall be able to learn many important new points and avoid many errors in our attempt to build a new society. By adding these points to our store of knowledge we shall be able to go about the task of economic reconstruction with considerably increased efficiency. Do not neglect to call people's attention to these articles. They will help to get new readers.

The new General Executive Board is now in session, and we shall probably have some interesting reports from their meetings in the next issue of The One Big Union Monthly.

The World Situation

The central fact of present day history is of course the steady and rapid collapse of world capitalism, which seems to be irresistibly drawn to its destruction. The cornerstones of capitalism have turned into mill stones round its neck and the invisible leaden weights of its inherent mathematical absurdities are bearing it down. This spectacle is so imposing and gigantic that one can hardly have eyes for some of the details.

Nevertheless we cannot but be impressed by the drama now being enacted round Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

If it were only a common war of conquest, an ordinary conflict between two peoples, of which history has recorded so many, the average American would pay little attention to the happenings on Russo-Polish battlefields. But the fact of the matter is that Russo-Polish is a misnomer. It is not a battle for supremacy between two peoples.

There is no use concealing the fact that it is a Communist-Capitalist battlefield. It is the beginning of the last battle. It is a battle between the red flag of socialism or communism, whichever you want to call it, and the black flag of piratical capitalism. The peoples of the earth have lined up behind the combatants. Back of the Bolsheviks stand the socialist and communist workers of the whole world, their heart beating with sacred expectation. Back of the Polish troops stand the capitalists and their hangers-on of every country. The two nations, the capitalist class and the working class have come to a final collision. On the outcome of this battle depends the fate of the working class for a long time to come, whether it shall be mastery of the world or subjection to capitalist reaction and white terror.

The English Workers have been quick to grasp it. They have taken a stand which is forcing the English Government to voluble even if insincere declarations of neutrality. The French Workers are straining every nerve to make impossible the sending of troops and ammunition against

the Bolsheviks, although with less success. An international convention of marine transport workers in session a few days ago in Belgium adopted a resolution to make war impossible by a refusal to carry war implements and soldiers. The I. W. W. of America has shown its hand by expelling the unsolidaric longshoremen of Philadelphia who were loading ammunition for Wrangle, with which to fall the Russian workers in the back. Only the American Federation of Labor seems to have thrown its lot with the backers of the Polish armies.

A recent newspaper dispatch announces that A. F. of L. officials are seriously considering withdrawal from the Trade Union International they belong to, as the European labor organizations are becoming too radical to suit these officials. At its last convention, in Montreal, they voted down the proposition to endorse the present regime in Russia. After that a withdrawal is naturally in order, as the European workers are nearly all backing the Russian workers.

On the outcome of the present battle in Poland depends the course of Europe and the world for the near future. If the bolshevik armies are victorious, Europe and the world goes red; if the bolsheviks are defeated the white terror will hold its sway in many countries and reaction will triumph.

We here in America are so distant from the field of action that we can do little to bring victory to the bolshevik arms and defeat to the legions of capitalism. But we can shout our encouragement and help indirectly by digging in and doubling or trebling our efforts for industrial unionism. For that is our way to weaken and fight capitalism.

By paralyzing the arm of American capitalism raised for a dastardly blow against labor the world over, we are doing the best we can to bring victory to the bolshevik arms.

Ergo:

Make another dash through the enemies' lines with that bundle of I. W. W. literature.

Buttonhole two or three more fellows a day in the shop and tell them about our mission. Go after the workers with books and papers in one hand and a membership card in the other. Get on the soapbox if and where you can and talk to groups of workers. Speak, write and agitate without rest. Every worker won over to our ideas means increased chances for the red cause on the battlefield in Poland and everywhere else.

FOUR HEROES

By Robin Dunbar

Radicals have their heroes just like scissor-bills have theirs.
 You hear of several mushroom millionaires
 Every day; their names adorn the front page
 Of your favorite newspaper quite often.
 Let them wear their pants a little longer
 Or their skirts a little shorter,
 The news is put on the ass. press wires at once.

Well I'm not going to bother about such silly folk;
 I'm going to sing of real men, four of them.
 None of them was a hero to his valet
 For the simple reason he never had one.

Well the hero of my youth was AUGUST SPIES,
 I'd like to have met him; he died for a cause,
 The cause of freedom and died game.
 He helped me to form good tastes,
 For real men and women, instead of wax figures.

JOE HILL came next; I liked the way he died
 With a song on his lips
 And a message of cheer to his comrades.
 He died like a man; shot by coward bullets.

FRANK LITTLE soon followed him; a true martyr.
 Little was a consistent pacifist;
 Rather than acclaim slaughter god,
 He went a willing victim to the trestle.
 Never was a bridge more honored
 Than when it sustained his bruised body
 Suspended on a ruffian rope.

Last comes WESLEY EVEREST, who died fighting;
 He is the most dramatic figure of them all.
 I like the way he returned shot for shot,
 Until his gun clogged from heat.
 He had been taught to murder for pelf,
 And he wiped out that stain by killing for self,
 And in defense of the sacred right of asylum.
 No wonder his heroic stand roused the fury of the hell hounds
 To heights of insane froth.
 His example is a great inspiration;
 His death a noble martyrdom;
 His blood shed in freedom's cause
 Is already breeding defenders.
 A sacrifice like his proves more than words,
 That slavery is doomed
 To sudden and ignoble death.

Blood and Wine

A certain little renegade of the Revolution chants
a hymn of praise to his erstwhile Enemy.

By Ralph Chaplin

Behold! the helots of the land
Are cowed beneath thy iron fist;
They are too blind to understand—
Too dumb and spineless to resist.

Victorious one! against thy gains
These chattels cannot, dare not rise;
Stifle the thought within their brains
And rule with bayonets and lies.

So may thy sons, with greed uncurbed,
Their children's children rule again;
Aye, rule with iron undisturbed,
The all-prolific sons of men.

What matters that ten million died
To give thy lust a dwelling place?
Does not thy Terror set aside
The ancient freedom of the race?

What matters that the peasant's plow
Bites at a soil baptized with red?
Are not thy bloody dollars now
More myriad than the myriad dead?

That in charred cities, wan with pain,
War-desolated mothers live,
While lips of babies tug in vain
At breasts that have no milk to give?

Or that beneath thy towered walls,
Cursed with the eloquence of hell,
Black want to red Rebellion calls * * * ?
Heed not! I tell thee, ALL IS WELL!

Heed not! have vine-clad maidens sing
And serve thee scented wine and gore;
Laugh! glut thyself to vomiting
And hiccough, screaming still for more.

What of the Men against the gate,
Black-massed and sullen, gaunt and lean?
Like thee they crave one thing to hate * * *
Be glad * * * and whet thy guillotine!



Let's Line Up "Bill"

By "Wingy" Thomas

It's a long way to good conditions
While Scissor Bill hangs around,
For he's solid out at Roach's—
Strong on Hump's and Shippey's ground;
The only place he's absent
Is at Mills' SIX-BITS camp—
There they've all joined the wobbles,
So "Bill" had to decamp!

To hell with these old blankets!
Where cooties swarm at will;
We can end these fierce conditions
With the help of scissor bill.
When "Bill" joins ONE BIG UNION,
On clean beds we will flop—
Not in a portable dog-house
With rain pouring in at the top.

The crumbs are running races,
The garbage makes us sigh;
If "Bill" would line up with us,
Away these things 'u'd fly!
In place of "belly" and cabbage,
And all that kind of junk,
We'd have a cook and cookee
Whose chuck would ne'er punk.

Now to better our conditions
We must take OLD SCISSOR BILL,
And teach him organization—
His wood block we must drill!
Of demo-crazy he's had plenty
And he's longing for a change;
With "Bill" wised up and raving,
We'll drive the GYPPOS from the range!

Does this Fit You?

By John E. Nordquist

Oh, for a legion of workers
Who dare to think and do,
Who cannot be cowed by the masters,
And never for mercy sue.
Men of nerve and action
Men who forge straight ahead;
Oh, for a legion of workers
Who refuse to be towed and led!

Oh, for a band of toilers
With the spirits of Everest and Hill,
And courage like Little's and Larkin's—
And others in dungeons chill.
They recked not consequences
Nor censure and scorn of man;
Oh, for a band of workers
Imaged after this fearfree clan!

The Storm

By Chas. Devlin

The storm approaches, still the air
 Quiet here, but there the blare
 Boom and crash and lightening flash
 Stirred as with a mighty lash
 Hearts of men, and eyes as well
 Gaze at this infernal hell,
 Canons boom and shrapnel shrieks
 Lo! The system surely creaks.

The world's a flame, revolt is here
 Revolt of millions coming near
 With words and deeds and valor they
 Are mapping out the ONE real way
 On the land and in the air
 Revolution everywhere
 The Proletariat is up
 Drinking now from victory's cup.

And when the storm is spent and done
 And workers everywhere have won
 A system new from out the old
 Will rise and spread its every fold
 Embracing all Humanity
 Giving lasting liberty.

The goal is worth our very best
 Let every worker stand the test.

HELP WANTED

A few thousand high-souled and courageous men and woman to sell

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

in every city, town, village and hamlet in America.

THIS MEANS YOU

George says he is being imposed upon and he won't do it.

ORDER A BUNDLE TODAY

of 15 and up.

You pay us 15 cents per copy. You pay the express. You sell them at 25 cents per copy.

Having followed this advice you will have a good conscience and will sleep like an innocent child.



THE NIGHTMARE OF THE CAPITALIST

The Scourge of Politics in a Land of Manna

BY HOWARD SCOTT
(Industrial Engineer.)

Through the missed of the fourteen points, the clamor of the League of Nations, and the speed of the "may I knots", shrieks the siren of the newspapers proclaiming the efficacy of some one political programme as a panacea for the immediate ills. We have with us today as many breeds of political parties as we have religious sects, all advocating greater or lesser reforms, varying in their demands according to the strata of society they represent, all antithetical to each other, but all possessing one common factor, their belief in the efficacy of political action.

Color, music, religion, morals and politics are subjective realities. For the color-blind, as, for instance, those who fail to perceive the greens, light of this color does not exist, although it may for others. Those of normal vision may have the sensation which they call green light, which means, not that the green light is real, but only that the impression is real to them. By the defective in hearing certain sounds may not be heard at all, although another man may hear them clearly. Sound does not exist for one who is totally deaf.

Religions, morals, and politics, being beliefs, create impressions which are real to some people, to others are totally different, varying in accordance with race, geographical location and economic conditions, and to others do not exist at all.

Political power is centered in the emotional expression of the mass, and its adherence to the political party in power depends on the amount of belief in each individual member. Written on the fly-leaf of the book of rules of every able politician and statesman is that sentence of Macchiavelli's, "The appearance of belief in any popular faith is as necessary as the belief in it is harmful;" followed by the addenda of Bismark, "Religion, patriotism, and politics are the primary weapons for controlling the mob." The political leaders of the past and present have, through the inculcation of beliefs or subjective realities into the minds of the mass, achieved for themselves a goal which lies on a separate and distinct plane, and does not concern itself with the objective realities of the mass. It is the fervour of faith, the fanaticism of belief, the reaction of all primal instincts and personal impressions that sweeps a candidate or party into political power. If there existed that queer paradox, a political party, based, not upon theory but upon actual facts, the situation would not be such a hopeless one.

The structure of our present legislative bodies is composed of representatives elected on the basis of geographical divisions, the qualification of an electee consisting in the possession of a definite amount of capital vested in real estate, bond, or other holdings. He is not required to be involved in the production of any of the essentials of life for his district, nor

even to possess a knowledge of the methods of production. We therefore have that queer anomaly of a man being elected from a division the important function of which, for the country as a whole, is the production of coal who is a lawyer, and whose knowledge is limited to law and litigation; or we have a doctor of medicine representing a steel district, or a banker a farming district. Thus are made possible the debates which frequently occur in Congress on the subject of operating railroads in which lawyer, doctor, banker and professional politician participate with equal ignorance arguing away the nation's legislative time and money. And though such an unrepresentative group may legislate, it becomes still more innocuous through the fact that it does not carry its legislation into execution.

There are before the public at the present moment a number of political expedients through which they are attempting to solve one of our primary industrial problems, namely railroads. But the railroads are only one unit of the industry of transportation and cannot be dealt with separately and obtain efficient service in our common carriers. Of all the plans presented not one has taken into consideration the technique of this industry, or has apparently realized that under scientific administration of our carrier system, railroads must be secondary to that more efficient method of hauling bulk cargoes, namely waterways—depending, of course on the geographical conformation of the country. Nor do they realize that the motor trucks on our highways are relieving the railroads of an ever increasing portion of their bulk freight. Still again! Nor do they realize that our transmission lines and our pipe lines provide a better method of transporting power and fuel than do our railroad coal cars and tank cars.

The inadequacy of any plan that proposes to allow the workers to share in the profits of an industry is that it places the basis of efficiency not on scientific grounds, but on methods of management that will obtain greater profits for all parties involved. If such a plan were imposed on the transportation system of this country it would induce a condition so static that all other forms of transportation would be discriminated against in order that the railroad workers and railroad capitalists be enabled to maintain their established earnings. The railroad interests in the past, by devious financial and financially induced legal means, have killed every form of water transportation in the United States excepting those required by the railroad interests for their own ends. Our railroad interests have chased the river steamer and the canal boat out of existence, leaving them and their docks to disintegrate under the ravages of time. In the majority of cases the rivers and waterways of our country are today paralleled, not only on one, but

on both sides by railroads. Under scientifically operated transportation the waterways, with feeder highways or short line feeder railroads, would relieve the present trunk line railroads of the United States of over one half of their freight load. So it is that any political solution to the railroad workers problem endangers the transportation problem of the entire nation. Efficient transportation is not only a matter of carrying goods, but also of eliminating the unnecessary carrying.

In view of the complexity of the industrial situation in this country, and the fact that the industries are so closely inter-related, any fundamental change in the methods of operation of any one industrial unit would involve a corresponding change in every unit that is correlated to it; and any method of scientific operation which might be introduced in any separate unit would be immediately sabotaged by the financial control which is equally interlocked and co-related, and thereby strangle at birth. The absurdity of any plan for the operation of railroads (whether it be the Plumb plan, or it's adversary, the Cummins bill) is immediately apparent when one is brought into cognizance of the fact that the present group of railroad interests own and control the sources of supply of power and fuel in coal, oil, and water, and that they own and control the manufacturing of railroad equipment, and in the further knowledge that the earnings of the railroad groups are accentuated by the carrying of products which they own and control in preference to transporting them by a more efficient method, but one in which they have no vested interest. The introduction of a scientific system of operation would carry with it the scientific use of materials inter-related with the railroads, and the scientific use of one of these materials alone, namely bituminous coal, which is one-third of all the freight moved on common carriers would render it impossible for the railroads of this country to earn dividends on their present capitalization.

We are living today in an industrial age which concerns itself with the production and use of energy and matter in the forms of electricity, steam, steel, lumber and cotton, etc. The amount of energy or work required to produce a given amount of a certain material under a given condition can be accurately calculated. The machine necessary for the production of so many units of power can be accurately designed. The resultant of a chemical reaction can be determined before the reaction takes place. The candle power of a given amount of electricity is a known factor. The food content of a bushel of wheat of standard grade is an established fact. The production factor of the worker can be determined under all conditions.

Political legislation cannot decide the question of the number of hours a worker shall work in a given industry under a given condition, or what materials, quantity and quality, shall be used, or the methods of production, unless politics can co-relate all industry.

Why be carried away by the momentum of our

multiple verbiage in the discussion of the high cost of living? Why not consider the fact that only one in ten of our population is engaged in actual production?

Why allow a million petty stores to muddle up the problem of retail distribution with their inefficiencies? Why not eliminate 75 per cent of the inefficiency and the individuals engaged in this trading, by consolidation into scientific distribution depots on a large scale, putting the 75 per cent of the men no longer needed into essential production?

Why insist upon the different agricultural industries being personally operated by any method that the individual farmer cares to adopt? Why not industrialize agriculture by operating large areas as industrial units, vesting the personal rights of the farmer, not in possession, but in an equity of productive effort?

Why mine bituminous coal for the production of power? Why waste fifteen-sixteenths of it's multiple content by burning it under boilers? Why not develop the remaining 97 per cent of our water-power resources in this country?

Why operate manufacturing establishments 2,000 miles from their source of supply? Why not have manufacturing establishments located in the center of their source of supply, or as nearly so as possible?

Why have the ill-health of a citizen an incentive to profiteer on the part of our medical profession? Why not have public health and hygiene nationally operated on the basis of service?

Why have the security of the individual from starvation the income provider for the insurance companies? Why not have it that the individual's social service contract with the state provides him with a livelihood until death?

Why involve ourselves in the discussion of the laws and the inefficiencies of our law courts? Why not eliminate the major number of inefficiencies by cancelling all causes of litigation?

Why indulge our national vanity in wasting effort, time, and materials in the production of gold as a ballast for international treasuries, necessary with a gold basis currency? Why not have a currency that one cannot store up to rust, and that thieves cannot steal, of purchasing value only to the individual to whom it is issued in exchange for his productive effort?

Why tolerate the throttling of our industrial life by politicians and political action? Why not eliminate all politics and political action by instituting an industrial organization composed of men who, by their training and experience, have the knowledge of operation and direction?

Why the demand for higher wages? Why the higher prices? Why not a system of industrial operation wherein one would obtain, not a wage that is in the ratio of 8 per cent to his productive effort, as exists today, but 69.3 per cent, the remaining 30.7 per cent being no tribute to capital, but the normal contribution of each citizen to the

requirements of replacement and depreciation, and the maintenance and operation of the administration and it's indirect industries, such as education, sanitation etc.

These questions are not of a destructive character; individually they may seem so, but as components of a sequence they partially reveal the possibilities that would develop in a plan, nation-wide, that was not political, but industrial, wherein production would be for use, not for price.

It is possible under a system of scientific administration to increase the present standard of living

over 800 per cent. The day is pregnant with the need of just such a readjustment. There can be no cessation to industrial unrest so long as the conditions heretofore mentioned persist. They are blocking the wheels of the industrial mechanism. Given a plan or design of industrial administration, the movement of the mass can be directed into constructive channels, but without such the country shall be plunged into a maelstrom beside which the Russian revolution is but a tempest in a tea-pot; no, not a maelstrom, but an eruption of mud.

International Relations Will be Submitted to a Referendum Vote

The following extracts from the minutes of the G. E. B. now in session were made at the moment of closing the last form. They refer to International relations.

1. Moved by McClellan, Seconded by Mashlykin, That we endorse the Third International. Motion lost.

For: McClellan, Mashlykin. Against: Brown, Nordquist, Lessig, Sullivan and Fisher.

2. Moved by Brown, Seconded by Sullivan, That we do not endorse the Third International officially, and that we notify the Third International that our position makes it impossible to endorse same as it is outlined in the Zinovieff appeal to the I. W. W., and that we are in favor of an Economic Industrial International. Motion carried. For: Brown, Lessig, Sullivan, Nordquist. Against: Fisher, McClellan, Mashlykin.

3. Moved by Lessig, Seconded by Nordquist, That we endorse the Third International with reservation, as follows: That we do not take any part whatsoever in parliamentary action and that we reserve the right to develop our own tactics according to conditions prevailing. Motion carried. For: Nordquist, Lessig, Sullivan, Fisher. Against: Brown, McClellan. Mashlykin not voting.

4. Moved by McClellan, Seconded by Mashlykin that the three above propositions be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. Motion carried.

The appeal in question will be found in this issue of the magazine Everybody should read it before casting his vote in this referendum.

"The Amnesty Key"

By John Nordquist

Tune—"I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles"

I'm having dreams,
I'm seeing gleams,
Of men in prison cells—
Sentenced long years
To haunting fears,
And death in these earthly hells.
If you would hasten the dawning
Of blissful "AMNESTY MORNING,"

Chorus—

Come, then, workers, strike together
In one mighty union grand;
Hear Ye the call, Freedom for all—
Strike till the masters' bastiles fall;
Empty every cell house,
Make all sorrow flee.
We can open up the prisons
With the "ONE BIG UNION" key.

Organized right
We'll win the fight,
For all we'll freedom gain—
After the strife
They'll find new life
With wife and babies again.
If you would shorten their anguish
Break down the bars where they languish.

(Chorus)

GOOD NEWS FROM AUSTRALIA

We are in receipt of a letter from Tom Barker, now in London, where he has vigorously championed the cause of the 12 I. W. W. members under long sentences in Australia. The letter came too late for this issue. We are able to quote, however, that a Royal Commission has rendered a report which acknowledges that these men were framed up. As a result ten of them have been released already, and the other two are expected to be free very soon.

It now remains for a commission in this country to unmask the frame up against the American I. W. W. members in jail so that they also may go free.

Sidelights on American Industrial Evolution

(What here follows is another chapter of the new Industrial Union Handbook for Agricultural Workers, soon to be issued by the I. W. W.)

The Condor and the Eagle

Europe, after the capitalist class had entrenched itself within the smouldering ruins of Feudalism, was a hot-bed of intrigue and oppression. Karl Marx summed up the situation with an expressive phrase: Capitalism came into the world dripping blood and filth at every pore." The agricultural population was largely driven into the mills, mines and factories there to toil prodigiously that the ruling classes of the various capitalist nations might compete with one another for control of the world market.

After the settlement of the eastern shores of the new world the young continents of America began to germinate with the seed of social progress. In a comparatively short time they fell in line with the general development of Europe. In the United States, even in earliest times, forces were at work that would eventually produce the evil weed of industrial autocracy. Capitalism must follow its natural bent here, just as in the rest of the world. But the country was so young and so full of manifold opportunities that years must elapse before the new despotism might enslave the people. Even today there are workers, known as "scissor-bills" who look at the present world through the eyes of their great-grandfathers. They have not brought their minds up to date and therefore have the psychology of two generations ago.

But the early American pioneer, ever venturing westward into the wilderness lived over again the whole history of the human race. First came the daring explorer steering his adventurous canoe up the courses of uncharted rivers; the hunters, trapper and fisherman, blazing a trail across the untamed continent for multitudes yet unborn; then the first settlers with their families, agricultural implements and stock; also the farmer and herder with their rough free life on the virgin prairies or the range in the middle of the last century, and finally the merchant, manufacturer and banker, erecting railroads along the old trails, factories at the junctions, court houses on the town commons and jails on the sites of the block-houses.

The capitalist class eventually dominated the land of our forefathers and put its heel-print upon the life of the nation. The traditions of the Revolution were forgotten and the government, as in the rest of the world, became an instrument of working class repression. The principle of democracy was not extended into industry when the country became industrialized. The condor of industrial despotism luxuriated the nest of the proud American eagle.

The Iron Law of History

But capitalism was not always reactionary as it is today. In the beginning it was of real service to the human race. Progress had entrusted to cap-

italists the task of constructing a system of production that was adequate for the growing needs of the population. Industrial evolution had to follow its inevitable course. Wasteful competition had to be eliminated. Inefficient methods had to give way to organized and centralized production. Industry had to expand and keep pace with the progress of the world. In helping to make these things possible the early captains of industry were a help to society. They prepared the processes of production for the next inevitable step in human progress. They built up an industrial arrangement that could survive them when their services would no longer be needed. Like the early explorers they blazed the trail for the New Society that was to arise when the mission of capitalism had been fulfilled.

They prepared the industries for the ownership of the people.

The doom of private ownership in the means of life was sealed from the beginning. The process of industrial evolution was slowly but surely leading the masters of bread to a point where they would become purely parasitical—mere barnacles on the social organism. We must give the old school of capitalists credit for contributing immensely to the welfare of the human race. The forefathers of the present third generation idle rich helped to organize the wonderful mechanism of today. But this is no reason why their profligate offspring should be supported in luxury to the end of time.

The same laws that produced capitalism are bringing about its collapse. The world is constantly changing. No system based on social parasitism has or can remain permanent. The egg of capitalism contains Industrial Communism just as surely as the egg of Feudalism contained that of Capitalism. The development in the egg is evolutionary; the process of breaking the egg is revolutionary. In a way the capitalists also were "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The feudal lord and the modern capitalist stand together before the bar of history. The downfall of the latter is just as inevitable as that of the former. Whatever becomes a hindrance to human progress must go. Slavery, feudalism, capitalism; each in turn have yielded and must yield to the iron law of history.

