

The **ONE BIG UNION** *Monthly*

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THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

*By Conquering the Industries
You Conquer the World!*



NOVEMBER 1937

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WORKING CLASS UNITY

The Industrial Workers of the World wants a unified labor movement; but it is an active unity that we want, not the passive kind that grows out of meek submission to employers, leaders, and dictators.

We want to see men and women of the working class voluntarily united by a common cause, a conscious urge for plenty in freedom, and fighting on the economic field against the common enemy. We want workers united by knowledge and understanding of their position in society and by the conviction that through industrial unionism alone can they reach their goal—freedom from wage slavery.

There is unity of a kind in a mob bent on destruction. There is unity in an army rushing to its death, and the death of others, at the command of a leader whose purpose and object the soldier cannot understand, nor is supposed to question.

We don't want unity of the millions for the glory and honor of political and industrial leaders, no matter if they do claim to speak in the name of labor.

The unity we want is established only in workshops and in union meetings where workers produce and where they make plans for the regulation of production.

Let working class harmony develop out of a common activity instead of from blind obedience to self-imposed leaders, and the troubles from which we suffer will soon be ended. The I. W. W. shows the way to freedom!

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