America was primarily an agricultural country for many years. Before the land and machinery of production were monopolized the United States was in reality the land of opportunity. Capitalism could not enslave nor break the spirit of the American people as long as the frontier beckoned in the golden West. There was a time, in the early days when a Yankee simply would not work for wages. Land was cheap out toward the sunset or, if farming did not allure, there were thousands of business opportunities that had not yet been gobbled up by monopolists. About the only things that would keep a man from succeeding were his own indifference

or laziness. It was comparatively easy for the farm hand to become a farmer, the mechanic a manufacturer, the clerk a merchant. Classes and castes existed only in embryo. Strikes were few in number and local in character. The class struggle, like the industries in which it was developing, was still in its infancy. Wall street, in these days, had not yet taught the people to eat from its hand.

The Industrial Revolution

Gradually the free America was changed. The western prairies were fenced in and the range became a series of ranches. A shining network of rails was thrown across the land and the historic trails were no longer trampled with hoofs of countless herds. The door of Opportunity was slammed in the face of the working class. Monopoly spread like a black plague upon the land. The industrial pirates of the East, not content with the millions of acres of land which had been conveniently given them by their government, defrauded both the government and people out of millions of acres more. The story of land grabbing and the hogging of the nation's industries is a long record of robbery and fraud. The titles to all the property of the United States began to find their way more and more into the strong coffers of the social parasites. Hand production was changed to machine production. Smoking factories sprang up in all directions. Eventually the whole nation was safely in the clutch of private greed. Capitalism, by means of a series of prodigious robberies, had reached its affluence. When the working class get ready to take back the world that was stolen from them they will use far cleaner tactics than did the present "owners" in getting possession.

The centralization of industry gave birth to marvelous machines which rapidly displaced the skill of the workers. Instead of lifting the burden of labor these wonderful inventions served only to enrich the favored few. The entire working class was reduced to the dead level of uninteresting drudgery. Classes became ever more clearly defined and the class struggle ever more intense. Overproduction, strikes, wars and unemployment became more frequent and wider in scope. Wealth became more and more concentrated into the hands of an ever decreasing number of parasites. In the cities the machine proletariat had become divorced from the means of production; in the country the agricultural proletariat was shut off forever from ownership of the land. The possessing class became more powerful and the working class more dependent. On the one side, now that the system is "rotten ripe for change", stand the industrial autocrats, law-buttressed and arrogant; on the other the rebellious tenants and workers, vaguely trying to comprehend the great changes that have taken place all about them. The breath of Revolution is already stirring this miasmatic jungle of despotism and decay. America, like the France of 1779 is about to feel the birth-pangs of the new society. Will the hideous system of Capitalism leave the stage as it

entered, "dripping blood and filth at every pore?" The future alone will tell.

Modern Serfdom—the Tenant Farmer

Land tenantry is serfdom without the picturesque background of feudalism. It exists in America to a surprising extent. The Industrial Relations Commission, at the suggestion of William D. Haywood, investigated this disgraceful symptom of social sickness. Their disclosures have since been almost suppressed, but any worker who has lived in the south knows of the real situation from first hand observation.

The tenant farmers, particularly those in the states of Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana, occupy a position peculiar to themselves in the economic and social structure of the nation.

These people are not actual wage earners, but at the same time the most viciously exploited of any division of workers in the United States by the capitalist land owners.

In the Lone Star state there are no federal lands. A few persons have, however, schemed and contrived to gain possession of vast tracts of land that were formerly used for grazing purposes only.

A certain contractor for erecting the capitol building at Austin, Texas, came into possession of something like a million and a half acres of state land. The Dunlops are credited with owning some three million acres of land, while those who visited Widow King discovered that it is fifty miles from her front gate to the front door of her residence.

Armour and Company own huge tracts of land in California. The Taft Company owns a farm of 150 square miles. The holdings of the Miller and Lux Company run contiguously through six states and embrace millions of acres. Farming is not only becoming industrialized but the agricultural proletariat is now an established fact.

In this territory the typical farm renter of the south is the grandson of the aristocratic slave owning patricians, tall, clear eyed, broad shouldered and deep chested. They marry young and are early burdened with a rapidly increasing family of children.

Equipped with a span of mules, a dead-axe wagon, some household furniture, a coop of chickens, and his family aboard he is looking for a farm to rent. Traveling about he secures a piece of land forty or eighty acres from the Burlesons or Gregories of the south; usually rented by the season. For his tenure he gives a fourth of the corn and a third of the cotton he raises. His temporary habitation is a miserable shack built of boards and batten which are little barrier for the cold Texas winds or the blazing hot summer sun.

"The Old Oaken Bucket" never originated on a tenant farm. There is no such thing as a well or a spring. Water for household use comes from an open cistern.

The Refinement of Exploitation

The farm owner exacts that all the land be tilled, and it usually is farmed up to the back door, leav-

ing no pasturage for a cow. The tenant farmer and his children seldom taste the delicacies of milk, butter, and eggs which are supposed to go with farm life.

Crowd the houses of the farm renters together and you will have tenement quarters such as does not exist in any part of the world. Whitechapel, London or the east side of New York would be paradise in comparison with the jumbled shacks of the people who raise corn and cotton to feed and clothe others.

The tenant farmer in his overalls and broad brimmed hat stands alone and helpless. Robbed as are the black men of the south, he accepts his condition with little protest.

The crop he raises, good or bad as it may be, after giving the share exacted by the land owner, does not then belong to the man of toil. He has been compelled to borrow a little money from the bank for which he must pay an excessive interest. He has

purchased some supplies from the store on all of which he has paid an exorbitant profit.

When he comes to sell his crop, the cotton is baled and hauled to market. A Commissioner or Sales Agent inspects the cotton and says with an air of authority, "This is short." He will then quote a price three or four cents less than the market value. Thus it can be seen, though cotton may be King, the man who produces is robbed in four ways: Rent, interest, profit, and commission, all of which he meets at the point of production.

Not only is the farmer himself robbed but his entire family. His children during cotton picking time are in the field—little babes four and five years old, dragging along tiny sacks, picking off their mite of cotton from the plants, while the mother leaving her nursing babe at one end of the row drags herself through the fields of green and white gathering, as it were, the material to make the shrouds of her class.

The Dear (?) Old Blanket Roll

By Chas. O. Olsen

Blanket-roll! I ought to love you,
Dear and dirty, warm and worn;
For the sleep-compelling virtue
Of your folds so old and torn;
But the best of friends must sever
Ties that bind—and go you MUST;
So I'll bid good-bye forever,
As you vanish, dust to dust.

When I bought you of the Hebrew,
You were somewhat neat and clean,
Though outside his door, you had to
Lie for weeks without a screen.
This was but an intimation
Of the life you were to lead;
Many a day you've had occasion
To regret those days indeed.

New and tender—unprotected,
You were dragged across the floor,
By a baggage man ejected,
Through the "depot's" open door.
Flung by scornful, careless fingers,
In a filthy baggage car,
Where you won a scent that lingers
With you, and I smell afar.

Outside many a little station
You have left a mottled stain,
As your rainbow decoration
Gently faded in the rain.
Many a mile I've watched you bobbing,
Lashed beside an auto stage;
Often times I've seen you dropping
In the mud, with silent rage.

Oh, you're full of fleas and splinters
From many a soiled and caulk-worn floor
When in weary, workless winters
You were "left" behind the door.
Many a dog in friendly greeting
Sniffed your bulging drapery;
Many a cat has found a fleeting
Couch of hospitality.

Snug within your folds are hiding
Germs and microbes of decay;
Patiently their time abiding
To infect me and to slay;
But I laugh at all this danger,
I'm a close friend—hence immune,
But it's hell on any stranger
Who might have the misfortune.

Hidebound custom did unite us
Whom education must divorce;
Shall indifference, blind and callous,
Like an ancient dragging curse
Chain us to a foul condition,
Relic of old, ignorant ways?
Surely not—a cleaner vision
Points a path to saner days.

(SEATTLE UNION RECORD)

Please note that from and with September 1 the subscription price of this magazine is \$2.50 a year. If you want it sent by first class mail, to be sure of delivery, add 10 cents per copy.

Evolution and the I. W. W.

BY JACK GAVEEL

This is a short sketch of a vast evolutionary and historical process. However an exposition of details is not necessary here as the aim of this article is education which will enable the workers to break the mental chains which hold them in subjection to the present system of society (a society from which they have nothing to gain and by the disappearance of which they stand nothing to lose), and for this purpose an outline of the most essential facts contained in the evolution of man and Society is all that is required.

The value of a knowledge of the facts of human and social evolution in its relation to the emancipation of the workers may not at first be appreciated, and even by many ignored, but, after a more thorough consideration of the question by all those willing and capable to use their brains, the fact will then clearly stand out that, before the workers can give the best that is in them in their struggle to abolish wage slavery and capitalism and establish Industrial Democracy, an understanding of Evolution in its broadest aspects is essential.

Evolution is that succession of transformations through which matter and force pass in their eternal restlessness. To understand Evolution therefore is to understand its manifold transformations which include Man, his mind and his Society.

Take the mind of man for instance. According to the poisonous teachings of those who prostitute the uses of their intellect at the command of the ruling class the mind is a mystery, not belonging to the things of the material world. It is uncaused and constitutes part of the divine substance and as such its dictates are the arbitrary will of—God, a will not to be brought under natural law, not to be understood and therefore to be obeyed implicitly.

According to the evolutionary point of view, however, Man's mind is the result of a long natural development beginning with the lowest forms of life, leading on through ever higher forms of existence and finally culminating in Reason, Judgment, Imagination, Sympathy, etc. Also according to the same point of view the succession of ideas in the History of Human Society has been caused by changes in the economic conditions. That is; at all times Man's social consciousness has been adapted to the mode of wealth production. To take a concrete illustration; if the prevailing notion in regard to the nature of the human mind is that the latter is a mystery not to be understood we know in the light of Evolution that this view, this state of mind is an effect determined by the interests of the present ruling class which derives its existence from the exploitation of the wage workers and which therefore has to have a set of rules for the conduct of its slaves, rules which must be made to look mysterious and as if emanating from the Divinity to insure their successful operation. And how can this

be done better than by ascribing to the mind and its ideas a supernatural origin?

From the above illustration it will be readily seen that the worker who has studied and understands evolution has a great advantage over his fellow-worker of the field, mine or shop who is not so instructed. For the latter will swallow all his master's teachings and morality bait and hook without ever inquiring into the wherefore of things thereby forging the chains of slavery around his own legs whereas the former will treat with disdain an education tainted with the lust for greed of the capitalist class; and set up in opposition an education and morality suited to the interests of himself and his class, the workingclass.

If we go back in our imagination to that period of the dim past when man first made his appearance on the earth we must perform a mental elimination of all his wondrous accomplishments. The steam ship dissolves in the dugout, the electric train becomes a rude device consisting of a wooden body supported and rolling along on wooden discs sliced off some tree trunk. Modern telegraphy finds its prototype in the signal fire lit on the forest hill. The machine gun goes back to the blowpipe. Instead of nations we meet with tribes and federations of tribes held loosely together. One by one disappear his modern means of production. The plow is replaced by a stick used for rooting up the ground. There are no clothes except animal skins worn across the shoulders with sometimes the head of the bear or the horns of the aurochs attached. And if we go back far enough we arrive at a time when the melting of iron had not been invented yet and when instead of iron tools and weapons men used stone clubs, axes, knives and spear heads chipped out of flint. However, even these finally disappear together with agriculture, the domestication of animals and the use of fire. Here all co-operation ceases and man becomes the animal primitive. In our imagination we can reconstruct him in this primitive state. We can see him even without a bow and arrow depending for his survival in the struggle for existence on his brute strength on the length and sharpness of his big tusks, the degree of power residing in his bulging jaw muscles and the capacity of his mobile ears to detect the slightest sound of danger.

Prowling through the gloom and stillness of the forests of the ancient world, surrounded by dangers on all sides, having nobody to depend upon in his fierce battles but himself this gibbering savage was nothing but a bundle of ferocious instincts continually slaying and being slayed. Awe, wonder, cruelty and stupidity took the place in his narrow and flat skull of imagination, sympathy and intelligence.

Came a time when his conditions of existence started to change, when he was forced to leave be-

hind his arboreal life and was driven out on the wide open plains teeming with new and much more formidable dangers. For here, bereft of the protection offered by the lofty foliage of the forest trees, all his individual strength, his brute ferocity and his prowess availed him naught. Henceforth if he wanted to survive he must say good bye to his former hermit's life. Thus originated the social instinct born in the struggle for existence drawing men together. Thus were the germs of sympathy planted in men's minds. But out of this co-operation evolved also a higher intelligence, for language (implied by association) draws out the ideas and develops the mind. A further mental development resulted from the use of artificial means of offense and defense (tools and weapons).

As co-operation, intelligence and sympathy increased; as life became more secure and the struggle for existence lost a good deal of its harshness and ferocity, man's whole structure changed. His skull grew broader and higher, his big canine teeth became shorter, his ears lost their power of motion, his posture became erect, in short man became man.

Anyone who doubts the truth of the above facts will do well to study the growth of the child. He will here see repeated the same identical stages of growth through which the race has passed. The child at one point in its evolution has the mental equipment of the savage. The primitive hunting, killing and fighting instincts are well developed much more so than in full grown people in whom these instincts through long disuse have assumed the nature of vestigial instincts. It is also a well known fact that children are more cruel and more devoid of sympathy than adults. At the same time awe, wonder, and curiosity play a prominent part in the child's psychology. The explanation of this repetition of ancestral traits lies in the Law of Biogenesis according to which the individual in his development passes through the same stages that the race has gone through.

Man's whole history has been one long and bloody struggle for an ever more perfect existence, a battle for food, clothing and shelter. In this struggle he has schemed and planned, failed and been successful, organized and changed his organizations. Empires have come and gone, races been exterminated, governments and laws been reduced to dust and classes succeeded each other. And the progress made in this yearning and groping for a nobler, better and happier life has been due chiefly to two factors: Man's use of tools and his use of science. Without these he would still be at the mercy of the forces of nature, the limits of his expansion would still be determined by the possibilities offered by raw, undeveloped nature whereas the law of the survival of the fittest would still have its way with him causing him to continuously change his whole structure at the expense of wholesale extermination.

And yet in spite of all his great accomplishments the battle for food and shelter still rages.

The degree of perfection of men's tools has de-

termined the degree of perfection of their lives.

When we study the successive stages of man's development since his emersion out of the jungle we see that the development of production has been the fundamental cause of all progress. Throughout savagery, barbarism and civilization the source of man's ideas, customs, inventions and institutions can be traced to the condition of his economic development, the nature of his tools.

The savage, although with his bow and arrow he controlled a greater food supply than his immediate predecessor, still, having no agriculture, when game became scarce in his territory, was forced to resort to migrations and invasion of the hunting grounds of other tribes. A battle would follow and if the invading famished horde was victorious the victory would be celebrated by a hearty meal of the enemy's flesh.

These mutual migrations, invasions and wars, together with the practice of cannibalism, ceased after men as barbarians had still further augmented the control of their food supply by the cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals. The cultivation of the soil tied men to one place, also on account of a comparative abundance of food migrations, invasions, wars and cannibalism ceased to exist.

Talking about inventions we can see the truth of the statement that inventions are the result of the development of man's productive powers when we consider that the fire of the savage was the forerunner of the art of pottery. Another fact belonging to the same category is the origin of agriculture most probably in the domestication of animals. (When food for the herd became scarce there would be a tendency to grow plants and grasses instead of leaving their generation to nature.)

And how about the institutions of private property and the state? Have not these their beginning in the increased productivity supplied by the invention of agriculture.

And when we come to deal with religion (which is nothing but a substitute for ignorance and a sense of helplessness and dependence in the face of the unconquered forces of nature) evolution teaches us that as man wrests from nature one by one her secrets he loses his fears and according as he bends her stubborn will to his own thru his inventions and discoveries he develops a sense of his own importance and power, culminating in the conviction that, the same as he is, the creator of all things, so he was also the creator of the mental delusion called God.

The present historical period is called civilization, its later development capitalism and machine production. Before the capitalist class became the ruling class there was a social revolution. New and gigantic forces of production had made their appearance. The old administrative or political powers were no longer capable to administer to these new interests represented by the capitalist class. A new government and new laws adapted to the development of the new productive forces were re-

quired. Natural resources had to be developed, markets must be opened up, railways built, commerce expanded and wage labor was required, also bigger and more efficient armies and navies. Compromise between the old and new ruling classes was out of the question because their interests were diametrically opposed. One believed in stagnation and death, the other in activity and life. So the revolution came.

In less time than it takes for the lightning to flash across the dark sky, old cherished beliefs, customs and institutions were flung in the dust and trampled. Men went mad. Nothing was stable any longer. Stunning changes followed each other in quick succession. Everything was examined, all things revalued. The jails were full. Hundreds of thousands lost their lives, title, heredity and position all of a sudden mingled with the filth in the gutter. Princes, kings and nobles mixed their blood under the knife of the guillotine. At last, amidst the crash and roar of the collapsing timbers of the old feudal society, capitalism reared its bloody but victorious head. All had been accomplished in the name of Liberty Equality, Fraternity and FREE TRADE, although what really took place was this: Revolution in the forces of production had led to a revolution thru the whole social superstructure.

Have since that time the social forces ceased to act, or is Man still developing, and are his productive forces still expanding? Is it possible that the existence of such an organization as the Industrial Workers of the World is an indication of that development and a prediction of its outcome? That is; is it possible that the I. W. W. is the inevitable outcome of the historical process.

Was the human race emancipated when the capitalist class broke the shackles of the old tyranny? Were justice, equality and fraternity extended to all? Had progress been put in shackles because perfection had at last been attained?

After the capitalist revolution the disillusionment came. Reality which came as a cold shower extinguishing the fires of the most ardent expectations and hopes soon stripped the golden mask off the things of the new order and laid bare all the ugly sores. It was now seen that Equality and Justice was a fool's dream. Society had resolved itself into capitalists and wage workers. The worker had nothing but his labor power. This he sold to the capitalist for wages in order to live. The capitalist on the other hand owned the gigantic means of production (so recently come into existence thru men's united efforts) and this enabled him to exploit the workers of the lion's share of what they produced. Unemployment became rampant, wages went down, women and children took the place of men, panics became more frequent. So did wars and poverty and crimes and prostitution.

Revolution is again casting its shadow over the world. The capitalist administration, its legal and political forms cannot take care of the expanding forces of production. At one time the logical promoters of these forces, the latter have now become

unmanageable in its hands. Still they resist all improvement. A class once revolutionary and progressive has become conservative and stagnant.

The struggle today is not carried on any longer in the interest of markets, commerce and the development of natural resources but against private ownership in the means of production which are socially operated. With the productivity of today's gigantic machinery of production abundance may be the lot of all men, nobody needs work long hours, unemployment is unnecessary and there is no need for poverty and inefficiency in production. Still under a system of private ownership in the means of life and production for profits there must be unemployment, some workers must be made to carry the burden of all the others, wages cannot be anything else but low and starvation, poverty, death and disease are let loose broadcast over the land.

So the cry goes up for socialization of the means of production. A new invisible government is already in process of formation. It is the One Big Union of all the workers or the Industrial Democracy and its legality lies in the fact that it alone can organize social production in conformity with the requirements of the expanding forces of production. It is the inevitable outcome of Man's vast struggle for Liberty all thru the ages.

The I. W. W. aims to put the workers in possession of the means of production thereby doing away with production for profits. When the workers own the shops, mills and mines in which they work unemployment will be done away with. All men will put their shoulder to the wheel, thereby lightening the burden of each. The maximum limit of the working day under such conditions will probably be two hours. All will receive according to their needs. Poverty and disease will disappear, also crime, prostitution and war. The aged, sick and crippled will be cared for. Ample opportunity will be given for education and travel. Political government as we know it today based on private property will be replaced by an Industrial government having its basis in the workshops. This government will consist of representatives from the different jobs who will be the "legislators" passing "laws" with a view to the promotion of the most suitable conditions on all jobs.

REMEMBER!

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

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

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

But most important of all:

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



A. F. OF L. "UNION MEN" SCABBING ON ONE ANOTHER IN SIOUX CITY, IOWA
(Building laborers picketing. Carpenters hustling.—Spring, 1920.)

Social Structures

BY RALPH WINSTEAD

All the ideas that are a part of the system of political democracy seem endowed with a stubborn strength and persistency. Their virility was best expressed, however, in that long struggle which finally gave birth to "representative government." All to late was the victory, for the same age that saw the beginnings of parliamentarism also saw the development of the factory system and the displacement of the handicraft methods.

Political Democracy — theoretically desirable under the handicraft economy, is productive only of strife, chaos and waste under capitalism. In fact it is only thru the constant efforts of patchwork reformers that the structure maintains its dizzy balance.

An analysis of the failure of parliamentary (political democratic) methods of social organization, to advance even the simplest life processes shows several outstanding reasons why that failure exists.

The success or failure of normal national political democracy depends entirely upon the clearness with which the constituent population views the questions of the day and the degree of control which they can exercise over their elected representatives in the three branches of government—legislative, executive and judicial.

Clear vision in the matter of vital social questions is one of the assumptions on which political democracy is based. That any group could control the formation of general opinion was unthinkable during the stage of development that was represented in America by the democratic town meetings.

Yet, with the growth of large industrial units in the basic industries has grown the trustification of the machinery of news dissemination. The economic interests that control the major industrial life of the community control also the means of molding opinion. The town meeting is a relic of the past

and has so far fallen out of fashion as to be non-existent even in those small villages where it is a practicable form of expressing the wishes of the people. Today the majority of the people cannot help but think on POLITICAL questions as the press, school and pulpit influence them or, in other words, as the barons of industry desire.

Just in the last few years some of the most important of the social sciences have developed. These sciences—individual and social psychology—have been reclaimed from the realm of guess work and superstition and have been examined in the light of modern knowledge.

The prevalent idea that man is mainly a reasoning and logical animal has been exploded. The facts have been established that mankind thinks and acts largely because of instinctive forces. It is true that reason is slowly gaining ground in the settling of human questions but it is as yet only a minority factor in that settlement. The examination of the idiotic course which human activities have been prone to follow gives small hope of refuting this Psychological theory. *

Chief among the instincts that have great effect in the molding of opinion are those gregarious or herd instincts that cause men to wish to conform to the ideas and actions of the group. Gregariousness, imitativeness and emulation show themselves in countless forms and variations thruout the whole social life of humanity. Closely bound up with action of these instinctive forces are the means of communication which under the present system are to be found in the press, the schools and the churches. Without communication there can be no conformity of thought or action. There can be no general molding of opinion.

*On this question the reader may be referred to a whole mass of psychological works chief among

which may be mentioned Veblen's—"Instinct of Workmanship," "Theory of the Leisure Class," and "The Nature of Peace," Ellwood's "Introduction to Social Psychology"; Wm. McDougall's "Introduction to Social Psychology" and Trotter's "Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War."

Each small group would tend to develop different customs, thoughts and actions in answer to the promptings of their instincts and the pressure of their environment.

The development of the gigantic rotary presses furnishes a means of communication that will standardize social thought. The ownership and control of those presses gives the capitalistic class a power never held by any ancient tyrant. Social that can be turned into any channel that the press dictates. The millions can be stimulated into blood-thirsty activity or can be made good and willing slaves. The ownership and control of the means of intercommunication is the key to the whole modern social structure.

The capitalist class, with but pitifully few exceptions, owns and controls the press. By means of the agitational value of the press they can create sentiment among the masses so that the press controls the ballot. The people seldom use any but instinctive processes in political questions hence the ability of political parties to elect the proverbial yellow dog. So much for the clearness of vision which was assumed as unquestionable by the old heroic fighters for "democracy."

The ability to control the activities of elected representatives is even less in evidence than the ability to elect true representatives. Modern psychology also throws the light of knowledge on that ancient phenomenon which Lincoln called "Fooling the People."

Every person, no matter how gigantic an intellect he or she may have, still depends on those instinctive processes which demand group sanction for their acts and thots. To go single handed into the enemies' camp and to live there without compromise is unnatural and inhuman.

It is impossible of accomplishment unless the person trying it has all the surroundings of the group he came from, and can gain inspiration and renewed strength from constant contact and communication with that group.

Modern political life furnishes none of the essentials for carrying on working class battles in parliamentary circles. The horny handed conscientious son of toil is (perhaps) elected to office. That office carries a salary far above what his class receives at day labor. His surroundings are of a much more luxurious character. All of his new associates are of those people whom he has been sent to fight. He has no group to which he can retire and gain that sanction which is so necessary if the fight against his environment is to proceed. The net is spread and the political victim is snared so gently that he never feels his coils. He conforms to his group surround-

ings and soon adopts their attitude of looking at things.

Such forces would prevent efficient political action or change even tho the news channels were free. However it would not prohibit political changes. With the news channels in the hands of the capitalist class the working man's ballot has no chance of having any effect.

Under the old system of handicraft production the elected representative of his community lived either in his community and associated daily with his constituency or in another group of the same character. Under such conditions representative government would have had some chance to represent. With present day mass production and centralized population there is no chance for political democracy to produce anything more than it currently does produce—graft, greed and corrupted manhood.

All of which is liable to bring pessimism to the social student. The extraction of a written resignation from a candidate by the members of a political party so that they may demand his living up to their principles by that candidate does not work. There is nothing to prevent the candidate denying the authenticity of the resignation, even tho the mass should learn enough of the truth to demand his removal.

The initiative, referendum and recall are no safeguards. The press perverts and twists these make-shifts of popular control to suit themselves. Control of industrial processes—economic power thru industrial organization is the only road that the working class can travel without seeing the pick of their membership lost to them in the battle with the capitalist class.

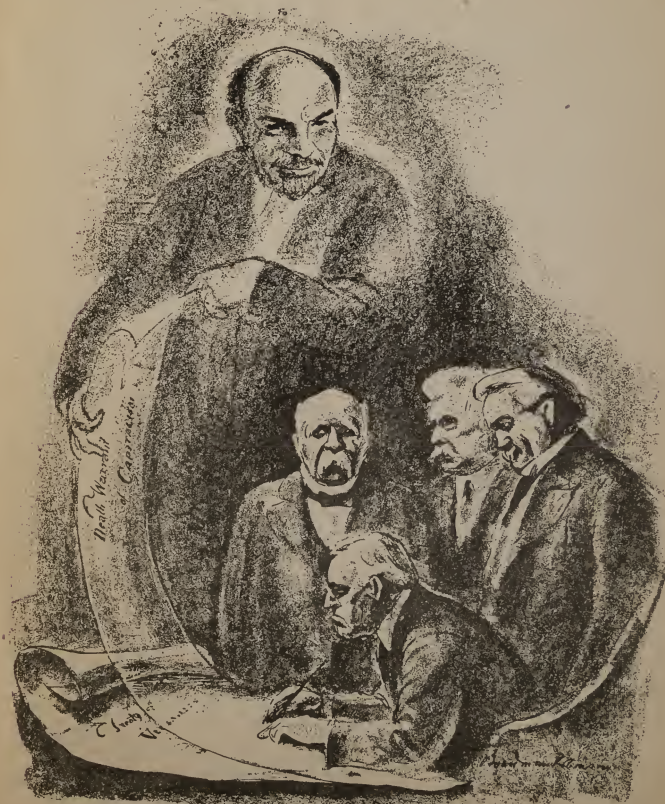
Social progress and the building of a sane social order can come only thru the initiative and action of the working class themselves and not thru the exaltation of a few egoistic leaders. Social progress depends on the creation of a new social or gregarious viewpoint and the spread of that viewpoint, by means of new organs of communication and industrial power, to the whole working class.

The machinery of that new structure is already in action. It is embodied in the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. Instead of being structurally based on non-existent township and precinct geographical organization, this organ of the new society is founded on the modern economic development—the industries.

The dominant factors of social life are the economic ones. Revolutionary Industrial Unionism seeks to build up organs for the developing of economic power by the working class; using the power so developed in their every day struggle for better wages and working conditions and perfecting their organs so that when the evident inefficiency of the present political economic system of disorganization brings the world to chaos the workers may rescue civilization.

Then may be built up a new world not based on outworn ideas of political democracy but based on the structure of the modern economic organizations. Industrial Democracy—the rule of the Industrial Workers of the World is the future society. Active

membership in the Industrial Workers of the World is the one working class activity that will not prove waste effort. (The structure of this organization will be viewed later in comparison with other economic organizations.)



SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF CAPITALISM (From the "Liberator")

The Communist International to the I. W. W.

An Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Third International at Moscow

COMRADES AND FELLOW WORKERS:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International in session at Moscow, the heart of the Russian Revolution, greets the revolutionary American proletariat in the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Capitalism, ruined by the World War, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created is breaking down.

The hour of the working class has struck. The Social Revolution has begun, and here, on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought.

History does not ask whether we like it or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it—and the world will belong to the workers; leave it—there may not be another for generations.

Now is no time to talk of "building the new society within the shell of the old." The old society is cracking its shell. The workers must establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which alone can build the new society.

An article in the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, your official organ, asks, "Why should we follow the Bolsheviks?" According to the writer, all that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has done is "to give the Russian people the vote."

This is, of course, untrue. The Bolshevik Revolution has taken the factories, mills, mines, land and financial institutions out of the hands of the capitalists, and transferred them to the **WHOLE WORKING CLASS**.

We understand, and share with you, your disgust for the principles and tactics of the "yellow" Socialist politicians, who, all over the world, have discredited the very name of Socialism. Our aim is the same as yours—a commonwealth without State, without Government, without classes, in which the workers shall administer the means of production and distribution for the common benefit of all.

We address this letter to you, fellow-workers of the I. W. W., in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war, of which you may have borne the brunt in your own country, so that you may clearly understand our Communist principles and program.

We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the World Social Revolution.

We call you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red Army fighting under the banner of Communism.

Communism and the I. W. W.

The American Capitalist class is revealing itself in its true colors.

The constantly rising cost of living, the growing unemployment, the savage repression of all efforts of the workers to better their condition, the deportation and imprisonment of "Bolsheviks," the series of anti-strike laws, "criminal syndicalist" laws, "red flag" laws, and laws against propaganda advocating the "forcible overthrow of government and the unlawful destruction of property"—all these measures can have but one meaning for every intelligent worker.

BUT NOW THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD—THE AMERICAN CAPITALISTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF FRANCE, ITALY, ENGLAND, GERMANY, ETC., ARE PLANNING TO REDUCE THE WORKERS ONCE FOR ALL TO ABSOLUTE AND HOPELESS SERFDOM.

Either this, or the Dictatorship of the Working

Class—there is no other alternative. And the workers must choose now.

Capitalism is making desperate efforts to reconstruct its shattered world. The workers must seize by force the power of the State, and reconstruct society in their own interests.

The Coming Slave State

Before the American Civil War, the Negro slaves of the South were bound to the land. The industrial capitalists of the North, who needed a floating population to operate their factories, declared slavery to be an outrage, and abolished it by force. Now the industrial capitalists are attempting to bind the workers to the factories.

In every country, during the world war, it was practically forbidden for the workers to strike, or even to stop work. You will remember the "Work or Fight" laws in your own country.

And now that the war is over, what has happened? The cost of living has gone up and up, while the capitalists have actually tried to reduce wages. And when the workers, faced by starvation, are forced to strike, the whole power of the State is mobilized to drive them back to the machines. When the railway shophmen walked out, the United States Marshal of California threatened to bring in Federal troops to force them to work. When the Railroad Brotherhoods demanded higher wages or the nationalization of the railways, the President of the United States menaced them with the full armed power of the Government. When the United Mine Workers laid down their tools, thousands of soldiers occupied the mines, and the Federal Court issued the most sweeping injunction in history, forbidding the Union leaders from sending out the strike order or in any way assisting in conducting the strike, and forcibly preventing the payment of strike-benefits. And finally, the Attorney General of the United States declared officially that the Government would not permit strikes in "industries necessary to the community."

Judge Gary, head of the Steel Trust, can refuse the demand of the President of the United States to meet a committee of his workers. But when the steelworkers dare to go on strike for a living wage and the elementary right to join a Union, they are called Bolsheviks and shot down in the streets by the Pennsylvania Cossacks.

And you, fellow-workers of the I. W. W., with your bitter memories of Everett, of Tulsa, of Wheatland, of Centralia, in which your comrades were butchered; with—your thousands in prison—you who nevertheless must do the "dirty work" in the harvest-fields, on the docks, in the forests—you must see plainly the process by which the capitalists, by means—of their weapon, the State, are trying to inaugurate the Slave Society.

Everywhere the capitalist cry: "More production! More production!" In other words, the workers must do more work for less wages, so that their blood and sweat may be turned into gold, to pay the war-debts of the ruined capitalist world.

In order to accomplish this the workers must no longer have the right to leave their jobs; they must be forbidden to organize so that they may be able to wring concessions from the bosses, or profit by capitalist competition. At all costs the Labor Movement must be halted, and broken.

To save the old system of exploitation, the capitalists must unite, and chain the workers to the machines of industry.

Or the Social Revolution

Will the capitalists be able to do this?

They will, unless the workers declare war on the

whole capitalist system, overthrow the capitalist governments, and set up a Government of the working class, which shall destroy the institution of capitalist private property and make all wealth the property of all the workers in common.

This is what the Russian workers have done, and this is the ONLY WAY for the workers of other countries to free themselves from industrial slavery, and to make over the world so that the worker shall get ALL HE PRODUCES, and nobody shall be able to make money out of the labor of other men.

But unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists, the Russian Revolution cannot last. The capitalists of the entire world, realizing the example of the danger of Soviet Russia, have united to crush it. The Allies have quickly forgotten their hatred for Germany, and have invited the German capitalists to join them in the common cause.

And the workers of other countries are beginning to understand, in Italy, Germany, France and England the tide of Revolution is rising. In America, too, even the conservative members of the A. F. of L. are realizing that strikes for higher wages and better conditions don't mean anything, because the cost of living is always higher and higher. They have proposed all sorts of remedies, reforms, such as the Plumb Plan, nationalization of mines, etc. They have founded a so-called "Labor Party," which works for municipal and Government ownership of industry, more democratic electoral machinery, etc.

But these reforms would not solve the problem, even if they could be achieved. SO LONG AS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM EXISTS, THE SAME MEN WILL BE MAKING MONEY OUT OF THE LABOR OF OTHERS. ALL REFORMS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SOCIETY SIMPLY FOOL THE WORKER INTO BELIEVING THAT HE ISN'T BEING ROBBED AS MUCH AS HE WAS BEFORE.

The Social Revolution has begun, and the first battle is on in Russia. It will not wait for the Workers to experiment with reforms. The capitalists have already destroyed the Hungarian Soviet Republic. If they can dominate and break the Labor movement in the other countries, then will follow an industrial Slave State.

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, the class-conscious workers of the world must prepare to meet the shock of the capitalist assault, to attack and destroy capitalism, and root it out of the world.

The Capitalist State

The war and its aftermath have revealed with startling clearness the real function of the capitalist State—with its legislatures, courts of justice, police armies and bureaucrats.

The State is USED to defend and strengthen the power of the capitalists, and to oppress the workers. This is particularly true in the United States, whose constitution was framed by the great merchants, speculators and land-owners, with the deliberate purpose of protecting their class interests against the majority of the people.

AT THE PRESENT TIME THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS OPENLY ACTING AS THE WEAPON OF THE CAPITALISTS AGAINST THE WORKERS.

The I. W. W. should realize this more clearly than any other body of workers, for it has been savagely persecuted by the Government—its leaders imprisoned, its papers suppressed, its members deported, jailed on false charges, refused bail, tortured, its headquarters closed, and its propaganda illegal in many States.

Any worker can see this fact with his own eyes. All the people vote for Governors, Mayors, Judges and Sheriffs; but in time of strike the Governor calls in the militia to protect the scabs, the Mayor

orders the police to beat up and arrest the pickets, the Judge imprisons the workers for "rioting," "disturbing the peace," and the Sheriff hires thugs as deputies to break the strike.

Capitalist society all together presents a solid front against the worker. The priest tells the worker to be contented; the press curses him for a "Bolshevik"; the policeman arrests him; the court sentences him to jail; the Sheriff seizes his furniture for debt; and the Poor-House takes his wife and children.

In order to destroy Capitalism, the workers must first wrest the State power out of the hands of the capitalist class. They must not only SEIZE this power, but ABOLISH THE OLD CAPITALIST APPARATUS ENTIRELY.

For the experience of Revolutions has shown that the workers cannot take hold of the State machine and use it for their own purposes—such as the Yellow Socialist politicians propose to do. The capitalist State is built to serve capitalism, and that is all it can do, no matter who is running it.

And in place of the capitalist State the workers must build their own WORKERS' STATE, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Many members of the I. W. W. do not agree with this. They are against "the State in general." They propose to overthrow the capitalist State, and to establish in its place immediately the Industrial Commonwealth.

The Communists are also opposed to the "State." They also wish to abolish it—to substitute for the government of men, the administration of things.

But unfortunately this cannot be done immediately. The destruction of the capitalist State does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them; they are still supported by hordes of loyal bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry—and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class; they still have army officers who can betray the Revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil behavior, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and "yellow" Socialists and Labor fakers who prefer capitalist "democracy" to the Revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

To break down the capitalist State, to crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the WHOLE WORKING CLASS IN COMMON,—for all these tasks a government is necessary—a State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in which the workers, through their Soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand.

This is exactly what exists in Soviet Russia today. BUT THIS DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS ONLY TEMPORARY.

We, Communists, also want to abolish the State. The State can only exist as long as there is class struggle. The function of the Proletarian Dictatorship is to abolish the capitalist class as a class; in fact, do away with all class divisions of every kind. And when this condition is reached then the PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, THE STATE, AUTOMATICALLY DISAPPEARS—to make way for an industrial administrative body which will be something like the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

In a recent leaflet, Mary Marcy argues that, although the I. W. W. does not theoretically recognize the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it will be forced to do so IN FACT at the time of

the Revolution, in order to suppress the capitalist counter-revolution.

This is true, but unless the I. W. W. acknowledges beforehand the necessity of the **Workers' State**, and prepares for it, there will be confusion and weakness at a time when firmness and swift action are imperative.

The Workers' State

What will be the form of the Workers' State?

We have before us the example of the Russian Soviet Republic, whose structure, in view of the conflicting reports printed in other countries, it may be useful to describe briefly here.

The unit of government is the local Soviet, or Council, of Workers', Red Army, and Peasants' Deputies.

The city Workers' Soviet is made up as follows: each factory elects one delegate for a certain number of workers, and each local Union also elects delegates. These delegates are elected according to political parties—or, if the workers wish it, as individual candidates.

The Red Army delegates are chosen by military units.

For the peasants, each village has its local Soviet, which sends delegates to the Township Soviet, which in turn elects to the County Soviet, and this to the Provincial Soviet.

Nobody who employs labor for profit can vote.

Every six months the City and Provincial Soviets elect delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which is the supreme governing body of the country. This Congress decides upon the policies which are to govern the country for six months, and then elects a Central Executive Committee of two hundred, which is to carry out these policies. The Congress also elects the Cabinet—The Council of People's Commissars, who are heads of Government Departments—or People's Commissariats.

The People's Commissars can be recalled at any time by the Central Executive Committee. The members of all Soviets can be recalled very easily, and at any time, by their constituents.

These Soviets are not only LEGISLATIVE bodies, but also EXECUTIVE organs. Unlike your Congress, they do not make the laws and leave them to the President to carry out, but the members carry out the laws themselves; and there is no Supreme Court to say whether or not these laws are "constitutional."

Between the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets the Central Executive Committee is the SUPREME POWER in Russia. It meets at least every two months, and in the meanwhile, the Council of People's Commissars directs the country, while the members of the Central Executive Committee go to work in the various government departments.

The Organization of Production and Distribution
In Russia the workers are organized in Industrial Unions, all the workers in each industry belonging to one Union. For example, in a factory making metal products, even the carpenters and painters are members of the Metal Workers' Union. Each factory is a local Union, and the Shop Committee elected by the workers is its Executive Committee.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the federated Unions is elected by the annual Trade Union Convention. A Scale Committee elected by the Convention fixes the wages of all categories of workers.

With very few exceptions, all important factories in Russia have been nationalized, and are now the property of all the workers in common. The business of the Unions is therefore no longer to fight the capitalists, but to RUN INDUSTRY.

Hand in hand with the Unions works the Department of Labor of the Soviet Government, whose

chief is the People's Commissar of Labor, elected by the Soviet Congress with the approval of the Unions.

In charge of the economic life of the country is the elected Supreme Council of People's Economy, divided into departments, such as, Metal Department, Chemical Department, etc., each one headed by experts and workers, appointed, with the approval of the Union by the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

In each factory production is carried on by a committee consisting of three members: a representative of the Shop Committee of the Unions, a representative of the Central Executive of the Unions, and a representative of the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

Democratic Centralization

The Unions are thus a **branch of the government**—and this government is the **MOST HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT THAT EXISTS**.

It is also the most democratic government in history. For all the organs of government are in constant touch with the working masses, and constantly sensitive to their will. Moreover, the local Soviets all over Russia have complete autonomy to manage their own local affairs, provided they carry out the national policies laid down by the Soviet Congress. Also, the Soviet Government represents **ONLY THE WORKERS**, and cannot help but act in the workers' interests.

Many members of the I. W. W. are opposed to centralization, because they do not think it can be democratic. But where there are great masses of people, it is impossible to register the will of individuals; only the will of majorities can be registered, and in Soviet Russia the government is administered only for the common good of the working class.

The private property of the capitalist class, in order to become the SOCIAL property of the workers, cannot be turned over to individuals or groups of individuals. It must become the property of all in common, and a centralized authority is necessary to accomplish this change.

The industries, too, which supply the needs of all the people, are not the concern only of the workers in each industry, but of ALL IN COMMON, and must be administered for the benefit of all. Moreover, modern industry is so complicated and interdependent, that in order to operate most economically and with the greatest production, it must be subject to one general scheme, and one central management.

The Revolution must be defended against the formidable assaults of the combined forces of capitalism. Vast armies must be raised, drilled, equipped and directed. This means centralization. Soviet Russia has for two years almost alone fought off the massed attacks of the capitalist world. How could the Red Army, more than two million strong, have been formed without central directing authority?

The capitalist class has a strongly centralized organization, which permits its full strength to be hurried against the scattered and divided sections of the working class. The class war is war. To overthrow capitalism, the workers must be a military force, with its General Staff—but this General Staff elected and controlled by the workers.

In time of strike every worker knows that there must be a Strike Committee—a centralized organ to conduct the strike, whose orders must be obeyed—although this Committee is elected and controlled by the rank and file. **SOVIET RUSSIA IS ON STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE-CAPITALIST WORLD. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE**

CAPITALIST SYSTEM. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Probably the coming proletarian revolutions in America and other countries will develop new forms of organization. The Bolsheviks do not pretend that they have said the final word in the Social Revolution. But the experience of two years of Workers government in Russia is naturally of the greatest importance, and should be closely studied by the workers of other countries.

Politics

The word "politics" is to many members of the I. W. W. like a red flag to a bull—or a capitalist. Politics, to them, means simply politicians—usually "yellow" Socialist candidates trying to catch votes to elect them to some comfortable office, where they can comfortably forget all about the workers.

These "anti-political" fellow-workers oppose the Communist because they call themselves a "political party," and sometimes take part in political campaigns.

This is using the word "politics" in too narrow a sense. One of the principles upon which the I. W. W. was founded is expressed in the saying of Karl Marx, "EVERY CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE." That is to say, every struggle of the workers against the capitalists, is a struggle of the workers for the POLITICAL power—the State power.

This is using the word "politics" in too narrow a use the word "politics."

The "yellow" Socialists believe that they can gradually gain this political power by using the political machinery of the capitalist State to win reforms, and when they have elected a majority of the members of Congress and the Legislatures, and the President, Governors, Mayors and Sheriffs, they can proceed to use the State power to legislate capitalism peacefully out, and the Industrial Commonwealth in.

This leads the "yellow" Socialists to preach all sorts of reforms of the capitalist system, draws to their ranks small capitalists and political adventurers of all kinds, and finally causes them to make deals and compromises with the capitalist class.

The I. W. W. do not believe in this, and **NEITHER DO THE COMMUNISTS.**

We, Communists, do not think that it is possible to capture the State power by using political machinery of the capitalist State. The State being the particular weapon of the capitalist class, its machinery is naturally constructed so as to defend and strengthen the power of capitalism. Capitalist control of all agencies molding public opinion—press, schools, churches, and Labor fakery, capitalist control of the workers' political conduct through control of their means of living, make it extremely improbable that the workers under the present capitalist "democracy" could ever legally elect a government devoted to their interests.

And at this time when the capitalist class the world over is launching a desperate campaign of repression against all conscious working class organizations, it is unthinkable.

But even if it were possible for the workers to win the State power by means of the political machinery, the capitalist State could never be used to introduce the Industrial Commonwealth. The real source of capitalist power lies in CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. The capitalist State exists for the purpose of protecting and extending this ownership and control—it cannot therefore be used to destroy it.

So far the Communists and the I. W. W. are in accord. The capitalist State must be attacked by

DIRECT ACTION. This, in the correct meaning of the word, is also POLITICAL action, for it has a POLITICAL aim—the seizure of State power.

The I. W. W. proposes to attain this end by the General Strike. The Communists go farther. History indicates clearly that the General Strike is not enough. The capitalists have arms—and the experience with White Guards in Russia, Finland and Germany proves that they have sufficient organization and training to use these arms against the workers. Moreover, the capitalists possess stores of food, which enable them to hold out longer than the workers, always on the verge of actual war.

The Communists also advocate the General Strike, but they add that it must turn into **ARMED INSURRECTION.** Both the General Strike and the insurrection are forms of POLITICAL ACTION.

Revolutionary Parliamentarism

If this is so, if the Communists do not believe in capturing the State power by means of the ballot-box, why do the Communist Parties participate in elections, and nominate candidates for office?

The question of whether or not Communists should participate in elections is of secondary importance. Some Communist organizations do others do not. But those who DO act on the political field, do so only for PROPAGANDA. Political campaigns give an opportunity for revolutionists to speak to the working class, pointing out the class character of the State and THEIR class interests as workers. They enable them to show the futility of reforms, to demonstrate the real interests which dominate the capitalist—and "yellow" Socialist—political parties, and to point out why the entire capitalist system must be overthrown.

Communists elected to Congress or the Legislatures have as their function to make propaganda; to ceaselessly expose the real nature of the capitalist State, to obstruct the operations of capitalist government and show their class character, to explain the futility of all capitalist reform measures, etc. In the halls of the legislative assembly, against the sounding-board of the Nation, the Communist can show up capitalist brutality and call the workers to revolt.

Karl Liebknecht showed what a Communist in the Parliament can do. His words, spoken in the German Reichstag, were heard around the world.

Others in Russia, in Sweden (Hoglund) and in other countries, have done the same thing.

The most common objection to electing candidates to capitalist legislatures, is that, no matter how good revolutionists they are, they will invariably be corrupted by their environment, and will betray the workers.

This belief is born of long experience, chiefly with Socialist politicians and Labor Fakery. But we, Communists, say that a **REALLY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WILL ELECT REAL REVOLUTIONISTS, AND WILL KNOW HOW TO KEEP THEM UNDER ITS CONTROL.**

Many members of the I. W. W. are bitterly opposed to making ANY use of legislatures and other Government institutions for purposes of propaganda. But the I. W. W. as an organization has often used them. In the Lawrence Strike of 1912 the I. W. W. made good use of VICTOR BERGER, THE SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN, who advertised the strikes and the I. W. W. on the floor of the House of Representatives. William D. Haywood, Vincent St. John, and many other I. W. W. leaders voluntarily testified before the Industrial Relations Commission of the United States Government, using this method to make propaganda for their organization. But the most striking example of using the political machinery of the State for purposes of propaganda occurred in 1918, when the

Federal Court in Chicago was turned into a three-months-long I. W. W. agitation meeting—extremely valuable for us—by one hundred I. W. W. leaders on trial there.

These are all cases of using the political machinery of the capitalist State to make revolutionary propaganda among the masses. This method of propaganda should be used as circumstances dictate—as should parliamentary action. NO weapon should be totally condemned.

The special and particular business of the I. W. W. is to train the workers for the seizure and management of industry. The special function of the Communist political party is to train the workers for the capture of political power, and the administration of the Proletarian Dictatorship. All workers should at the same time be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry, and of the political party which advocates Communism.

The Social Revolution and the Future Society

The aim of the I. W. W. is "to build the new society within the shell of the old." This means, to organize the workers so thoroughly that at a given time the capitalist system will be burst asunder, and the Industrial Commonwealth, fully developed, shall take its place.

Such an act requires the organization, and discipline, of the great majority of the workers. Before the war there was reason to believe that this might be feasible—although in the fourteen years of its history the I. W. W. had been able to organize comparatively only a small fraction of the American workers.

But at the present time such a plan is utopian. Capitalism is breaking down, the Social Revolution is upon us and HISTORY WILL NOT WAIT UNTIL THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS ARE ORGANIZED 100% ACCORDING TO THE PLAN OF THE I. W. W. OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION. There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The War has hurled

the peoples of the world into the great Cataclysm, and they must plan for IMMEDIATE ACTION—not for the working out of schemes which would take years to accomplish.

The new society is not to be built, as we thought, within the shell of the capitalist system. We cannot wait for that. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS HERE. And when the workers have overthrown capitalism and have crushed all attempts to re-establish it, then, at their leisure, through their Soviet State, they can build the new society in freedom.

In the face of the Social Revolution, what is the immediate important work of the Industrial Workers of the World?

They, as the most important organization based on revolutionary Unionism in America, should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for the uniting in one organization of all Unions which have a class-conscious revolutionary character, of all workers who accept the class struggle—such as the W. I. I. U., the One Big Union, and certain insurgent Unions in the A. F. of L. This is no time to quibble about a name or minor questions of organization. The essential task is to draw together all workers capable of revolutionary mass action in time of crisis.

They, as revolutionists, should not repel the attempts of the American Communists to come to an agreement with them for common revolutionary action. The political party and the economic organization must go forward shoulder to shoulder toward the common goal—the abolition of capitalism by means of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the formation of Soviets, and the disappearance of classes and the State.

The Communist International holds out to the I. W. W. the hand of brotherhood.

January, 1920.

President of the Central Executive Committee
G. ZINOVIEV.



RECEPTION TO THE ENGLISH LABOR DELEGATION IN MOSCOW, 1920

The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism

BY G. ZINOVIEV.

(President of the Third International)

THE PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

To arrive at a clear understanding of the proper relationship of the Communist Party and the workers' industrial organizations, one must first examine the purpose and structure of industrial organization.

According to Webb, the aim "is to maintain and increase the standard of wages." Brentano and Sombart say that the object is "to subsidize the members in time of strike, and to safeguard their interests by increasing their wages."

The Bolshevik* Party has never given its adhesion to these phrases. It has never approved the formula generally accepted by the Second International. This was defined by a well-known Austrian militant industrialist, Adolf Braun, as the organization of the workers "in permanent craft or Trade Unions of wage earners, with the object of securing ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of the capitalist system, and to fight within those limits to prevent conditions growing worse."

In its controversy with the Mensheviks in 1913, the Bolshevik* Party laid down that the workers should be organized in a Union covering the entire industry, not merely a sectional craft trade within the industry.

The Communist Party declared that the Industrial Unions should conduct the economic fight of the workers, and should constantly collaborate with the workers' political party in the working class struggle for emancipation, the abolition of wage slavery, and the victory of Socialism.

For this reason the Bolshevik Party has never considered the Industrial Union as an organization aspiring only to secure some reforms and ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of capitalist society. On the contrary, the Bolshevik Party, in complete accord with the doctrine of Marx, has always seen that the Industrial Union is one of the most important organizations of the working class; one that has been created for the fight for Socialism in intimate collaboration with the political party, and one that, in consequence, is favorable to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since 1913 important changes have come about in Russia. The power has passed into the hands of the working class. The bourgeoisie as been expropriated; the workers are no longer obliged to sell their labor power to the divers exploiting employers.

If we consider that fact, it immediately becomes clear to us that the functions of the Industrial Unions in Russia are subject to important modifications.

A STATEMENT BY THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS.

The resolution adopted at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in 1918 is as follows:—

"The October Revolution, which transferred the power from the bourgeoisie to the workers and poor peasants, has created entirely new conditions for all the workers' organizations, and especially for the Industrial Unions.

"Under the changed conditions, the industrial organization can no longer be regarded as the advance guard of the fight put up by the worker in selling himself to the employer. The employer who used to buy labor power of old, exists no more. It is no longer necessary for the Unions to collect strike funds or to organize strikes.

*Now the Communist Party of Russia.

THE PRESENT FUNCTIONS OF RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS.

What are the real functions of the industrial organizations in Russia today?

The same resolution of the First All-Russian Congress of Industrial Unions says on this point:—

"The Unions must now transfer their center of gravity to economic reconstruction."

To explain what an industrial organization really is under the conditions now obtaining in Russia, one is first obliged to make clear that:—

"An Industrial Union in Russia today is a permanent union of all the workers in a given industry; it represents one of the principal bases of the organization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"The Industrial Union today (under the guidance of the Communist Party) transfers its center of gravity to the domain of economic organization, by making its aim an energetic participation in all the efforts of the workers for a Communist reconstruction of society and for the abolition of social classes. This participation takes the following forms:—

"(1) General co-operation in the organization of production on a Communist basis.

"(2) The re-establishment of the productive power of the country, which was destroyed by the war and the internal crisis.

"(3) The calculation and redistribution of labor for the entire country.

"(4) The organization of the exchange between town and country.

"(5) The introduction of the obligation to work.

"(6) Helping the State Departments to provide food.

"(7) Helping to solve the fuel crisis and other difficulties.

"(8) Giving general aid to the formation of the Red army.

"(9) Defending the economic interests of the workers, and at the same time fighting against the individualist tendencies, and the short-sighted views of that section of the workers which, because of its ignorance, still retains the habit of regarding the Proletarian state of today as though it were the old employer.

"Because the industrial organizations of today are the Communist schools of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, they have become, little by little, an integral part of the general mechanism of the state. They are one of the organs of the state of working people who submit to the rule of the Soviets because the Soviets are the vehicle indicated by history for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIETS.

The Industrial Unions work in conjunction with the Communist Party and the Soviets. The activities of these three institutions are closely linked. To make clear the relations of these bodies, it must be remembered that the Soviets actually include larger masses than the Industrial Unions themselves; also that the Soviets have taken over part of the functions of the Industrial Unions.

The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party has given the following definition of the party and of the Soviets:—

"The Soviets are the state organizations of the workers and poor peasants which effectuate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat during the period when the state in all its forms is gradually being extinguished. The Soviets unite within their ranks ten million workers, and, little by little, must strive to

(Continued on Page 34)

Report of Ballot Committee on Referendum for Officers, Amendment

Votes By Ind. Unions	8	46	300	450	500	Sc't'd	M. O.	600	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1500	G.R.	Sc't'd	Total
				400		573	573		800								
General Sec.-Treas.																	
George Hardy	4	1	165	127	85	48	77	27	98	14	10	3	1	13	39	14	661
John Grady	10	1	15	44	71	21	32	7	25	3	1	1	8	0	7	9	250
A. S. Embree	16	1	27	15	27	13	42	3	44	5	2	2	0	0	8	8	213
Editor Solidarity																	
Hugh R. Richards.....	16	3	143	150	164	72	138	38	150	19	11	4	4	10	45	28	990
Editor O. B. U. Mag.																	
John Sandgren	16	1	90	127	130	58	100	21	115	19	8	3	1	11	30	20	745
Billy Walden	4	2	18	20	25	14	23	7	30	2	1	2	3	2	7	8	162
L. S. Chumley	5	0	32	32	27	13	27	9	19	1	4	1	0	0	11	9	187
G. E. B. No. 8 M.T.W.																	
P. F. Mashlykin.....	28	4	130	180	154	70	120	32	185	17	9	4	4	10	85	26	917
G.E.B.,A.W.I.U.,400																	
Albert Barr.....	6	1	42	59	36	25	30	4	68	3	4	2	2	6	21	3	312
Joe Fisher.....	14	1	82	57	85	82	78	19	61	10	5	1	2	6	28	19	459
E. W. Latchem	4	2	18	70	44	21	31	10	17	6	2	2	0	0	15	2	241

AMENDMENTS AND

Industrial Union No.	8		46		300		400-450		500		573		573		Scat'd.	573	Scat'd.	Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No				
Amendment No. 1	25	5	5	0	114	0	167	12	149	7	76	6	136	15				
Amendment 2 Page 10	19	10	3	3	92	15	117	47	121	24	47	28	97	84				
Amendment 2 Page 11	27	2	5	0	92	7	170	7	155	5	79	2	144	4				
Amendment 3	29	2	5	1	99	8	147	26	140	17	71	9	128	17				
Amendment 4	29	2	5	0	116	3	158	24	150	6	74	6	144	8				
Amendment 5	22	9	4	2	104	8	118	66	130	82	52	50	116	84				
Amendment 6	18	18	5	1	90	15	138	22	115	47	54	27	106	21				
Amendment 7	23	9	5	1	97	12	110	67	134	29	48	82	104	42				
Amendment 8	20	9	5	0	94	9	112	59	124	37	55	21	98	25				
Amendment 9	27	3	5	0	105	6	147	86	157	13	65	16	120	20				
Amendment 10	24	7	1	5	87	26	158	17	145	26	66	14	129	17				
Amendment 11	27	2	1	3	98	5	150	15	135	8	73	4	121	12				
Amendment 12	19	7	0	3	80	17	115	40	111	38	50	22	87	28				
Amendment 14	25	5	1	4	109	2	153	12	135	22	71	7	118	19				
Amendment 18	27	4	0	4	135	3	155	17	140	14	69	12	125	15				
Resolution Pert. to 13-14	28	2	8	1	101	3	152	20	149	8	69	7	129	19				
Amendment 15	29	1	3	3	105	2	162	8	155	3	78	3	130	19				
Amendment 16	24	7	5	1	98	12	119	57	127	39	48	30	110	44				
Amendment 17	26	5	4	1	85	22	157	20	150	20	71	12	128	25				
Amendment 18	28	1	5	1	101	4	170	7	157	7	82	2	149	3				
Amendment 19	29	2	6	0	107	0	179	0	161	2	82	2	150	0				
Amendment 20	29	2	5	0	102	2	158	11	154	13	78	4	134	15				
Amendment 21	29	2	6	0	98	15	173	4	168	8	81	1	147	6				
Resolution No. 1	30	1	5	1	105	0	172	7	160	1	80	1	145	0				
Resolution No. 2	31	0	6	0	108	1	177	0	167	3	82	2	153	0				
Resolution No. 3, Paragraph 1	24	6	5	0	97	3	145	29	143	20	61	16	130	24				
Resolution No. 3, Paragraph 2	25	4	5	0	99	2	157	15	143	18	71	10	148	19				
Resolution No. 3, Paragraph 3	30	0	5	0	107	0	150	25	150	13	76	5	142	8				
Total votes cast					32		6		147		166		184		84		158	

George Hardy received 2 votes for Editor of Solidarity.
 Ralph Chaplin received 2 votes for Editor of Solidarity.
 Leo Lauki received 1 vote for Editor of Solidarity.
 George Hardy received 1 vote for G. E. B. Ind. Union No. 8.
 Wm. Cunningham received 1 vote for G.E.B. Ind. Union No. 8.

All candidates receiving the big
 Whitehead, General Secretary

Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Twelfth Annual Convention

Vote By Ind. Unions	8	46	300	450	500	Sct'd	M. O.	600	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1500	G.R	Sct'd	Total
				400		573	573		800								
G.E.B., C.W. I. U. 573																	
M. H. Patten	7	1	58	191	56	33	64	13	33	11	2	3	0	3	22	16	423
James Clark	16	1	63	46	75	18	42	16	62	3	5	1	3	9	12	9	381
Jesse Sigal	2	2	16	27	29	30	41	6	50	3	4	1	1	0	12	3	227
G.E.B.M.&M.W.I.U.300																	
Patrick McClellan	23	1	107	85	107	46	67	20	56	13	3	3	4	13	31	15	599
Otto Just	6	3	34	79	57	80	64	15	54	9	4	3	0	0	18	11	337
G.E.B.L.W.I.U.500																	
Roy Brown	21	1	46	71	76	30	67	11	52	9	5	5	4	1	29	14	442
F. J. Gorman	5	1	54	83	53	29	44	10	27	3	3	0	9	8	17	10	347
Arthur Tiala	1	2	35	27	47	17	23	11	74	6	4	1	0	3	1	5	266
G.E.B.M.M.W.I.U.800																	
Tom Bones	8	0	57	80	51	23	59	9	47	3	3	2	1	5	22	14	830
M. C. Sullivan	8	2	43	79	82	38	55	21	92	7	7	0	2	4	17	9	457
Tom Meany	3	2	27	45	30	14	24	1	19	1	0	1	1	1	5	3	177
G.E.B., Smaller I.U.'s																	
Adolph Lessig, 1900's	17	4	56	35	30	10	32	8	69	22	3	5	1	13	27	7	339
Martin Carlson, 600	9	0	76	94	98	43	84	26	93	1	7	1	3	0	21	15	576
James Pimental, 100	1	0	5	12	16	6	10	1	14	2	2	0	0	0	1	3	73

D RESOLUTIONS

No	600		600-900		1000		1100		1200		1300		1500		G. R. U.		Scattered		Totals	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
23	2	151	2	83	1	9	0	5	1	4	0	12	0	44	1	29	2	993	54	
28	7	128	18	22	10	7	2	5	0	4	0	9	2	37	7	23	4	759	211	
35	2	144	6	33	0	3	0	6	0	4	0	13	1	46	2	30	1	991	39	
31	4	145	8	30	4	9	0	5	0	4	0	13	0	45	2	28	0	924	97	
36	1	138	4	35	0	8	0	4	1	4	0	11	1	47	2	30	1	978	59	
28	9	138	10	34	1	9	0	5	1	4	0	10	2	39	12	27	4	840	220	
22	18	127	22	31	3	7	0	5	0	4	0	10	2	36	10	22	5	733	211	
27	10	122	31	21	12	7	2	4	2	4	0	11	1	35	16	27	4	779	270	
29	4	119	27	28	6	6	2	5	0	4	0	11	1	36	11	25	2	771	233	
30	5	143	7	30	8	8	1	1	4	4	0	13	0	42	9	29	2	926	125	
31	4	130	19	19	14	7	1	5	1	3	1	8	4	31	14	28	2	872	172	
29	1	136	7	32	2	8	0	3	1	3	1	10	0	45	0	28	1	919	63	
21	5	123	25	24	5	6	0	5	0	2	2	9	1	38	6	21	6	712	205	
29	1	139	7	13	19	8	0	5	0	4	0	11	0	45	3	26	4	890	105	
34	2	140	5	14	19	8	0	5	1	3	1	8	2	44	2	26	4	903	105	
25	6	134	7	16	16	8	0	5	0	4	0	9	1	44	2	27	1	397	84	
31	4	149	2	31	0	10	0	4	1	4	0	12	0	47	1	28	1	978	39	
23	12	123	25	29	8	7	2	3	3	3	1	11	3	40	9	26	6	791	257	
27	7	134	15	81	1	6	1	5	1	4	0	11	2	47	3	26	6	911	141	
33	2	149	4	81	1	9	0	5	1	4	0	13	0	48	0	27	3	1010	36	
33	2	148	2	81	1	10	0	6	0	4	0	13	0	50	0	29	1	1038	12	
34	1	138	14	32	0	10	0	5	1	4	0	13	0	49	0	23	3	833	66	
33	3	144	6	32	1	9	0	6	0	4	0	13	0	51	1	27	2	1021	44	
35	1	147	4	52	1	10	0	4	0	4	0	13	0	49	1	30	0	1022	22	
35	0	149	1	52	1	9	0	6	0	3	1	13	0	45	3	28	0	1045	12	
29	7	129	21	16	7	7	1	5	0	4	0	13	0	45	3	29	0	852	137	
33	2	134	14	16	5	7	0	6	0	4	0	13	0	46	2	27	1	921	83	
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include the entire class of workers and poor peasants.

"The Communist Party, on the other hand, is an organization which takes in only the advance guard of the workers and poor peasants; only that part of these two classes which fights consciously for the practical application of the Communist program. The aim of the Communist Party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers' organizations, the Industrial Unions, the Co-operatives, the rural Communes, and so on. The Communist Party strives especially to introduce its program into the actual organizations of state—the Soviets—and to obtain complete control there. No doubt can exist that in the future the various existing organizations of the workers will be finally united in one form. It is useless to speculate today as to which form will prove the most durable. Our present duty is to determine precisely between the Communist Party, the Industrial Unions, and the Soviets.

THE THEORY OF THE EQUALITY OF RIGHTS.

Even amongst the more hopeful section of the old International, the opinion was very prevalent that the Communist Party on the one hand, and the Industrial Unions on the other hand, were organizations of equal value—having the same rights—organizations which collaborate on important questions of all kinds, like two contracting parties. The Socialist Party should control the political side, while the Industrial Unions controlled the economic side. Thus, for example, the German Social-Democrats passed a resolution, supported even by August Bebel, stating that if it should ever be necessary to employ the weapon of the general strike, this question could only be decided by a conference between the executive of the party and the general committee of the Trade Unions.

From the Communist viewpoint this opinion cannot be recognized. The equality of rights theory has always been disputed by the revolutionary Marxians.

From the revolutionary Marxian viewpoint, the Communist Party is the ultimate reunion of all phases of the struggle of the working class for freedom from the capitalist yoke. The Communist Party makes use of a whole arsenal of arms to win this fight. The political struggle is indissolubly bound up with the economic struggle. The Communist Party shows the way for the economic as well as the political struggle. The Communist Party is the advance guard of the proletariat. By the torch of Communism it lights up all the turnings of the road leading to the emancipation of the workers. On this account, the work which the Communists are doing in the Industrial Unions is but a fraction of the work which the Communist Party, as such, are doing.

During a period of dictatorship like that we in Russia are now passing through, one can still less think of any compromise with the equality of rights theory. The least deviation in this direction must be strenuously fought, in theory as well as in practice.

THE "NON-PARTY" TRADE UNIONS.

The present Industrial Unions are not necessarily under the Communist Party. All workers, both men and women, are received into them irrespective of their party or creed. A worker who does not belong to the Party has the full right to join our Industrial Unions. But on that account, Communists who work in the Industrial Unions should not fail to pay attention to the conservative character of the members who do not belong to the Party. The Communists, and the Communist group, in the Industrial Unions must preach Communism openly. The leaders of the Industrial Unions must constantly draw

the attention of the workers to this fact that the enemies of Communism, not belonging to the Party, are trying to deceive them. They should explain to the workers why the Industrial Unionists, while they are not formally members of our Party, always help the Communist Party, recognizing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and defending the Power of the Soviets and the World Revolution.

THE MODERN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The modern Industrial Unions are doing an enormous work, and they greatly facilitate the struggle for Socialism made by the Communist Party and the Soviets. But, at the same time, there is, during our transition, a dark side to the activity of the Industrial Unions. For example, some branches of the Dock Laborers' Union on the Volga support the wage demands of their short-sighted individual members (without even having helped the Soviets in their fight against the incredible thefts which have been committed by the dockyard workers); they prove they are very much behind the times, and that they are incapable of rising above the narrow interests of their group. When certain associations of clerks and other similar commercial associations introduce people into the Soviet institutions, who are not fit to do the work which is entrusted to them, and when these associations take up the demands of their members, forgetting that they no longer have to deal with employers, but with the Proletarian State, they also prove their Trade Unions' narrowness. The fight against the negative parties of the working class movement is one of the chief duties of the Communists in the Industrial Unions.

..... CONCESSIONS TO INDUSTRIALISM.

At a time when the best elements in French Syndicalism are abandoning their former errors, and moving towards Communism in laying down the principle: "All power to the Workers' Councils," there are working class groups and circles in Russia which are trying to revive the worst features of syndicalism. The famous Left Wing Social Revolutionary Party recently adopted a resolution demanding the transfer of the whole administration of industry and transport to the Central Committee of the Industrial Unions. It further proposed that common action should be taken by that committee and the industrial organizations of the whole world for the entire management of the Social Revolution and the world control of industry and transport by a combine of Industrial Unions. (This is practically the position taken by the I. W. W.—Ed.) The Communists who work in the Industrial Unions should strongly oppose syndicalist tendencies of this kind.

SO-CALLED "INDUSTRIALISM."

It is equally necessary to turn against the tendencies known by the name of "industrialism," which are defended by some members of the Russian working class movement who are members of the executive committee of the All-Russian Metal-lurgical Union.

The industrialists want to erect our entire edifice on the skilled workers, and to put aside the whole mass of unskilled workers. Doubtless the war and the revolution have led to many fundamental changes in the social structure of the proletariat itself. There is no possible doubt about it. The factory worker of today is certainly the most developed of the proletariat. But in no case can it be the task of the Communists, men of the working class, only to elect skilled workers, who form a minority of the working class. The Communist ideas have nothing in common with the propagation of the working class aristocracy. On the contrary, the task of the Communists, of the people in the work-

ing class movement, consists in helping the most advanced sections of the industrial workers to organize little by little, the whole mass of the proletariat, including the unskilled workers, and to include them in the constructive work of the state. The policy of industrialism, which at first sight appears to be radical, is, in practice, only the opportunist policy of the leaders of the working class aristocracy. When all is said and done, this policy will be the same as that of the social traitors.

STATE TRADE UNIONS.

The All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in ccess which is taking place in the Trade Unions will January, 1918, declared its conviction that the prolead to t heir transformation into departments of the Socialist state, and, at the same time, Trade Union membership will be a state obligation for all the workers who belong to the same branch of industry." (Par. 9 of the resolution.)

This conviction of the All-Russian Congress is based on facts. The Industrial Unions are gradually assuming the attributes of state departments. They really work as a veritable department of the state when they mobilize all their members, when they concentrate workers in a given town, when they transfer the workers from one part of Russia to another, when they give their vote on a question of wages, when they exercise, by means of their representatives, a decisive influence on the activity of the Supreme National Economic Council.

And just because this transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments takes place gradually, and quite normally, there is no present necessity of forcing this process, there is no need to proclaim from one minute to another the transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments. The Communists who work in the Industrial Unions have every reason for adhering to the resolution of the First and Second All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in this matter.

GROUPS, TRADE UNIONS AND LOCAL BRANCHES OF THE PARTY.

In every Industrial Union there should be a Communist section, strongly organized and disciplined in order that each section may propagate the same economic policy as that of the Central Communist group, which is in the All-Russian Trade Unions' Council. No concession to what is called "Localism" should be made. Wages, hours of labor, food questions and so on should all be considered from the all-Russian point of view. Each Communist

group within an Industrial Union is merely a kernel of the local branch of the Communist Party. The local committee of the Party completely dominates the Industrial Union branch of the town, while the Central Committee of the party controls, by its dominating influence, the All-Russian Committee of the Industrial Unions.

The Communist Party is the force to be counted on in mobilizing the workers for industry and for the Red army. The Committee of the party comes to an understanding with the Communist groups in the Industrial Unions. The Communist Party directs all the constructive side of the Trade Union activity, but it takes care that this direction shall never be of a domineering character.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL WORKER.

One of the most important tasks of the working class movement at present in Russia is the organization of the rural workers. It is necessary to help the already existing organizations of the workers by all possible means. The Communists working in the working class movement should consider it an honor to organize the rural workers. This task requires a good deal of energy and power.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

In consequence of certain peculiarities in the evolution of the working class movement in Western Europe, a false conception exists about the Trade Unions among the German Communists and the Communists of other countries. Our party believes that we cannot do without the Trade Unions. During the proletarian revolution, the Trade Unions will split up in the same way as the old Social-Democratic parties have done. The experiences of the German working class movement showed us that already the Berlin Trade Unions are freeing themselves from the pernicious influence of the social-democracy of Scheidemann.

The Russian Trade Union movement should take the initiative in creating a Red Trade Union International, in the same way as the political party has done in the political field. At the Congress of the Red International, not only should the organizations of the party be represented, but also the organizations of the Workers' Councils, the Co-operative societies, and the Communist Trade Unions which approve of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviets. Meantime it is necessary to create an International Union to take their stand in the Communist International.



HIS SLUMBER DISTURBED

All Russian Union of Workers in the Food Manufacturing Industry

PUBLISHED BY THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS. MOSCOW, 1920.

(Editor's note: — The following official account of the activities of the union of the food-stuff workers in Russia has just reached here. It covers the time immediately before and during the revolution and describes how this union under the soviet regime is gradually growing into the food manufacturing organ of 'the Russian people. The story should be an inspiration and a lesson to the same workers in this country to hurriedly change from craft unionism to the industrial form, in order that these workers may be able to feed the people when the big crash comes and for ever thereafter. The fate of all of us rests largely in the hands of the food stuff workers.)

Strikes broke out among the bakers and confectioners even prior to 1900. These strikes were very often accompanied by terrorism directed against scabs and employers. After 1900 the bakers and confectioners began to organize themselves in illegal unions.

In 1904 the first bakers' strike broke out in Petrograd. The strike was badly organized, was accompanied by sabotage which expressed itself in the destruction of ovens, the spoiling of dough and flour, the breaking of the windows of the bakeries and shops and even the killing of their owners.

The revolution of 1905 gave a strong impetus to the development of the labour movement among the workers of the food manufacturing industry. A great strike movement commenced and, simultaneously with this, unions of workers in this branch of industry sprang up all over Russia. All these unions were of a craft character: bakers, confectioners, sausage-makers, tea-weighers, millers and so on, all formed their own separate unions. The strongest of these was the bakers' union.

The strike movement led by the unions now assumed an organized character. It should be observed that the Petrograd strike in June 1906 was the best organized strike in the history of the trade union movement in Russia. All the bakers and confectioners of the whole Government of Petrograd (Petrograd Tsarskoe Selo, Pavlovsk, Schlüsselburg, Luga, Kronstadt, Gatchina, etc.), to the number of 30,000 workers, went on strike. The strike was brilliantly won after a two weeks' struggle. The general bakers' strike in the Petrograd province which broke out in 1907 ended however, in the complete defeat of the union by the Government and in the arrest of two hundred of the most active workers.

In other towns in Russia the labour movement among food workers developed chiefly among bakers and confectioners. Unions of workers in other branches of industry existed only in a very few places: thus a union of millers existed in Ekaterin-slav and Nijni-Novgorod and unions of tea weighers existed in Moscow, Odessa and Tcheliabinsk. Attempts were made to organize unions (unregistered) of fishermen in Astrakhan and of workers in the butter industry in Kazan and other places.

In 1906 the first attempts were made at creating national unions in separate branches of the food industry. In that year an All-Russian Conference of Tea Weighers was convened at which representatives from Moscow, Odessa, Tcheliabinsk and

Ekaterinburg were present. This Conference passed a number of resolutions amongst which special attention must be drawn to the resolution on the 8-hour day, on the establishment of a central strike committee, on the abolition of searchings and fines, on the standard of tea weighing, etc.

In 1907 the Petrograd Bakers' Union received an invitation to the International Congress of Bakers in Stuttgart but the delegate who was elected did not succeed in crossing the frontier.

During 1906 and 1907 the Bakers' Union in Petrograd issued a journal "The Voice of the Baker and Confectioner" and the Union of Confectioners and Chocolate Makers issued the "Confectioner." In Moscow a journal entitled "The Baker" was published.

Nothing can be said of the growth and development of the movement between 1908 and 1912 because this was the period in which the trade union movement among the food manufacturing workers was completely dissolved. Alongside with the wholesale closing down of unions in the food industry as well as in other industries proceeded the annulment of all the economic gains so that by 1912 only the memory remained of the gains previously secured after long and difficult struggle. Towards 1912 illegal bakers' unions existed only in nineteen towns and only in Moscow was there a union of the confectioners besides that of the bakers.

In 1912 a revival began in the bakers' and confectioners' unions particularly in Petrograd where during that year they published a trade union journal (15 numbers).

During 1913 and 1914 the idea arose of convening a national Congress of Bakers and Confectioners but it was fated not to be realized, as the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914 led to the wholesale closing down of unions and the arrest of hundreds of the best workers.

During the war the trade unions of bakers and other food producing industries were everywhere broken up. Only in the revolutionary centers like Petrograd and Moscow, did bakers' confectioners' and tea-weighers' unions exist. In Petrograd the union existed illegally. These unions maintained a definite anti-militarist position and their leaders belonged to the left wing of the labour movement.

The February Revolution opened wide the door to the trade union movement and aroused the workers of the food manufacturing industry to exert their organizing power. In every town separate bakers' and confectioners', sausage-makers, millers, confectioners and other unions were formed.

From the first days of the February revolution arose the idea in the Bakers' Trade Union movement of uniting all workers employed in the food manufacturing industry into one union. The call from craft unions to one big union became very prominent. In many towns such as Samara, Irkutsk, Krasnojarsk, Petrograd, Rostov-on-Don, this amalgamation took place from the first day of the Revolution.

On the Volga and the Upper-Volga a Union of Millers arose which rallied round itself all the millers from Jaroslav, Kostroma, Ribynsk and Kineshma.

In the South of Russia the food producers' and workers' unions during this period presented a kaleidoscopic picture of craft unions.

From the very first months of the revolution the food workers' unions were confronted with the con-

crete question as to what their immediate aim should be, government by bourgeois coalition or labour dictatorship. They did not hesitate for a moment and everywhere in overwhelming majorities they expressed their active support to labour dictatorship. Compromising tendencies among the food workers were extremely weak.

In June 1917 three unions in Petrograd—Bakers-Millers, Sausage-Makers and Confectioners—amalgamated into one union. Immediately after this amalgamation, the question arose as to the necessity of an All-Russian Union of Food Workers headed by a single All-Russian center. For this purpose a special provisional bureau was selected from among the Petrograd unions upon whom the task was imposed of convening an All-Russian conference of food workers' unions which sent out a number of members of the bureau for the purpose of organizing the conference.

In Ekaterinoslav on November 2nd, 1917, a conference of outlying Unions of Food Workers was called at which representatives of 25 South Russian towns representing 20,268 organized workers were present.

The Conference unanimously decided to unite into a single All Russian Union of Food Workers. It also by an overwhelming majority passed a resolution severely condemning the Provisional Government and expressed itself for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of fighting for and supporting the new Labour Government which arose as the result of the October Revolution. Later, a conference was called in South-East Russia, in Rostoff-on-the-Don on November 1st. This Conference also resolved to unite into a national union and passed resolutions supporting the Soviet Government.

The First All-Russian Conference of Food Manufacturing Unions took place in November, 1917. This Conference expressed itself in favour of uniting all workers in the food manufacturing industry into one national union. At this Conference there were present representatives of 43 unions from 39 towns, chiefly from South Russia, representing a membership of 95,951. The unions present represented the following sections of the eight united food workers' unions, with a membership of 39,207; 27 bakers' and confectioners' unions, with a membership of 32,544; 4 millers' unions with a membership of 25,000; 2 brewers' and oil refiners' unions, membership 1,350; 1 cooks' union, 15,000 members; 1 bakers' shop assistants' union with 3,500 members; 1 union of meat preservers and sausage-makers with 450 members. Many unions, owing to political events were unable to send their representatives. Generally, the unions joining the amalgamation had a membership of nearly 120,000.

The Conference greeted the Soviet Government and passed a resolution for the municipalization of all food producing businesses. An All-Russian center—the Provisional All-Russian Council of Food Workers—was elected.

The occupation of the Ukraina by Germany dealt a severe blow to the organization of the unions. As we have seen, most of the representatives at this Conference came from South Russia. With the occupation of Ukraina by Germany, connections with these unions were broken and the majority of the members of the unions remained in the Ukraine. Thus, the All-Russian Union of Food Workers was mutilated at the very beginning of its existence.

In Central Russia there were hardly any food workers' Unions and generally hardly any food manufacturing industry. Those places in which they did exist were occupied by the counter-revolutionaries. The active members of the union were dispersed among different government departments

for reorganizing the economic life of the country and were also sent to the front.

The Provisional Council took an active part in the organization of the food making industry. On its initiative an independent Department for the Manufacture of Food Products was opened up in connection with the Chemical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy. A member of the Provisional Council was at the head of this Department and the Collegiate board was also composed of members of that Department.

At the same time measures were taken to organize unions in the provinces and to amalgamate separate millers', bakers', confectioners', and other unions into one union.

In September 1918 the Provisional Council called the first All-Russian Congress of Millers which decided that all millers should join the All-Russian Federation of Food Workers. The Conference welcomed the nationalization of the milling industry and resolved to create a chief administration of the flour and grain industry to manage it. The Conference also elected its representatives to the Provisional Council. The entire proceedings of the Conference were marked by its unanimous support of the Soviet Government.

During the period of its work the Food Manufacturing Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy, with the participation of the Provisional Council, established an administration of the nationalized undertakings of various branches of the food industry (milling, confectionery and chocolate, fish and meat preserving industry, tea, The Provisional Council after the addition to it coffee and chicory industry, dairy produce and fish). of new representatives energetically set to work to prepare for the National Congress which took place on January 15th 1919. At the Conference were present representatives from 50 unions representing 100,000 workers.

In the resolution passed by the Congress it is stated that the destiny of the workers organized in the Food Producers' Union is closely connected with that of the Soviet Government and that the members of the union will take all measures to repel the enemies of Soviet Russia. The Congress regarded the organizing of the Food manufacturing industry as the most important task of the Union. A resolution in this connection declares that the form of organization of the organs directing the industry will indicate the solutions of questions of organization in various branches of the food industry.

The Conference finally formed the Union of Food producers and included in its ranks workers and employees of the following branches: 1) millers, 2) macaroni makers, 3) biscuit-bakers, 4) butter and dairy produce workers, 5) confectioners, jam makers and chocolate makers, 6) starch and treacle workers (potato-starch sago, dextrose, treacle and glucose), 7) preserving, meat, fish, fruit, vegetables etc., 8) vegetable and fruit drying, 9) brewing and distilling, 10) egg and milk preserving, 11) sausage making, 12) slaughterers, 13) bacon curers, 14) salting, 15) meat extracts, 16) blood drying, 17) cold storage, 18) fish, 19) coffee, tea and chicory, 20) picklers, 21) beer brewing, 22) kvass and mineral waters 23) oil pressers. The necessity was recognized also for including workers in the sugar refining industry.

The first organizing work of the Central Committee after the Conference was to complete the amalgamation of all the above indicated industries. This work was carried out fairly rapidly and at the present moment there is not a single craft union in the food industry in the whole of Soviet Russia except in some places in the Ukraine. The second task of the Central Committee was to carry out the resolution of the Congress on the organization of

unions by provinces and to convert the provincial unions into branches of the National Union of Food Workers and the district unions into sub-branches of the provincial branches.

The fall of the Skoropadsky government and the liberation of the Ukraine by the Soviet troops raised the tremendous problem of organizing the Ukrainian food workers. A delegation of the Central Committee was sent to the Ukraine which, together with the Kiev Food Workers' Union, convened an all-Ukrainian Congress of Food Workers which confirmed the resolutions of the first All-Russian Congress. On the instructions of the Central Committee a bureau of the Central Committee was set up in the Ukraine. This Bureau convened a conference of millers which resolved to unite Ukrainian millers in the All-Russian Union of Food Workers. As a consequence of the occupation of the Ukraine by Denikin, however, connection with Ukraine again became interrupted. The Central Committee left two of its members in the Ukraine to carry on illegal work. The liberation of the Ural and Siberia by the Soviet troops opened up for the Central Committee a wide territory in which the food industry is well developed and where there are large numbers of food workers, chiefly millers. The Central Committee delegated several workers by whose assistance the unions which were destroyed by Koltchak are once again arising.

The Central administration of the food manufacturing industry during 1919 succeeded in developing its work to the extent possible under the prevailing conditions of civil war. In its activity the Central Committee was continually brought up against pure questions of organization such as the form of this or that organ of the industry, as well as separate questions of organizing production. For the purpose of solving the questions of production All-Russian Conferences of Millers (2-nd Congress), Starch and Treacle Workers, Sausage Makers, Preservers and Fishermen were called. The Conferences received the reports of the Central Administration, considered the plans of the future work of these administrations and passed resolutions indicating the path which the Central Administrations must follow in their future work. During this period a new department was formed with the co-operation of the Central Committee, viz. the Chief Department for administering the cold storage business of the Republic.

Tremendous work has been accomplished in regulating wages in the various branches of the food industry. An exact definition of each category of labour and a definite standard of output were worked out and applied. The premium bonus system for millers and the fish industry was introduced.

Much work is being carried out in the sphere of labour protection, in examining the labour conditions in the food manufacturing industry, supplying workers with industrial clothing and granting extra holidays for harmful trades.

The union took an energetic part in mobilizing its members for protecting the Soviet Republic against its surrounding enemies. In many of the food workers' unions, particularly in the Volga towns, nearly all the members stood under arms for the defense of their government.

The 2-nd. National Congress of the Food Workers' Union took place on March 17th.—25th, 1920. For the first time representatives from the whole of the Soviet Republic were present. 174 delegates representing 75 unions and 151,895 organized workers were present. Owing to bad railway communications it was not possible for all the unions to be represented.

The 2-nd. Congress again expressed its unreserved support of the Soviet Government. The main point on the agenda was the organization of the food

manufacturing industry. A report was submitted from the food manufacturing department of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of all the chief administrative departments of the various branches of the industry. On each report resolutions were carried indicating the path which the Congress thought it necessary for the organization of the industry to follow. The struggle against the economic disorganization must be conducted with the greatest energy by the Unions.

The Congress sent out an appeal to the millers, bakers and other food manufacturing workers of Europe and America.

On March 1st 1920 the National Union had 268 departments, branches and sections, with a membership of 222,389.

In the local unions (provincial and regional departments, district and sub-district branches) there are sections of workers engaged in separate branches of industry. These sections are auxiliary organs of management of the union and all their decisions must be confirmed by the general administration. The sections are engaged chiefly in participating in the organization of their branch of industry and in working out wage rates and standards of output. There are no national sections although their existence was permitted by a resolution at the Congress.

The Central Committee and its local branches participate in the organization of production by delegating its representatives to the administrative collegiate boards of the economic organs which are set up by the consent of the Central Committee.

At the present moment the Central Committee has its representatives in the Chief Flour Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy (3 members out of 4) in the Chief Confectionery Department (two out of three) in the Chief Fish Department (none although this collegiate board was set up by the consent of the union) the Central Cold-Storage Department (1 out of 3) and the Department for the Manufacture of Food Products (3 out of 4). All the collegiate boards are set up with the consent of the Central Committee.

The predominance of the union representatives on local administrations is even greater than in the center.

The factory administrations are also set up by the consent of the unions (branches and departments). Individual managers are also put forward by the union. The representatives of the union are connected with the union by the presentation of reports on their activity and the joint examination of all questions of organization of production.

The Central Committee published a journal called "The Voice of the Food Workers." The finances of the Central Committee can be described in the following manner: For January, February and March 1920 the amount of contributions received from the departments and branches of the union was 601,121 roubles. Special levies on members—511,532 roubles. The expenses for this period were 588,298 roubles. Grants for the organization of unions in the liberated districts and to various persons and institutions, 575,525 roubles.

On April 1st there were 34,716 roubles in the funds of the union and 74,739 roubles on current account at the National Bank.

The union lives the life of the masses and together with them concentrates its efforts on the organization of labour and industry in the interests of the Soviet Republic, in its defence against foreign and internal enemies and the creation of a new communist society.

The Central Committee of the Food Workers' and Employees' Union.

The All-Russian Trade Union of Civil Servants, Shop Assistants and Clerks

PUBLISHED BY THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS. MOSCOW 1920

Editor's note: — The following review of the activities of a union counting about 650,000 members should cause the same class of workers in this country to stagger. It should be plain by this time that no group of workers can escape the pain and the travail of organizing. The collapse of capitalism is imminent and still this class of workers here in America have hardly made a move to prepare themselves for the responsibilities which will inevitably be theirs in a very short time. Our clerks are inviting a catastrophe by their failure to prepare for the great roll they are soon destined to play.)

At the present moment our Trade Union includes all clerks, independent of their profession, working in the distributive and supplying organs (food distribution organs, co-operatives &c.) and in all Soviet institutions (commissariats, soviets, councils of national economy, "Centers" &c.), with the exception of the Commissariat of the Means of Communication and of Posts and of Telegraphs, the employees of which form part of the corresponding industrial unions.

Before the October revolution of 1917 there existed in all the Russian towns unions of shop assistants and clerks organized after the overthrow of czarism. The fusion of these single unions into one big union on an All-Russian scale was very weak, though there existed a Council of the trade unions of shop assistants which had been elected on the fifth All-Russian Congress and which tried to unite all similar unions, of the unions of factory clerks (which at the period were organized apart from the workmen), of the workers of the restaurant trade and of the commercial fleet (at that time there was no general union of the workers of the water transport). The former societies of mutual help created among the shop assistants and clerks, which had not reorganized themselves in time and the functions of which, before the revolution of 1905 and after the same up to the liquidation after the revolution of 1917, were limited with the distribution of small subsidies in case of illness or death, with the organization of medical help, of clubs and libraries, also formed part of the above mentioned council. Some of these societies of mutual help numbered among their members also merchants, the latter often being the initiators of the organization of the said societies before 1905. Neither before the revolution nor after the same did these societies fight for the increase of salary or the improvement of general conditions of labour; before 1905 they carried on the campaign for obtaining weekly day's rest for clerks, but their efforts generally remained without result. Beyond this the societies of mutual help did not display any other activity. It is, therefore, quite natural, that when in 1905 there arose the possibility of organizing themselves, shop assistants, clerks and warehouse men, similar to factory workers, at once organized themselves in all the Russian towns into Trade Unions and started the struggle against the employers for the ten hours working day and for the full weekly day's rest and holiday's rest, this struggle being conducted by means of strikes, local demonstrations which sometimes ended with breaking of window panes in the

shops of some of the most obstinate tradesmen. This struggle lasted until the decreeing of the provisional law about the normal rest of the employees which in principle fixed the ten hours day and the weekly day's rest; in Petersburg this struggle was being carried on also after the police authorities had closed the union of shop assistants, in the place of which an illegal organization had been created under the name of "Council of Delegates" which united chiefly the employees of the big enterprises represented through delegates of the single undertakings; this council of delegates used to assemble at Terioki, beyond the Finnish frontier, and existed until spring 1907, when again the trade union of shop assistants and clerks was created. From that moment also in other Russian towns trade unions of shop assistants, clerks and warehousemen were being formed, the activity of which was, however, strongly limited by police measures, frequent arrests of the members of the Board, their expulsion, the closing of the unions themselves. In some towns the respective departments refused to register these trade unions and in order to elude the orders of the administration the clerks had to limit their activity with the seizing of the old societies of mutual help and the organizing of new unions, directing their activity according to the general course of the professional movement (for example in the Ural and Siberia). With the beginning of the war in 1914 in all the towns—with very few exceptions—the above trade unions were closed by the authorities and until the revolution of 1917 one could not even think of a trade union movement.

The year 1917 is marked in the history of the professional movement by universal strikes aiming at the increase of wages, the eight hours working day and other improvements of conditions of labour, and after every single strike collective treaties were being signed with single merchants, as well as with groups or trusts of the same. After the October revolution conflict between employees and employers were being settled peacefully, because the unions rested already upon the power and authority of the proletariat, and the employers were no longer in a position to apply to the police, as they did before.

The strikes of civil servants during the October revolution directed against the latter very soon called forth the reaction on the part of the lower employees which were not interested in the maintenance of the power of the bourgeoisie, and these latter, reinforced with groups of civil servants devoted to or sympathizing with the proletarian revolution, organized the All-Russian Union of Civil Servants (later called the union of Soviet employees) as a counterpoise to the illegal committee which was leading the strike of the sabotaging officials. Our Trade Union in the shape in which it appears at present was formed from the fusion of this union of Civil servants with the union of clerks and co-operative workers which existed since May 1919. The complete fusion of our trade union on an All-Russian scale was proclaimed in May 1919 at the second All-Russian Special Congress of all trade unions making part of our federation. The First All-Russian Congress took place in July 1918 but without the result of a lasting fusion because of the dissidence between the communists and the independent group of the trade-union movement, and only at the November conference of this year an agreement between these groups was reached, rati-

fied at the Second Special Congress, when the Communists had the majority of votes.

Besides the above mentioned two congresses, from the year 1898 to 1917 including, five congresses had been organized: the first two congresses were held before 1905 and represented only the societies of mutual aid. The third Congress took place in 1906; 90% of the delegates to this congress represented the societies of mutual aid, the remaining 10% the trade unions (for several reasons the majority of the trade unions including the Petersburg union of shop assistants and clerks, did not participate in this congress). The fourth Congress took place in 1913 under the pressure of the awakening movement of the shop assistants in connection with the general awakening of labour movement and the deterioration of the law about normal rest; at this congress, which attracted the attention of large circles of society, a fierce struggle was carried on between the representatives of the old societies of mutual help and the representatives of the trade unions marching under the flag of social democracy; by order of the minister of the interior the congress was closed before having ended its work. In 1917, in the Kerensky epoch, the fifth congress took place, which was represented by 146 delegates from 105 trade unions and 64 delegates from 36 societies of mutual help. It was then decided to reorganize the societies of mutual help into trade unions and where the latter already existed to fuse these societies with the same. The first congress of the trade unions of shop assistants and clerks was then fixed for the year 1918, at which date no societies of mutual help were to exist any more. In the quality of a temporary federation and for preparing the first congress the Council of trade unions of shop assistants and clerks was then elected.

After the October revolution the activity of our trade union took quite a different shape. The strike movement was completely eliminated, because the employers easily agreed with the demands put before them in the name of the union, and besides, since industry had been nationalized and the whole apparatus of supplying and distributing products and goods had passed into the hands of the proletarian state, the economic struggle in general had lost all meaning, there being no necessity for same.

The change in the functions of the union consisted in the fact that after the seizure of the power by the workers, the trade unions of clerks, especially in the big commercial centers, and also in the Ural, directed their utmost attention towards the correct organization of the question of supply and distribution. Before the nationalization of the trade was proclaimed in the private warehouses and stores the employees control commissions were formed which undertook the task of controlling the commercial and financial activity of the concern. These control commissions played an important part in the preparation for the nationalization of trade in those towns where they existed. At the same time the unions of clerks took an active part in the councils of national economy, the latter having special commercial sections composed of representatives of these unions of clerks. These commercial sections or departments in the big centers prepared and carried through the nationalization in close collaboration with the above unions. For example, in Petersburg, the union effected the registration of all the employees of the nationalized trade, drew up the lists of the staff for each distributor and appointed managers for the distributive organs and the warehouses. Stock-taking was also being effected under the control of these commissions. It must be mentioned, that the nationalization of trade passed comparatively well only in those towns, where it was being effected with the immediate participation of the unions of clerks and shop assistants, like for

example, Petrograd, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Vladimir, Voronezh, and other towns, and in some towns of the Ural.

It must also be expressly noted, that if, in some towns, the unions of employees did not take any part in the nationalization of the trade, this was the fault of their leaders who declared themselves in principle against nationalization. The Council of the trade unions of shop assistants and clerks, elected at the first Congress in which the communists refused to take part, concluded a policy of boycott against nationalization and changed its standpoint in this question when it was already too late—after the nationalization of trade had been effected. The subsequent participation of the union in the distributive and supplying organs was mostly limited to the selection of experienced managers and specialists, which were being directed to the work in food and other similar organizations.

Apart from this the union undertook the task of introducing labour discipline among the employees of the institutions and concerns forming part of it; the Central Committee of the Union worked out a "Regulation" on labour discipline confirmed by the Central Council of Trade Unions and Peoples Commissariat of Labor. This regulation is being applied at present in all the institutions of Soviet Russia under the direction of the gubernia departments and district (uyesd) sections of our federation.

The Structure of the Federation

The fundamental nucleus of the union is the committee of clerks, elected at the general assembly of the employees of a given institution or concern. In large combined institutions, divided into big departments, each of which has a strictly determined circle of functions, and situated sometimes in various parts of the city, the committees are being elected separately in every department or enterprise depending from the said institution. To the functions of these committees belongs the representation of the interests of the clerks at the administration, the recruiting of new members for the union, the collection of members' contributions, the maintaining of a permanent contract with the local administration of the union, the application of the decisions and resolutions of the union among the clerks of the given institution, the execution of all the tasks of the union in the way of tariffs, protection of labour, culture and educational work and the raising of labour productivity through application of labour discipline in the single institutions.

All committees of a said town or district are united in the local branch of the union (district branch, branch of the city in government towns). The chief administrator of the local branch is the conference of committees, the running part of the branch; the running work of the section is being executed by its administration, elected at the Conference of Committees.

All district branches of a given government or region form the government branches of the union administered by the government conference and the government administration; the government conference is composed of representatives elected at the district conferences of committees at a fixed proportion, and in the government town at the city conference of committees; the government administration and the revision committee are being elected by the government department.

The number of branches of the union is 416, they are united into 41 government departments. In this way each government department on the average includes ten branches. At the present moment the federation unites 646,040 members on the Russian territory excepting Siberia, the Ukraina and Turkestan, where the process of organization of the union is not yet terminated—while at the moment of the Second Special Congress in May

1919 the union counted only 350,000 members, i. e. in the course of one year the number of members increased by about 300,000 or 100%. Each district branch on the average includes 800 members and all 375 branches about 300,000 members. Each city branch of a government town counts on the average 8,440 members, and 41 government towns together count 346,000 members.

To these we must add 25,000 members in the Turkestan, where the branches of the unions are being united by the regional committee which only in the end of March of this year got into touch with the central committee of the union—it could not do it before, this region being cut off from Soviet Russia.

As regards the borders—Siberia, Ukraina (the Ural is included in the above figures), no exact information could be obtained up to now neither regarding the restoration of the union organizations destroyed or more or less damaged during the domination of Denikin and Kolchak, nor regarding the number of members of the organizations which have already been called into life again, with the exception of the Kharkhoff, Kieff and Ekaterinoslaff sections counting together about 35,000 members.

The chief organ of the union is the All-Russian Congress convoked once a year. The same elects the central committee and its Board for the management of the activity of the union, which is executing the daily running work and representing the union.

The plenum of the central committee is convoked every two months. The delegates to the All-Russian Conference are elected at the government conferences according to a determined proportion. At the 2nd Special Congress in 1919 the central committee elected was composed as follows: 21 members out of which 12 communists, 6 partisans of the independence of the trade union movement 3 internationalists; the Board of the central committee was composed of 11 members—6 communists, 3 partisans of the independence of the trade union movement and 2 internationalists; after the fusion of the internationalist with the communist party the internationalist members of the central committee and of the Board fused with the communists, thus increasing the number of votes of the latter.

The Classification of Wages

The wage-classification of our union on an All-Russian scale began to be applied only since February 1919. The entire tariff work of the union is concentrated in the Tariff Department of the Central Committee. At present all the branches of the union have central tariff taxation commissions which have the task of applying the tariffs in the precincts of their branch.

Every institution or enterprise together with the committee of employees, organize a tariff commission composed of representatives in equal number of the clerks and the administration.

These commissions divide the clerks into groups and categories of the tariff net work, qualifying the work of every single person, and fix according to the tariff system the rate of pay, after which the lists are passed on to the Central Tariff Commission of the branch of the union. After having been confirmed by the latter Commission the tariffs become obligatory for the given institution. In case conflicts arise which cannot be settled in the Tariff Department of the Central Committee, the Higher Tariff Commission must be applied to, the decisions of which are considered definite in all questions practical and of principle.

Recently the Central Committee drew up a project of normal terms of labour and the introduction of the premium system of wages. These questions are quite new and extremely difficult for our union,

but the first steps in this direction have been taken already—the general scheme of the premium system of pay is worked out. This premium question is closely tied to the question of raising of productivity of labour and of labour discipline, therefore when speaking of this question, several points—besides the one fundamental point, that of strict regulation of the terms of labour—have to be considered, like: reduced staff, individual initiative, definite tasks (the execution of a determined work, at a determined period), the stage of service in an institution (this being introduced for the purpose of struggle against the frequent changes of service from one institution into another).

In the province the premium system of wages will be applied only after the schemes worked out by the Central Commission of the Union have been confirmed.

The distribution of special industrial clothing among the clerks also belongs to the circle of activity of the tariff commission. According to the lists presented for the first receipt 138,000 garments have been received (footwear, various upper clothing, warm clothing, overalls, gloves, half sleeves, etc.), which is about 70% of all the things required. The lists to be presented for the second receipt are not yet drawn up.

Protection of Labour

The work of protection of labour of clerks and shop assistants employed in the provinces is not yet properly established chiefly because of the lack of experienced workers, which up to now were kept back on the fronts of the civil war. Besides, this work can only be fully developed with the improvement of the economic situation of the country, because under the present conditions many measures concerning protection of labour cannot as yet be applied. Therefore, the activity of our union in this direction is limited, chiefly, to the settlement of conflicts and also to the elaboration of various materials and regulations connected with the question of labour protection. These latter are then put before the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Peoples Commissariat of Labour for confirmation, and among them are to be noted: 1) Reports addressed to the Council of Peoples Commissaries and the Peoples Commissaries of Labour about reduction of tariff in the institutions and stores and the utilization of available labour forces; 2) regulation about the "inspection" for persons serving in small enterprises; 3) "regulation about labour discipline" for employees; 4) materials in the question of the 6-hours working day for office and mental workers employed in institutions with 8 hours working day; 5) regulations about overtime work for persons above 20th tariff category; 6) instructions for application of the "Regulation on disciplinarian courts of honour."

It is further to be noted that the Union has got the permission of instituting in seven of the biggest centers (Moscow, Tula, Petrograd, Nishnij Novgorod, Saratoff and Vitebsk).

In the big centers the union also succeeded in withdrawing underaged children from work and placing them under the care of the Social Maintenance Board. The detailed examination of conditions of life of civil servants, which had been undertaken, could not be carried to the end because of the lack of experienced workers.

Cultural and Educational Work

Notwithstanding the great possibilities offered, the activity of the union in this direction has not developed very much. Partly this fact can be explained with the foundation of a large number of governmental and general proletarian educational institutions, and such an activity on the part of the

unions would therefore, in most of the towns, introduce a kind of parallelism in the work of the above organizations.

In a considerable measure the educational work of the union is so little developed because of the general reasons, i. e. of the impossibility of applying a sufficient number of experienced workers towards the same, these latter being needed for military purposes and for the reconstruction of the socialist state. There is as yet no complete data of all the educational institutions, training of the union clubs, libraries, scientific and professional courses. In connection with the scarcity of skilled workers in the institutions, many departments of our federation (especially in the Ural where the skilled workers had been evacuated by Koltchak, partly by force and partly on their own free will) started the organization of courses for special professional train-

ing. The results of these courses have until now proved very satisfactory, thus filling the ranks of the skilled workers.

At present steps are being taken for the centralization of the activity of the union in the spheres of professional training and also in other spheres of educational work, following the example of other branches of the union's activity—the financial and tariff organization—the centralization of which has been attained already in the most essential points.

The Board of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Trade Union of Civil Workers, Shop Assistants, Clerks and Warehousemen.

Moscow,
April, 1920.

Bolshevism at Work

BY WILLIAM T. GOODE

(The following three chapters: "The Bolshevik Organization of Industry", "Bolshevism and Labor" and "Trade Unions in the Soviet Republic" are borrowed from "Bolshevism at work", a book recently written by William T. Goode, Special Correspondent of The Manchester Guardian. It is published by Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, N. Y., costs \$1.00, and can be had in all Radical Book Stores. It is a fine book and should be read by everybody.)

The author blunders aggravatingly in a couple of lines about the I. W. W., filling the world with an atrocious misconception about our form of organization, but that does not detract from the value of his description of Russian conditions to-date.

We are choosing these chapters mainly for the reason that they were recommended to us by "Soviet Russia", the official organ of The Russian Soviet Bureau in the United States.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Interview with Miliutin, Associate Commissary of National Economics

He is now Professor of Political Economics in the Moscow University, and is at the head of a very important Commissariat, that dealing with industries. I thought him best fitted to clear my ideas on the subject of nationalization of industries — a matter on which a good deal of cheap wit has been spent and many violent statements wasted. He listened courteously and patiently, and answered my questions without any hesitation or reserve, giving me all the assistance possible, in spite of being excessively busy, as are indeed all the Commissaries of the people.

His department manages some 3,000 nationalized plants, answering for 90 per cent. of the full production of the country. These embrace mines in the Moscow coal basin, producing 35 million poods a year; textiles, mostly in Vladimir, Tver, Nijny Novgorod, and Ivano-Vosnesensk; metals, in Nijny

Novgorod Government, in the north portion of Volga territory, Petrograd, and now Ouralsk. His statement covers about thirty Russian Governments, but does not include Ukraina; nor are small or home industries nationalized.

How is Russian Industry Organized?

Regarding the conditions under which the factories are worked, he described the system as follows: *The head of every factory is a college of management of from three to five persons, a mixture of workers and specialists. But the people elected on this body must be ratified by the special section of the Supreme Council of National Economics at Moscow under which the particular factory falls.*

The 3,000 factories are divided into State trusts, as, for instance, machine making, sugar making. In all there are some ninety trusts, of which forty are concerned with textile manufactures. Each of these trusts come under the management of the particular section of the Supreme Council of Economics which is occupied with the industries they represent. Of these sections there are sixty, out of which fifty are concerned with production, ten with distribution, or are of a general character (statistical, legal, inspection, etc.). Control would seem to be pretty complete, since the first elective management is controlled by a trust, which in turn is controlled by a section, the whole controlled by the Supreme Council.

I was curious about the trusts, and he replied that each has its own administration appointed by the section of the Supreme Council under whose jurisdiction the trust falls. Further, that the function of a trust is much the same as that of a board of directors of a capitalist Co. It distributes to the factories which form it raw materials, engineers; it regulates their output and controls their financial operations. I asked him plumply what his opinion was of this elective system, of

its success in actual working. The elective system, he said, might be absurd in any country not centralized like Soviet Russia, but here the Supreme Council has to confirm the appointment in fact, control the election, and thus any absurd results can be eliminated, while the association of engineers and specialists on these bodies with workmen is provided for through their governance by the chief board of State trusts.

The Unions

The Professional Alliances (Trades' Unions) or unions of industries have a special interest in eliminating any friction in the nomination of candidates, and as far as possible all is done in conjunction with the local professional alliances. Business ideas and practices, he said, govern all the relations of trusts with factories. The system goes further. It eliminates all conflicts between workers and the factory managements. (This corresponds to Melnichansky's statement that strikes are unrecognized; they are illogical and should not happen.)

And through this system the workers in a factory become interested in their work, they are personally conscious of the part they play in the efficiency of the factory. And it is conditions of efficiency that are the sole guiding motive for all, but especially for the Supreme Council.

Results Obtained

As to its *success* in working, he declared that under the conditions created by the Civil War, by the cutting off for a whole year of supplies of raw materials and fuel, whatever stability there is in the industries of Russia is due solely to this system; that in spite of food and other difficulties there is great labor discipline, and that the full systematization of industry gives the Supreme Council the power to make plans for production, to distribute orders where they can be best carried out, according to resources — in a word, that it gives full knowledge of what can be done, and where, for the best. Under this system full centralization is reached and it has become possible to administer industry according to special needs and to organize a complete system of national economic. Its *solidity* is best demonstrated by the ability to set up new plants, and they have put up two new central electric stations, various new plants, several new railways have been built in Podolia, and in the Moscow Government a new locomotive works, turning out two engines in the week of this interview. Of course, the system, like all new systems, has to fight against the difficulties of present conditions obtaining in Russia and it has its defects. Yet in an existence of less than two years it has brought forward from the ranks of the workers a series of excellent administrators, of managers, men who have been placed on the Supreme Council — in

fact, it is a system *selective of the best brains of the workers, from the masses up.*

That, it seems to me, is high praise; but I put a last question on the effect of this system on output. As Millutin said, the workers' output depends on food and conditions generally it is a physical and physiological proposition. Owing to difficult conditions which we do not conceal, we have succeeded only in some factories to raise the output, especially in those working on war orders. And during the last year industrial Russia has been living on the food of those parts of inner Russia, which normally were unable to supply surplus food. This surplus food came in ordinary times from Ukraine and from Ural, but these had then been cut off. The conditions are not sufficiently stable for a norm to be established, and yet in spite of all there are a number of factories in which there is an absolute increase in the production, which as a conclusion confirmed the statement of Krassin, the Commissary of Ways and Communications.

The Working of a Factory in Soviet Russia Mills not in the hands of Unions

Pursuing my inquiries into the working of industries under a system of nationalization, I took a journey of from four to five hours by train, south to Serpukhoff, where are the Konshin textile factories, to look them over. The town, which is quite prettily situated, is some three miles from the railway station, and is a town of factories. The Konshin enterprise has four mills, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and printing mills. In normal times 15000 hands are employed, and even under the present stringent conditions come 6,000 are working; so that it formed a good object-lesson in the management of a huge factory under nationalization. But it is not only a factory, it is almost a town, for in these far-away Russian manufactories everything has to be provided, not only for manufacture, but also for the life of the workers, housing, schools, hospitals, medical attendance, baths, meeting and recreation rooms, farm, corn-mills and bakery — everything. The town can do nothing: it is the factory that does and gives all. It generates its own electricity in a superbly built and installed generating station, has built its own railway to a forest to supply itself with wood for fuel, since naphtha and coal are cut off, and presents a number of problems and opportunities which are entirely lacking to a similar understanding in Lancashire. Its fabrics were well known before the war, outside of Russia. The character of its present output has changed for obvious reasons.

Among its mill managers are three men, from Lancashire, and on the general direction chosen by the workmen are two former directors, a director and the technical manager—their election being an evidence of the confidence they had

generated in their workmen. Altogether it was not only a place worth visiting, but from its size and the character of the personnel it was likely to prove instructive on the Soviet system of running industries.

The technical manager was quite frank. According to him the system, in the early days of its action, was disastrous. The workmen, who are peasants drawn from the surrounding villages, and who leave for tilling or harvesting their land when these become necessary, were unable to understand anything except that the Revolution gave them the right to do as they pleased. The output went down to 40 per cent, and chaos in government ensued. But with experience, and by changing the powers of the various committees, an improved condition of things had come about, work went on smoothly, though even yet there were causes of trouble existing, and this year had seen the factory and the system satisfactorily adjusted.

Each mill has its own workmen's committee, who are elected, and there is a management committee of five members for the four mills, on which are elected workmen, members of the Professional Alliance (Union) and technical staff. Then as this district is a textile working district, the eleven cotton mills in it are organized into a State Trust, which controls 22000 workers. The Trust has a directing committee of nine members, of whom three are elected by workmen, three by the Professional Alliances, and three by the local branch of the Supreme Council of National Economics, which governs all industries.

This committee governs the eleven mills in all senses. It controls their financial arrangements, and all estimates of whatever nature must be put in six months in advance; they are then submitted to the appropriate section of the Supreme Council for ratification, finally going before the Supreme Council of National Economics itself.

Each item of these estimates can be examined by the Trust Committee and they are able to compare items from one mill with corresponding items from others. The scheme allows for complete control of the distribution of raw material, of orders, and the governing idea is that of correspondence between the mills and mutual help.

The committee I met governed eleven cotton mills. For those using flax other committees were formed, and so on. I asked about the taking on of men or their dismissal, and learned that it is really done in the first instance by the workmen's committee in the mills, discussed with the management committee, and is only controlled in a general way by the Committee of the Trust.

The Trust Committee works hand in hand with the Professional Alliances (Unions) in their local branch. Delegates attend the meetings, and one member of the Alliances has a vote in the proceedings. In this way all reason for friction between them is removed. It might be thought that

this is guild socialism. I was told it is *not*. *The mills are not in the hands of the unions, who are only partly controlling the industry.*

But by the composition and working of the committees all friction is obviated. That this must be so is obvious when one considers that every workman in the mills, whatever his trade — spinner, smith, etc. — is a member of the same Alliance (textiles), and is fully represented on all committees. This formation of unions by industry and not by trade has another good quality. It prevents sectional strikes; further, a strike in one mill need not affect other mills.

The workmen's committees have their hands full with the labor discipline, observation of rules and laws, matters affecting the health, housing, culture of the workers; and the men I met, the chairman and the committee members, seemed highly intelligent and were evidently proud of their position. They control yet another matter. Workmen are allowed by law to proceed to their villages in search of supplies, and to bring back amounts up to 2 poods in weight (80 lb.). The lists of those people are drawn up and certified by the workmen's committees, though it can be imagined what an element of uncertainty it places in the hands of the management, especially when in addition orders for mobilization of a certain percentage of workers may arrive at any moment.

Workmen are paid according to very elaborate tariffs, which have been prepared for all occupations whatsoever. It is here that the cause of present trouble exists. A rigidity of tariff allows no margin within which the management can act; but attention has been drawn to this, and a revision in the sense required is being undertaken.

My frank discussion with the management, the Englishmen, and the committees left the impression that this huge concern *was being managed successfully on the Soviet Committee system, and that in a time of peculiar and great difficulty. The system allows co-operation in industry between mills, prevents friction between Professional Alliances (Unions) and management, and stimulates the workers. That socialistic management should stimulate emulation was indeed a surprise. But I was told it is true, and that an exhibition of comparative output at Moscow provides a sufficient incentive to competitive work.*

A Further Note of Industries

From my long conversation with the three workmen who are now members of the Textile Trust Committee I gathered much that throws light on the condition and prospects of industry.

This committee controls nearly 500 factories engaged in textile manufacture, linen, cotton, cloth, silk, rope, and thread; factories that are working today. I have previously described how it is responsible for the approval of the estimates of the factories controlled by it. It was surprising

to learn that decisions had been taken of an anti-Bolshevik nature, e. g. in cases where the committee was unable to supply the thing needed — dyestuffs — *factories were allowed to buy from speculators*; and in combustibles, authority was given to each factory independently to supply itself — a thing I had seen in operation at Serpukhoff and at the Moscow waterworks. *Such things are confirmation from another quarter of my statement elsewhere that the communistic practice of the Bolsheviks is imperfect.*

The buying of flax, first done by individual exploiters for export, then by the Co-operative Societies for the same purpose, is now done by the Soviets, under the Trust Committee. Much had been given out to the cotton factories to work. It is cut into short lengths to make it convenient for use in the cotton machinery; in some cases machinery has been altered with the same end in view. But the bulk of four years' stock remains in hand, unexported, ready for trade.

Like other trusts, this Textile Trust has in mind the proper housing of the workers, and is planning to secure it. For the development of the factories it is to build light railway lines to connect them with the main lines, and help also the workers. Some of these have already been built, and returns in one year repay the cost of building.

Talking of the condition and the future of the Russian industries, it surprised me to learn that even in the midst of the civil war and all its attendant difficulties and horrors, the Trust Committees and the Supreme Council have a real forward policy. And enterprise after enterprise was pictured out to me, from which I extract only one. The great turf bogs are to be exploited. Existing conditions have warned them that Moscow must be independent for light and heat of the Donetz basin and the Baku Wells. At Bogorotsk, 70 kilometers from Moscow, a generating station burning turf is at work. Another, similar, at Schaturskaya, 90 kilometers off, began to function in January. At Kashira works for using the soft coal of the Moscow province will generate 15,000 h. p. — also for Moscow.

But there is sufficient in the interview with Miliutin, the visit to Serpukhoff, and the reports of these workmen, to disprove the statement that the Bolsheviks have destroyed the industry of Russia.

CHAPTER VI.

BOLSHEVISM AND LABOR

The Commissariat of Labor

This Commissariat is one of the most important, and as in the Soviet Republic the working classes hold the supreme power, it was urgent to discover what action they had taken concerning themselves, not as governors, but as workmen.

The Commissariat does not lack work. It is

concerned with the enrollment and distribution of labor throughout Russia; with the fixing of hours of work; with making the tariffs according to which workers are paid; with the protection of labor (factory inspection); with the support of the worker during temporary inability to work (insurance against sickness, disablement, complete or partial, accident or temporary unemployment); with pensions. It thus combines the functions of Labor Exchanges, factory Inspectors, and National Insurance with us, with many other functions, which require the action, with us, of Parliament, or of the trades' unions themselves. *The basis of this Labor Commissariat is the Professional Alliances (Unions by industries), from which the Commissariat is built up. A college of nine is formed of which five members are the representatives elected by the National Council of Professional Alliances, four being appointed by the Commissaries of the People, though even here the Professional Alliances have the right to challenge these appointments if they see fit. Laws to be passed concerning labor are first passed through the National Council of Professional Alliances, then sent to the Commissariat of Labor to be ratified or condemned; if ratified, to be promulgated as law.*

This constitution of the Commissariat insures that the men who are making plans for labor are competent for the task, men who are experts in their own branch, while the elective system insures the active personal participation of all the workers.

Hours of Labor — At the present fixed, are eight hours daily for workers, and six hours daily for employees in offices. *In trades that are dangerous to health* — mines, gas, factories — the day is six hours long; in the tobacco industry seven hours. Overtime is not provided for, but owing to the stringency of present conditions a concession of two hours per day has been allowed, the pay being one and a half times the ordinary pay. *In Night Work* the period is seven hours on a shift, but neither women nor the young workers are allowed to work on night shifts.

The age at which work may begin is sixteen, and it is hoped later on to raise it. From sixteen to eighteen years of age a six hours' day is fixed, and no working of overtime is allowed. If the sixteen to eighteen years' old workers do the same kind of work as the older, they get the same pay; working six hours they get paid for eight hours. The remaining two hours of an eight hours' day must be spent in schools that are specially arranged for the workers' improvement under Lunacharsky's scheme. As a temporary measure, due to the conditions obtaining in this war-time, it has been permitted for youths from sixteen years of age to work for four hours per day, but only in those trades which are not preju-

dicial to health. The shop committees control the schools.

The provisions for continued school instruction are an improvement on American vocational schools, where the full eight hours' day must first be passed in the factory.

Rest. — Every worker is entitled to forty-two hours' rest a week, that is really one week-end; and after a year's work he can further claim a month's holiday with full pay. This at present is reduced to two weeks owing to war conditions, but even here workers in dangerous trades receive the full month's holiday.

Tariffs of Pay. — These have been worked out entirely for the various industries by each National Committee of the particular Professional Alliance (Industrial Union). The tariff has to pass through the National Council of Professional Alliances, and be presented to the Commissariat of Labor, which has to determine how far it is in accord with the general policy of the Soviet Government. The National Council of the Professional Alliance, when each tariff passes its control has to determine whether it harmonizes with regulations worked out by other Professional Alliances. Tariffs are changed from time to time as soon as the Tariff Committee of the National Council finds that the cost of living is in excess of pay.

Social Insurance is an important section of the work of the Commissariat. The system is non-contributory, the fund being maintained by a 25 per cent. grant of the full amount of the wages sheet made by the State, or by the private employer where the industry is not nationalized; more being paid if the trade is hurtful to health.

This social insurance covers the whole life of the worker — sickness, invalidity, unemployment, accident, old age pensions, and maternity. In cases of complete loss of ability to work, accident or maternity, full wages are paid. In the case of maternity the period lasts for eight weeks before and eight weeks after the birth of the child.

In cases of partial disability the amount paid varies according to the percentage of disability.

Pensions for total disability, or invalidity, or old age, vary in amount according to the average wages of the trade in the locality concerned; but where special treatment or care is required, an addition is made according to the medical requirements on the recommendation of a special committee which examines the cases.

A factory worker on reaching the age of fifty automatically receives a pension, but other workers in less exhausting occupations must, at sixty, present themselves before a special committee, which decides to what extent they are pensionable. Should they be thought to retain 50 per cent. of their energy, they still work; but if less, then they are fully pensioned. This, I was told, is

a temporary measure due to the stringency of the time, and the shortage of hands; it is not intended to be permanent. Every consideration is paid by the Commissariat to the conditions of labor, and efforts are made to reduce the damage to health, by introducing new processes, when these are within the means of the Commissariat. All matters of sanitary value in the housing of the worker come also within the scope of its powers, and it has the task of passing all plans for new buildings for workers. Their effort in requisitioning houses of the rich and apportioning the rooms as a temporary measure to meet the very great requirements of the workers is one of the things that has been strongly criticized. I myself lived in a room in such a house, which shelters now, instead of two people, a dozen workers of the Soviet. There are not enough big buildings to house all the workers. Most of them are far away from the factories, but still all of them are inhabited by workers.

Factory Inspection is now conducted by the workers themselves, the Professional Alliances are choosing and training men from among themselves who control thus the industries for the department of the Protection of Labor, a special part of the Commissariat. They are charged with seeing that regulations concerning hours and social insurance are observed, with taking children away from work — in short, with the full duties of a factory inspector.

The Enrollment and Distribution of labor is solely in the hands of this Commissariat, which alone has the right of supplying labor. Formerly the Labor Exchanges were made up of representatives of professional unions and of municipalities. These have been re-formed into departments of registration and distribution, acting through committees formed of representatives sent by the various Professional Alliances. Then there was much unemployment, Labor Exchanges were needed. Since there is shortness of hands they were re-organized as "Enrollment and Distribution Committees," which are also formed by committees of the alliances. The "Enrollment and Distribution Committee" has to enroll every citizen and see to it that he shall work. When an exigency arises there shall not be any idlers. They register all labor; they supply all labor as applications are received from the factories requiring it, though, as a temporary measure, in the case of the more responsible workers, such as engineers, permission is given to factories to invite workers; but once such an appointment is made, it is registered under the particular trade to which it belongs.

The Commissariat has thus complete control of the labor market, and is able to eliminate competition, that is the competition which is represented by men fighting for a job, or trying to undersell one another.

CHAPTER VII.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

Trades' Unions are here called Professional Alliances, they embrace not single and local trades, but whole industries. At the offices of the Moscow Council of Professional Alliances I saw the Secretary, Melnichansky, who discoursed freely on this side of Soviet life, and answered all my questions with the greatest ease. As Secretary of this huge organization, I imagine he is in the right place. He is soaked in his subject, and had no need to consult any note or book during the three hours the interview lasted.

Labor Temple — former Palace of the Nobility

The building where I found him in the center of Moscow is so striking both in itself and in the contrast between its present and its past, that it deserves a word to itself. This Labor Temple (the building of the Moscow Alliances or Unions), as it now is, is the former palace for the meetings of the nobility, an immense building containing suites of offices and a vast marble staircase leading up to a gallery surrounding two sides of a magnificent hall, where fetes used to be given to the Tsar when he visited Moscow. It is, perhaps, the largest hall in Russia; a noble oblong of great height finely proportioned. The sides are lined with white marble pillars supporting the cornice, behind them are two promenades, above them is a gallery which runs round three sides. The old lustres remain, and the lighting is continued by a concealed fringe of small lights behind the edge of the cornice.

My imagination quickly peopled it with a glittering throng of courtiers and nobles, splendid in dresses, jewels and orders, and contrasted it violently with its present use, filed with chairs for the meeting of conventions, a big platform at the further end. It can be made to hold from 3,000 to 4,000 persons, and I thought that the workers of the Soviet Republic can congratulate themselves on having as a home perhaps the largest, and certainly the most splendid and significant hall in the world. It was given to them by the Government after the October Revolution. Its condition was dirty and unkempt, for it had been used during the Great War as work-rooms for the making of uniforms. But the workers cleaned it, and in some places altered its decoration themselves, and in the suite of rooms forming a long gallery the scutcheons of the nobility in the wall panels are replaced by shields bearing the emblems of the Republic, the Professional Alliances, and various trades, modeled in plaster. And in the center room of the gallery, where formerly were pictures and emblems of the Russian generals of the Napoleonic period, on walls and ceiling are now simple red panels, against two of which are busts of Marx and Lenin, resembling, but not particularly fine

works of art. In the part of the building given up to offices in a fine circular council chamber, the meeting-place of the nobility, where the very chairs bear witness to the former character of the place, for on their backs are the heraldic emblems of former occupants.

The contrast between past and present is almost stupefying, yet is so full of meaning, so indicative of things that are happening here (where Commissaries of the People are lodged in the Kremlin itself) and in Russia generally, that it is worthy of careful note.

The Trades Unions System under the Soviet

Melnichansky's lucid explanation of the Trades' Union system under the Soviet I shall try to reproduce as clearly as I can.

There is a difference between the Russian form of organization and the English, where men are members of local and special unions according to trades; or the I. W. W., which runs a general mixed organization. (Of course, here the author does not know what he is talking about. He evidently knows only of our General Recruiting Union. He has not heard of our 22 Industrial Unions. - Editor). Russian workers are organized by industries, as metal, wood, textile industries, embracing all trades. Thus the Metal Workers' Union takes in some 290 trades. But all are united in one central organization — the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. There are thirty Professional Alliances, which unite all trades by the industries in which they are employed. In most of the cities (1) they are organized by localities; (2) they are then united by Provincial Councils; (3) these are connected by National Councils. There are thirty National Councils, which are united by the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. This, omitting the part of the Ukraine, which is at present in the hands of Denikin, rules some 3½ million members. This organization has been largely developed by the Soviet regime, for at the February Revolution there were only three trades' unions in Moscow; but at the time of the October Revolution all trades here had been organized, and the present all-embracing system evolved.

Every man is a member of some Alliance (Union), which elects its own member of the Soviet. At the same time it elects the Executive Committee of the Alliance, which in turn, elects its members to the Soviet, at least two, at most five, according to the numerical status of the members of the Alliance.

There is thus a direct participation in the government, both of the alliance and of the country for the members are elected by and from the workers. The Soviet though superior to the organization of the alliances, who require its approval before their conclusions can become law, can thus devote itself to the political development of the

country, while the Executive Committees can care for conditions of the industries they represent, and through the Central Organizations of the Alliances, for the economical developments of the country.

Strikes

A question regarding *rates of pay* brought information concerning *strikes*. These are not recognized. Indeed one must confess they would be illogical—you do not strike against yourself. Formerly, he said, strike-breakers were considered as traitors to the cause of the workers; now it is strikers or people wishing to strike who are the traitors. In other countries strikes were and are the only weapon in the workers' hands for securing a change of conditions. Here, on the contrary, the various Alliances have Tariff Committees, who follow the movement of prices, and, where necessary, work out plans for changing the rate of wages. These plans are passed through the Central Council, thence through the Soviet, and so become law.

Insurance Features

Unemployment and Sickness have been tackled by the Alliances with success, though Melnichansky frankly admitted their early difficulties, both in creating a fund and in finding out ways of distribution. His frankness was but a repetition of what I have constantly found — the readiness to admit mistakes and blunders, and to confess the difficulty of finding successful ways and methods of action under conditions of great stress. The school of experience of the leaders of the Bolsheviks has been a hard one, but they have profited by it.

They got over their difficulty of raising a fund for insuring the worker against sickness and unemployment by requiring the proprietors of factories, all of whom had done sufficiently well out of the war period, to pay to a Central Committee elected by the Alliances a sum equal to 4 per cent. of the total wages paid by them, which provided a fund against unemployment; and a further sum equal to 10 per cent. of the wages sheet, which formed the fund against sickness. In this way a fund was formed sufficiently large to begin operations, which were the more necessary because of the disorganization of industry and the unemployment caused by the stoppage of the intense production caused by the war.

A payment by the proprietors of wages for three months to their employees who were not needed was decreed, but on the plan that it should really be paid only for half that period, the payment for the other half being made to the Central Committee to strengthen its funds. It was argued that the Russian factory worker being in most cases connected with a village, would in six weeks, if he had not secured work, have returned to his village. Unemployment generally is a thing un-

known in the Soviet Republic; in cases of workmen being out of work, they are fitted with employment by the appropriate State Department. But in case of any fortuitous stoppage of a factory, through, say, want of fuel, as has occasionally occurred, this being a completely, abnormal state of things, the workmen's pay is continued by the State. For sickness special committees elected by the workers' Alliances cater. They provide the clinics, the medical advisers, and the medicaments. But wider affairs of a national kind tuberculosis and the like, are cared for by the State Department of Hygiene, on whom devolves the duty of providing the necessary sanatoria, advice, and treatment.

Free Speech. Free Press. Free Assemblage

Melnichansky remarked that it had recently been said in the West that there was neither freedom of speech nor Press nor meeting for the workers and Professional Alliances under the Soviet. In the great hall I had just seen he said they had quite recently called a convention of Factory Committees, which, after discussion, had elected a Central Committee to organize the best way of distributing all supplies of food and clothing in Moscow. A clear proof of freedom of speech and initiative, anyway, for it was quite an untrammelled convention. As for the freedom of the Press amongst the workers, the dearth of paper causes curtailment, but he gave me a copy of an excellent monthly issued by the Central Committee, and of a weekly paper, distributed everywhere and devoted to the professional interests of the workers. Besides these, every Professional Alliance has its own monthly. In these the fullest discussion is permitted. As for freedom of meeting one might say it is an integral of the system, but not during working hours. They are devoted to work, not talk, and if meetings must be held it must be outside the time allotted to work, in the workers' own time.

Meetings of the Sovietists are held every week for the discussion of political and economic topics, in which the leaders take part — for never did any people so well understand the power of propaganda, the spoken word, as these. And I myself have seen on the walls of Moscow notices of a Menshevik meeting, a proof that toleration is exercised, so long as it does not lead to counter-revolutionary activities.

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The Bridge

By Kirah Markham

I have no love for outworn creeds,
Your panaceas make me sick;
Content with no more than your needs
No cause can bite you to the quick.

No inquisition is too cruel
For men too sluggish to resist,
And tyrants place the dunce's stool
For all whom Fortune's wheel has missed.

But when your overlords have reaped
Two hundred fold what you have sown,
And from your docile strength upheaped
The gold to buy you for their own.

Perhaps you'll waken from your dream
To know that magnanimity
Is not the reason why their scheme
Included you in industry.

Perhaps you'll find the land you till,
The coal you dig, the steel you cast
Are your divine inheritance
From the immemorable past.

And 'wakening you will cast aside
Old theories and beliefs of man
And build a system Argus-eyed,
A universal working plan.

Then shall revolt be built on fact,
And capitalist and financier
Shall forfeit up their world contract
To working man and engineer.

And each shall labor with his kind,
And claim for work, on desk or soil,
The aristocracy of mind
As greatest guerdon for his toil.

Jackasses and Progress

By D. S. DIETZ

The other day we saw a mule;
Much like a real old-time jackass.
He spied a great big auto car
Approaching near his field of grass;
At once he planted his fore feet,
And then let drive his hinder two
Right thru the lamps and windshield glass;
Then ran away with legs all bloom,
A-braying thus: as we surmise,
Hee, haw! Hee, haw, I'll kick and kick
Each time I see a Bolshevik.

Again, we saw a fat, old man;
He was so proud of his big vest
That it was dollar marked throughout;
To show he had done his best
To beat his neighbors to the game
Of profits. One evening late,
A group of workers, in from camp,
Were strolling past his garden gate
Discussing hours ten and less.
The old man heard the sound of eight,
Which was enough to base a guess;
Then wildly rushed right down the walk,
With heated face and cane aloft,
A-braying madly, as he ran,
"I'll have you all arrested quick;
You whole damn bunch of Bolshevik."
He got by with it!!!!

Which en T'other

Once I read a book called The New Freedom—
Then I read about an old man in jail—
Then I read about the pardoning of a profiteer;
And then, I inquired:
Are there two Woodrow Wilsons?
Then I was locked up five months,
Without any trial.
Then I was discharged,
Without any answer.

—TIM.

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An Open Letter to the President

Montesano Jail, June 17, 1920

Dear Sir: I see by the papers that food is being withheld from Soviet Russia, because 20 Americans are in jail in Russia, so I am writing to ask, if you ever stop to think of the hundreds of Americans in the jails in the U. S.? Men guilty of no crime at all. And how about the hundreds of Russians, arrested without warrants, contrary to our U. S. Constitution, and held for weeks, and months, without trial. Has America the divine right, to imprison men from all nations, her own native born included? And has no other nation that right? When we were forced into the war we were told, it was to crush militarism and to secure self determination for all nations. How about Russia, and Ireland? We were very indignant when Germany outraged Belgium, why are we silent now? While John Bull—ravishes Ireland, and is sending munitions to Poland, we are making a mockery of our statement of purpose made on entering the war. I was not in the army, but I worked 13½ hours per day in the harvest fields of Idaho, for \$4.00 a day helping to harvest the wheat that I did not help eat, and I helped to plow the fields in the spring, and to put the crop in for \$1.25 a day—I am an American, born in the state of N. C., of American parents, whose ancestors date back to the old Colonial days of Virginia; my mother's, father was a Fifer in the Union army in the Civil war. I am just a coal miner, without education, for I started to work in the mines at Lynn, W. Va., when I was eight years old. But I can see the injustice of the Capitalist system, and I have voluntarily joined the Industrial Workers of the World, a working class organization formed to regain the rights of the toilers, by educating them to a full realization of their true status in society. Unlike the trade unions, we are organizing not only for the everyday struggle with Capitalism, for a few more of the good things we produce, but to do away with Capitalism, and to carry on production after Capitalism has been overthrown.

It is our purpose to establish a new society, where in every man and woman will be a useful member of society, and no man can exploit another, and wherein all things will be produced for use and not for profit.

Our most celebrated American, Abraham Lincoln, dreamed of the I. W. W. in his day—even as he foresaw the time when the government of the U. S. would be the foster child of the special interests. Lincoln said, the greatest bond of sympathy on earth, outside the family ties, should be one uniting the workers of all nations into one union. The I. W. W. is Lincoln's dream coming true.

I am a married man and have been trying to make a home for my wife and baby—when the war started I had a homestead on a mountainside in Idaho, but

with war prices I soon was starved out. The government was calling on all miners for more coal—so I came over here to dig coal. Sept., 1918, after the armistice was signed, the miners only worked 2 or 3 days a week, so it kept me busy to make ends meet. And last fall when the raid was made on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia I was arrested and charged with the murder of one of the raiders who was killed in the first attack on the hall. I had nothing to do with it, but I was taken by a mob without a warrant, and locked up. The newspapers worked overtime spreading lies against us, and when finally, we were brought into court it was such a farce that Germany would blush with shame if it had been perpetrated there. I was unarmed the day of the raid, and witnessed it from a hotel lobby adjoining the hall. Not a shot was fired until the door was smashed in by the mob. So if the men who fought when they were attacked are murderers, then our forefathers who fired on the British at Concord, were murderers. The Prosecuting Attorney of Lewis County, was present at the time of the raid and made no effort to stop it, or the destruction of property. I saw him there, and he don't deny it. He turned his office over to the lumber trust attorneys to persecute us, and he sent for the U. S. army to intimidate the jury, in favor of the lumber trust.

If you will read the records of our trial you will be ashamed to look a Russian, German, or any other foreigner, in the face until you have done something to get justice for us. There are 11 other men in this jail, for no other crime than being members of the I. W. W. and that is no crime at all. If the I. W. W. were a criminal organization I would not be a member—for I have always tried to abide by the Golden Rule—and I believe my morals have been above the average. I have never been guilty of any crime, nor have I violated the law in any way. So I think you should start your protest at home, against the imprisonment of innocent men. Then after they are free here, you will find it easier to make Russia believe you are sincere in your sympathies for the Americans in jail there. You stated in the "New Freedom" "We must get together some way as our fathers did, for consultation and debate, in which all freely participate.

How many men are in jail today for trying to discuss matters of public interest. How about Gene Debs? And hundreds of others, in prison for speaking the truth? And now in closing I will say I believe you spoke the truth when you said, the masters of the U. S. government are the combined Capitalists and manufacturers of the U. S. But I trust you will use what little influence you may have to the end that the prison doors shall swing open in our own country and the constitution be restored to the people. Yours for Industrial freedom.

EUGENE BARNETT.



THE LAST CONVENTION OF THE SWEDISH SYNDICALISTS

The Syndicalist Movement in Sweden

By JOHN ANDERSSON

Ten years have now passed since the Swedish Syndicalists started their work with a independent Syndicalist organization for a conscious revolutionary struggle on the economic battlefield, the only field where the workers can carry on their struggle for emancipation to any advantage and with the prospect of victory.

The ideas of revolutionary Syndicalism were for the first time consciously propagated here in Sweden about fifteen years ago. True, discontent had already before been expressed over the lack of possibilities for an effective struggle by means of the Swedish craft union movement, and strong voices were heard for a rebuilding of these organizations in a revolutionary direction, but the Syndicalist ideas were not clearly formulated, aye, they were simply unknown to the workers of Sweden.

The Young Socialist movement of Sweden may be said to be the movement which during these years made the ideas of Syndicalism and its tactical methods known. Not as to say that the Young Socialist movement was the direct cause of the appearance of the Syndicalist movement as an organization — economic development and the necessity of revolutionary economic struggle would sooner or later have made Syndicalism necessary anyhow, and the practical experience of the Workers would then, perhaps, have formulated these ideas, but the Young Socialist movement with its energetic work of agitation and enlighten-

ment on this subject accelerated this development. The Swedish Syndicalist Labor Movement owes great thanks for this conscious Syndicalist agitation carried on by the Young Socialist movement, for this agitation had the effect that the Syndicalist organization in Sweden, when it became an independent fighting organization, immediately took a position which was in complete consonance with the ideas of International Syndicalism.

The reason for the forming of this organization was simply that the old organization had plainly shown its incapacity to seriously represent the workers' demands and interests. There was nothing else to do than to take this step, namely the step of trying to gather the workers in a new revolutionary organization for a necessary struggle against Capitalism.

Already before we had, during a series of years, energetically worked for the remodeling of the Craft organization in a Revolutionary Syndicalist direction. It was the Young Socialist movement which during this period was the driving power in this opposition. We got great numbers of workers on our side, demanding a remodeling of the old movement. A great number of propositions and motions with this purpose in view were made at the Congresses of the National Craft Unions and of the Landsorganization but these propositions were defeated without much debate. Not even after the smarting defeat of the general strike of 1909 would the Landsorganization make

the smallest change in spite of the fact that at the National Congress in 1909 there were about forty different motions which all proposed changes in more or less radical direction.

1907, 1908 and 1909 are three years of mighty struggle in the history of the Swedish Labor Movement. One great battle followed upon another on the economic field and culminated in the great general strike of 1909. Most of these battles turned out to be stinging defeats for the Swedish Labor movement. The organizations were partly razed and great numbers of workers were thrown into unemployment and a considerable number of them were compelled to emigrate to foreign countries, especially to America, in order to try to make the living that was denied them in Sweden, thru the conscienceless persecution of the employing class. It was the revolutionary workers who had to stand the worst persecution, and when the workers demanded that the organizations should step in to protect this energetic revolutionary element in the labor movement, the reformist leaders showed the most callous indifference. They were apparently happy to see these fellow workers chased out of the country. By such means these revolutionaries, who were so troublesome for the reformist leaders, were gotten rid of.

The cause of all these defeats was exclusively this: that the battles were not conducted according to the methods demanded by the circumstances. The old craft union movement was permeated with that accursed consideration for the Capitalist class and their system of society, which is such a characteristic trait of the reformist labor movement thruout the world. If during these years the Swedish workers had resorted to revolutionary fighting methods, the results would surely have been different. The workers would then have emerged as victors from those battles.

After the inglorious end of the general strike everything was on the verge of falling apart. The organizations were thrown to pieces and unfit for battle and, what was worse, great numbers of Swedish workers had lost faith in all organization and its ability to gain the demands of the working class. The very idea of organization and solidarity had received a hard knock.

What was to be done in order to pull the workers out of this stupor? How could we get new life and a revolutionary will into this listless class? That was the most burning question of the day among the wide-awake workers. It was at this time that the syndicalistically inclined workers of Sweden took hold with all their power in order to create the Syndicalist Revolutionary fighting organization. They had completely lost faith in the ability of the old organization to develop in a revolutionary direction and for this reason energetic agitation was started for a new organization. A great number of meetings were held on the question where the workers

gathered resolved in favor of forming such an organization.

After a preliminary conference in SKANE, where a committee was elected to do the preliminary work for a new organization, about twenty craft union representatives, together with others, met in convention in Stockholm at midsummer, 1910, to lay the foundation for the Syndicalist Organization in Sweden. After three days of earnest discussion the organization was ready to start on its career in life and to commence the necessary battle for the interests of the working class.

The name decided upon was "Central Organization of Workers of Sweden" (Sveriges Arbeters Centralorganisation). It was built on local "Samorganizations" in every place (Sam - together). Technically these had for their purpose to unite all the workers of the locality, regardless of craft or occupation, in a unified class organization. As our organization has developed we have also worked out the necessary industrial organs inside the organization in order to divide the local Samorganizations in industrial subsections in the bigger communities with their many different kinds of industrial workers. In most of the big industries thruout the country, we have in our conferences selected industrial education and action committees whose purpose has been to serve as organs for activity along industrial lines when such proved to be necessary. As a whole the members are welded together in a unified class organization.

Already from the start our organization experienced a heavy resistance. Not enough that Capitalism began a ruthless battle against us, as was to be expected, but the old organization, particularly its leading men, has also done everything to put our movement down. In this struggle against us the reformists have used every means. Lies, slander, and treason have been the most common methods. Many of our battles have been broken up because the old organization acted as traitors. They worked hand in hand with the employers against us but we are proud to point out that in spite of these traitors we ourselves have NEVER acted in a similar manner against the members of the old organization when they were out on fight.

The membership figure has risen slowly, but surely, from year to year. The following figures will illuminate the development during these years both in local Samorganizations and number of members:

Dec. 31 1910...	21 L. S....	696 members
Dec. 31 1911...	38 L. S....	1175 members
Dec. 31 1912...	64 L. S....	2037 members
Dec. 31 1913...	94 L. S....	3709 members
Dec. 31 1914...	99 L. S....	4519 members
Dec. 31 1915...	98 L. S....	4880 members
Dec. 31 1916...	144 L. S....	9295 members

Dec. 31 1917...196 L. S..15216 members
 Dec. 31 1918...296 L. S..20331 members
 Dec. 31 1919...353 L. S..24000 members

1920 shows the same upward tendency only in a little speedier tempo. There is as yet no statistics elaborated for the past half but we can nevertheless state that S. A. C. (Central Organization of Workers of Sweden) at the moment of writing has 420 local Samorganizations with a little over 30,000 members. This figure is not very large, but Sweden is a small country of only some 6,000,000 inhabitants, and we are sure it will not be many years before the Syndicalist Organization has broken thru completely. The strength of Syndicalism in Sweden must however not be computed according to this membership figure for it is much greater. All around us among the masses of the workers, outside our organization, Syndicalism and its methods have become recognized and our ideas conquer. It now only remains for these workers to transplant their ideas into practice in the way of organization.

The Swedish Syndicalist Organization has already from the start stood as an uncompromising fighter against Capitalism. The number of battles during the years past proves this clearly.

From June 25, 1910 to December 31, 1919, the local Samorganizations have, according to the reports, conducted not less than 1,046 battles. A great number of other battles have also been conducted but have not been reported. The figure given includes mainly the open battles. In some cases the demands of the members have been wholly or in part complied with without the necessity of going to an open fight.

Of the 1,046 battles mentioned, 705 ended with victory for the workers, 84 with defeat and 257 with compromise. Besides, there has on the different places of work been conducted an extensive job battle, — that means fights on the job with different means, by which methods the members have gained considerable advantages. So, for instance, the Construction Workers in the S. A. C. have on a large scale used what they call the "Register" by means of which they have from January 1, 1917 to June 30, 1919, won a wage increase of not less than 145%. This is a quite noteworthy improvement won thru this persistent and conscious battle on the job for industrial control and fixing of wages. During these years the S. A. C. has been a battling organization and will be so much more in the future.

All the branches of the organization are developing towards greater stability. The financial status is relatively good. A newly started printshop is working under high pressure to produce all the literature which is spread in millions of copies over the country. The publishing bureau

issues books and pamphlets in rapid succession, treating of the different phases of the actual class struggle.

Our paper "Syndikalisten" which is issued twice a week now has an edition of 15,000 on Wednesdays and 17,000 on Saturdays. Steps are now being taken to issue "Syndikalisten" as a daily paper. For this purpose the Organization has bought a house in Stockholm for 250,000 kronor in order to fit it up as a printshop and newspaper office and organization offices.

Special papers are issued quite frequently in large editions and in some parts of the country local Syndicalist papers are planned in order to better be able to agitate for Syndicalism.

All in all the Swedish Syndicalist movement is in a state of rapid development, not only is the membership constantly increasing but the stabilization progresses, making the members conscious Syndicalists able to know what they want and to know the task they have to perform in the imminent struggle for the re-organization of society.



HANGING ON 'BY THE SKIN OF THEIR TEETH'



EDITOR CHRISTENSEN OF "SOLIDARITET" SPEAKING TO A CHEERING CROWD OF 10,000 IN COPENHAGEN UPON HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON

SYNDICALISM IN DENMARK

By JOHN ANDERSSON

Even in the little agricultural country, Denmark, a revolutionary Syndicalist movement has begun to make itself felt; not among the agricultural workers, though, but among the industrial workers, particularly in Copenhagen and surroundings, where nearly all industry is concentrated. Already fifteen to twenty years ago the revolutionary ideas began to be known in Denmark. There were a few small but energetic groups carrying on a powerful agitation. Some papers were also started, one after the other, but they did not come out with very many numbers before they had to stop, due to small circulation. Besides, this propaganda movement was of a rather loose kind with members who enthusiastically devoted themselves to the discussion of theories and philosophy but didn't give a snap for action expressed in carefully planned organization work and self-assertion on the economic battle field. These propaganda groups consequently worked principally outside the economic movement.

But even here there was finally a more practical revolutionary movement formed, which saw the light of day with the starting of "Fagoppositionens Sammenslutning" (The Unified Craft Opposition). As one can judge from the name, its purpose was to carry on opposition for the Syndicalist ideas inside the old organization "De Samvirkende Fagforbund" (the united trades

unions). The craft opposition formed a great number of clubs inside the various crafts or industries. These clubs later were unified and had for their purpose to work for Syndicalism, each one inside their own organization.

This movement soon started an agitation paper called "Solidaritet". It was first issued as a weekly paper but has now for nearly two years been issued as a daily paper which comes out even on Sundays. To keep this paper going the members have made great personal economic sacrifices and as a result this paper is about to be recognized as the fighting organ of the Danish working class.

This movement has in the course of the years experienced tremendous resistance. The old reformist movement has done everything to break it down but they have constantly failed. The authorities have worked hand in hand with them. Many of the driving forces of the movement have been thrown into prison, sentenced to long and hard punishments for their energetic fight against the exploiting Capitalist class. This conscious Syndicalist agitation has recently commenced to show results. Quite a number of workers have left the old organization and formed a new one by the name of "Dansk Federalistisk Sammenslutning" (Danish Federalist Union), a new independent fighter in the economic class struggle.

The purpose of this organization is "to gather all the economic organizations outside the "De Samvirkende Fagforbund" for co-operation. And on the basis of absolute sovereignty for each organization to create a Central Secretariat for educational and advisory purposes in the economic class struggle of the working class." The organization stands outside all political parties.

Besides, the purpose of the Central Secretariat is "to gather and elaborate all material that can be of service to the working class in its struggle for the conquest of power over the land and the means of production and distribution." The power of decision rests entirely with the members and with no leaders.

The membership of this organization is now

between thirteen and fourteen thousand. The main group is Marine Transport Workers, who are affiliated to the number of 7500. There are no other sailor organizations in Denmark besides the Syndicalist organization to which nearly all sea-faring men belong. It is desirable and practical that the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 8, I. W. W., as soon as possible, enter into co-operation with this organization in Denmark. It is sure to leave good results. In Sweden and Norway, also, we are willing to establish such co-operation, having for its object the strengthening of International Solidarity thru action.

Truly, the revolutionary economic organization ideas are breaking thru in every country.



WILL HE STAY DOWN THIS TIME?

Norwegian Landsorganization Discards Craft Unionism

From "Syndikalisten" (Swedish Syndicalist paper) of July 24 we gather the following:

"The Norwegian Landsorganization of Labor Unions was in session all week last week and took position on a number of great questions.

"Among other decisions we note one providing for a transformation of the form of organization. Instead of craft unions and craft internationals, hereafter all local unions in each locality are united into a local samorganization, which is to be the basic unit of the landsorganization. The individual local unions which have hitherto belonged to craft associations, will now form industrial branches which unite into industrial unions."

Thus craft organization loses another stronghold, and that, too, in a country where craft production has not yet played its roll to a finish. For while Norway is making rapid strides towards a complete industrialization like America's, handicraft is still a factor much more than it is in America.

As to the new form of organization adopted it appears to be almost a counterpart of the Swedish Syndicalist organization described in this number by John Anderson, only with this difference that the Industrial Union appears to be better developed in Norway than in Sweden. The natural explanation is that Norway starts with the whole body of workers at its disposition, while the syndicalists in Sweden are building from the bottom up, adding new organs as they need them.

The striking fact in both cases is that the local samorganization (corresponding to the City Central Council of the I. W. W.) is the basic unit of the landsorganization. This arrangement makes of the landsorganization in the first hand an organ for national and local administration, a thing so necessary in these revolutionary times. By this arrangement the Norwegian workers will be able to step in and take national and local control at a moment's notice without being compelled to use the old political organs of administration.

This arrangement makes it possible for the workers to assume control without the aid of a political party, and makes it possible to use the industrial organization of the workers as the basis of society.

As for forming productive organs on a nationwide scale, this appears to have been a question of secondary nature, just as with the syndicalists of Sweden and other countries.

This is the natural result of the state of economic development of the country. While we here in America have trusts covering the whole nation with their industrial operation requiring the industrial union on our part in order to match them, in Norway and Sweden the majority of industrial enterprises are limited to one locality enabling the local union pretty well to cope with them.

However we see that both the Swedish Syndical-

ists and the Norwegian Landsorganization have provided for productive and distributive organs on a national scale, corresponding to our industrial unions.

The I. W. W. has yet to build its central councils for local administration. They will come as we organize more and more branches of industrial unions to draw these councils from. We are apt to need them any day on a large scale.

The White Terror

Forgetting for the moment the reign of terror in America of which we ourselves are the victims, we cannot help but stand aghast at the White Terror in Finland and Hungary.

If we compare ourselves with the Finnish workers we must feel like the coddled pets of the masters. As we all know the Finnish White Terror authorities threw about 40,000 in jail and have executed or starved to death or otherwise murdered tens of thousands. And we should not for a moment believe that this regime of terror has stopped. Oh, no. For every day that passes the Finnish papers bring us news of new sentences for "crimes" committed during the red revolt of a couple of years ago. Time and again life sentences are imposed, sometimes reduced to 10-20 years. The charge is sedition and treason.

The socialist party holds 80 seats out of 200 in the lantdag, but they have not power enough to protect themselves and their own. A constant stream of the party members is entering through the jail doors to serve long sentences, the latest one being Valpas-Hanninen, an ex-editor of the "Tyomies" who has been condemned to life imprisonment for participation in the revolt.

The Finnish socialists are largely politicians. They have no industrial organization built up by which they could check the White Terror.

In the same manner correspondence from Hungary indicates that the White Terrorists are working night and day. As a sample of their work let us mention a family group of four which was terribly mangled with bayonets before being buried alive. Arrests and convictions are innumerable and the justice dealt out is a parody.

Nearly all the "Peoples Commissars" of the shortlived Communist regime are arrested and face terrible sentences.

The people of Hungary seem to be paralyzed by this terror. Perhaps the nearness of a Russian victory in Poland will tend to give them hope again.

We expect to have more details about Hungary in our next number.

Consequences of the Railroad Strike in France

By George Andreytchine

20,000 militants "cheminots" discharged and blacklisted! Hundreds sentenced to prison for months and years! About 20 of the leaders in the infamous prison "La Sante", the Bastille of the Third Republic, charged with "plotting against the internal security of the state", victims of the sterile vengeance of the bankrupt French bourgeoisie. The Railroad Workers' Federation again under the "spiritual guidance" of Bidegaray, the willing tool of the companies and government. The railroad unions deprived of their best active members, a general demoralization all along the line.

This is, to the reporter who is not accustomed to dig deep into history and psychology of such profound elemental forces, the balance-sheet of the memorable struggle in May.

But to the socialist historian the great railroad strike in France is one of the preparatory maneuvers of the militant army of labor, which is making these assaults against the fortress of capitalism with the sole intention of the tempering ardour and will-power of the soldier-producer. No one in France had the illusion that this was the signal for insurrection against the existing order, no one from the ranks of avowed revolutionists, anyway. The necessary elements of popular discontent were lacking to make such an insurrection the work of the masses; the revolutionary propaganda and technical preparations for a general strike were almost nil; the main labor organizations were still under the control of renegates, who are now openly working against a social revolution; the railroad workers' organization had just gone over to the revolutionary side; the men who were elected to direct that powerful organization counting over 350,000 members, were young and inexperienced, yet—the mass of "cheminots" hardly knew the men who had signed the strike order.

The main reason for the failure of the strike lies in the fact that there were no deep seated economic grievances and that the battle cry "Nationalization" was as foreign to them as "Arise" would be to the tired and exhausted traveler who had fallen asleep by the wayside.

The young and critical anarchist element of the railroad workers claim that an open declaration of war on the capitalist regime would have carried a greater number of workers than such a lukewarm and meaningless platform. There may be a great deal of truth in this assertion.

The young and enthusiastic militants who were elected after the defeat of the reactionary Bidegaray recognize their mistakes in overestimating the readiness of the masses; the February strike had given them abundant hopes and even justification to expect that this time the response would be overwhelming.

Another tactical mistake Monmousseau, Midol and Leveque made was to allow the old reprobate

Jouhaux and his clique of recent and ancient renegates, the ex-Zimmerwaldians Merrheim, Dumoulin, Calveyrah, Laurent and tutti quanti, to run the strike, after having witnessed all their nefarious dealings with the corrupt French governments during the war and ever since. They knew in advance that this move was suicidal, and still they made it, for the sake of safeguarding the railroad workers' union intact, I presume.

Suppose the Bolsheviki would call on general Foch to lead their armies! The step Monmousseau made was analogous to this situation. In the last year and half the whole "General Staff" of the once glorious Confederation Generale du Travail have been occupied solely with the attack—coup-de-grace—to be dealt to these "geneurs" (trouble makers) Monatte, Nonmousseau, Sirolle, Midol and their followers. And the golden opportunity came in the most propitious moment. The Holy Alliance (S-Inte Alliance) of the railroad Magnates, the Government of the Bankers and Speculators, the yellow press and the leaders of the C. G. T., did not hesitate to take advantage of the situation. With a masterful stroke, the "General Staff" of Judases, once men of courage and moral probity and now sworn enemies of their fellow-soldiers in the class war who have remained true to their proletarian past traditions, shattered the last remnants of the revolutionary leadership in the Railroad Workers Federation. With open fraud and corruption, they again put their ally Bidegaray in the saddle, in spite of the fact that he was repudiated by the "cheminots" at their congress in April! repudiated and discarded. But, as Monatte writes from "la Sante", these are Bidegaray's "Cents Jours"*) and soon we may again witness the revival of the pre-war syndicalist spirit in this union and Monmousseau will take his place at the helm of this formidable battalion of rebels, much wiser and more of a general than he has shown himself during the May strike.

There is no reason for despair: all children must learn to walk by falling. The waves of discontent are growing in geometrical proportion to the follies and failures of the French bourgeoisie. It has demonstrated its incompetency to solve the tremendous problems of production; it has accelerated its downfall by its insane policy towards Soviet Russia and its stupid procedure at home.

The organized workers in France long ago could have put an end to its agony and last gasps, were it not for the fact that the men they have entrusted with the steering of the Confederal ship have always come to the rescue of the doomed bourgeoisie. Moreover, one must not forget that of the 2,000,000 members of the C. G. T. only a small minority is composed of the old war-horses who in the days of yore made its spectacular career and its epic battles inspire all of us with admiration. Most of the new

members are just simple trade unionists, who have entered it for economic security and protection, and not far the purpose of making revolution. The leaders are doing nothing to point out to them the inevitability of the coming revolution and assign to them their constructive work.

But every year the waves of strikes grow bigger; they reach deeper layers of the masses, embrace

more and divers organizations. The crucial moment is fast approaching. And then neither Jouhaux nor Foch can stem the conquering avalanche of the proletariat.

*) "Hundred Days", when Napoleon returned from Elba and reigned only a hundred days to find his inglorious end at St. Helena.



EXECUTIVE BOARD OF MEXICAN I. W. W.

Photo taken in garden of ranch near Mexico City, showing all but two members of Executive Board and three other fellow workers. (Tabler and Lopez of Executive Board were absent.) Names and corresponding numbers: 1. Maclovio Pacheco; 2. Hipolito Flores; 3. Jose Refugio Rodriguez; 4. Jose Zuidarsic; 5. Linn A. E. Gale; 6. Jose Estrada; 7. Vincente Ortega; 8. F. Snyder.

GENERAL DEFENSE

By Wm. D. Haywood

Henry Bradley, a former member of the General Executive Board, was convicted of criminal syndicalism at Eldorado, Kansas August 14th. The case will be appealed. Bonds have been fixed at One thousand dollars.

Chas. Plahn and Sam Masonovitch were arrested in Chicago, the latter being released. Plahn was held under the indictment growing out of the New Year's raids which were manipulated by Maclay Hoyne and the Department of Justice. Plahn's bond was fixed at \$5,000.00 and has been furnished.

The bonds of James Price and Ceasar Tabib of the Sacramento group have been completed. These men are both in bad physical condition, and we trust to learn of their early release.

Ed. Anderson, Felix Cedeno, Frank Filey, Jos. Harper, Harry LaTour, and Frank Moran of the Sacramento group, doing a three years term in the

Leavenworth Penitentiary, will be released on expiration September 2nd. \$75.00 each has been sent to them for traveling expenses.

William Moran and Burt Basnett were arrested in recent raids at Seattle, Washington. Moran was released, the charge against him being reduced to a disorderly person, though a finer young man it is hard to meet. Basnett was held for bond of \$1,000.00.

John Grady, Nick Wallace, R. I. Parent, and Chas. Craig were found guilty of putting a crimp in Judge Webster's injunction. Parent was presented with four months and the other six months in durance vile. These men had committed no offense other than conferring with one another and other members out in the woods. Ten others were arrested for doing something with the same injunction on August 5th. They are being held under a

blanket bond of \$1,000.00, \$500.00 of which has been raised.

George Allridge who was held for murder at Medford, Okla., has been released. It seems that a railroad policeman had been killed somewhere in that vicinity and the wise detectives thought of nothing else than arresting an I. W. W. for the crime. Three other members are being held at Medford. No case has been made against them. The Prosecuting Attorney offered the magnanimous proposition of turning them loose in thirty days if they paid board at the rate of 75 cents a day for the entire period of their incarceration. The General Defense Committee recommended that it be not done, believing that it would establish a bad precedent.

The following named nineteen members of the I. W. W. Paul, Diachuk, Sergey Drigoff, Stephen Hinievich, Frank Dziarkofsky, Peter Dubovik, Philip Holishko, Paul Grib, Ivan Hornofsky, Christopher Kataguroff, Efim Kertz, Naom Kerget, Vasili Korotkoff, Philimon Matorin, Ivan Mayboroda, Paul Manko, Ivan Sabchuk, Prokopi Savitch, Stanislaus Zamoyksy, Vasili Hornofsky are being held at Ellis

Island, New York and will be deported to Russia. They say they are conforming strictly to the preamble of the I. W. W. and will make no appeal to capitalistic courts or judges believing no relief or favorable decision would come from such sources.

The Writ of Habeas Corpus was sued out on behalf of Taft et al. The six members who were convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to the Municipal farm with a fine at Kansas City, Missouri. The Habeas Corpus will be argued August the 16th. It will be remembered that this case was originally tried before a judge who when Mr. Vanderveer objected to the jurist making remarks outside of the record told Vanderveer that if he did not like what was being said from the bench that he would be excused from the courtroom—some justice!

Twenty-five thousand dollars in Liberty Bonds have been raised for the joint bond; twenty-five thousand more is needed to secure the release of the remaining members of the Chicago group confined in the penitentiary at Leavenworth. The Amnesty Club at Chicago reports an additional sum of three thousand dollars raised for this purpose which will make a total of \$28,000.00.

Amnesty Picnic

Given by the Scandinavian Bail and Bond Committee of the General Defense
of the I. W. W.

Sunday, September 5

AT

BRAND'S PARK

SPEAKING DANCING GAMES MUSIC

Among the Speakers will be BRENT DOW ALLINSON,
Conscientious Objector Recently Released from Leavenworth

Admission 50c including
war tax

Take Elston Car to Belmont

Skinner's Job-Strike a Winner

By JOHN E. NORDQUIST

The skinner's are winning the eight hour day. The strike on the job tactics are turning the trick in camp after camp. Not only are the hours of labor being shortened, but the wages have been materially raised in many of the camps of the North-west and middle-west; and better still, Mr. Block and his brother, Scissor Bill are being forced to line up in the only working class union or get off the job. In camp after camp he is told to begin functioning for himself and his class or else get off the job and stay off.

The past method of pleading with the unreasoning camp workers has been discontinued as it has proven a failure. A program of steely persuasion has been inaugurated instead, and it is proving a grand success.

Up to date, most of the camps of Washington and Oregon have gained the eight hour day. All of Kane's camps near Aberdeen, S. Dak., started in on the eight hour day on Aug. 1, and many other camps in the middle west are about to make the great change.

Naturally the gaining of the eight hours is a slow process. Before effective action can be taken a majority of the workers in a camp must be lined up and this is being done as speedily as possible. Every camp delegate in the country is sending a steady stream of applications for membership into headquarters and it will be but a short time till all construction camps will be under control of those who work in them. Not till then can the conditions be improved to the extent that they should be improved.

You old members who have been asleep at the switch while the active fellow workers have been bearing the brunt of the battle, had better pitch in and do your bit now. Can't you see that with a little more action we'll make the camps solid wob?

Don't hang back any longer!

Write in for credentials at once, then begin FORCING the scissors into the ONLY UNION, or force them out of the camps.

Away with all the soft stuff!

Let's try a plan that will win!

Make the three letters read, "I WILL WIN" for the Industrial Workers of the World!

Here is a fac-simile of the leaflet that has helped solidify the skinner's and brought about concerted action in the team camps.

• STRIKE ON THE JOB

Fellow Construction Workers of the Road Camps and Railroad Grades of the Entire Country—North, East, South and West—the time has come for us to assert our rights or the greedy contractors will grind us still harder. They are already contemplating a cut in our scanty wages! Yes, and they are thinking of still further cheapening the damnable chuck that they are at present slopping us with!

They have even decided to lengthen the long, arduous hours that we now slave for them! The

nine, ten and eleven hours that we are now working doesn't seem to satisfy them. One honest-to-goodness camp of wooden-blocks is actually working twelve hours!

Now, as we have already agreed that the eight-hour day is most important, we will

TAKE THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

TAKE IT! UNDERSTAND!

We are not going to ask the "cons" to cut the hours and have them refuse us, as they have done in the past. This time we are really going to take the eight-hour day, as the lumber jacks of the west did recently; that is, we are going to win our wishes by striking on the job.

HERE'S OUR PROGRAM

We'll go to work at the usual time and put in eight hours of work. Then, at a signal from one of our fellow workers, we'll simply unhitch and stable the stock.

There's no need of informing the boss previously that we are going to take this action. Just work the eight hours and quit, then tell him our reasons. If he doesn't like it—well, it's just up to him to make the next move. Very likely when he learns that we are pulling the same tactics in every construction camp in the country, he'll think twice before he gets hard-boiled and wants to "can" us.

Remember, fellow workers—the "cons" can't depend on the "standing army" of unorganized men that they formerly shoved into the groove when we went on strike, for the simple reason that most of these unorganized men are now red-card members. And that is the chief reason that we are bound to win the eight-hour day.

The masters have already delayed the big jobs as long as they dare in order to force us to accept long hours and low wages. Now, when they see that we are determined to force the issue, they will agree to our eight-hour program in order to get as much work done as possible before snow flies.

REMEMBER

Our program is for the eight-hour day at the same wage that we are now getting for the nine, ten and eleven hour shifts.

When we have firmly established the eight-hour day we'll give our attention to a reasonable wage scale for all camp construction workers.

"One thing at a time" should be our motto, if we expect to better our conditions quickly.

Prepare for the great "job strike" by lining up as many of the cardless as possible. Make your camp ONE HUNDRED PER CENT WOB.

If you who read this haven't lined up in the I. W. W. yet, get in touch with a delegate at once. Your card awaits you. Don't wait till we get the eight hours for you. Show that you are a man! Be with us and

STRIKE ON THE JOB

If you want to be absolutely sure to get your magazine, send in 10 cent extra for each member subscribed for, and we will send it by first class mail.



WORK PEOPLES COLLEGE, RIVERSIDE, STA, DULUTH, MINN.

The Work People's College

AN I. W. W. INSTITUTION

The Finnish workers in America have observed that the advancement of learning is one of the most important factors for the progress of the class struggle of the workers. It is for this reason that the workers have established in their midst an institution which for over a decade has carried on education of the Finnish workers of America. This institution, The Work People's College, during its existence has implanted into the workers the true spirit of the class struggle and its processes, teachings which have been very effective in the struggle of the workers against the capitalist class.

But being an institution of the Finnish people only, it has not attained that effectiveness which, as a working class institution in America, it should have. So The Work Peoples' College seeks to broaden out in order that the workers the nation over shall have the opportunity to take advantage of this institution of learning. With this in view several of the subjects *will be taught in English* during the coming year. The success of this work is guaranteed by the fact that the workers industrial organization of America—the I. W. W.—in its twelfth annual convention held in Chicago, Ill., May, 1920, has given its support and endorses the college as an I. W. W. institution.

SCHOOL YEAR

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

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

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

SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT

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

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

PRACTICE DEPARTMENT

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

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

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

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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

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

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

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

ORGANIZATION BOOKKEEPING

1. The duties of a delegate: 5 hours.
2. The duties of a secretary: 3 hours.
3. Fundamentals of double entry bookkeeping according to the Rowe system: 2 hours. The students can take up the work where he had formerly left off, or depending on his former preparation.
4. Penmanship; 5 hours.
5. Letter writing; 2 hours.
6. Arithmetic 1, whole numbers, fractions, decimals; 5 hours.
7. Arithmetic 2. A review of Arithmetic 1. measures, percentage and proportion; 5 hours.
8. Typewriting.

CHARGES

Room and board may be obtained at the college dormitory and boarding hall. The charges are as follows: Tuition, \$10.00; board, \$30.00, and room, \$6.00 per month, the total expenses being 46.00 per month. Under all circumstances the payments are to be made in advance for at least one month.

If for any reason the student is compelled to leave before the month is up, the balance of his boarding and rooming account will be refunded, but no tuition will be refunded.

HOW TO GET TO THE COLLEGE

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

STUDENT LIFE

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

There is plenty of opportunity for the student to take regular exercise indoor and outdoor to keep himself in good physical condition.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THOSE INTENDING TO ATTEND THE COLLEGE

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPLICATION FOR ENTRANCE TO THE COLLEGE

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

.....Scientific Course.

.....Practice Subjects.

.....English Language.

.....Organization Bookkeeping.

I shall arrive at the college.....

.....(Month).....(day).

Name

Address

WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE.

Box 116, Riverside Station, Duluth, Minn.



WILLIAM CLARK
Stool Pigeon

From Philadelphia we have received the accompanying photo of Wm. Clark together with the following letter, with request to print:
Fellow Workers:

Enclosed find a picture of William Clark, who ran away with about eight hundred dollars (\$800.00) belonging to the "Organization and Class War Prisoners Fund." He was formerly a member of 400, and was well known around Dakotas. It is furthermore rumored, that for evading the draft the "Department of Justice" did not prosecute him, but kept him in the organization to act as a stool pigeon.

He is about five feet seven (5 ft. 7 inch.), blue eyes, black hair and has a woman's head totoed on his right hand above the wrist. He is about thirty-four (34 years of age.) He was on the last ballot of No. 573 for the "Organization Committeeman."

Hoping that you will keep your eyes on this bird.

Yours for the O. B. U.

JOHN J. WALSH,

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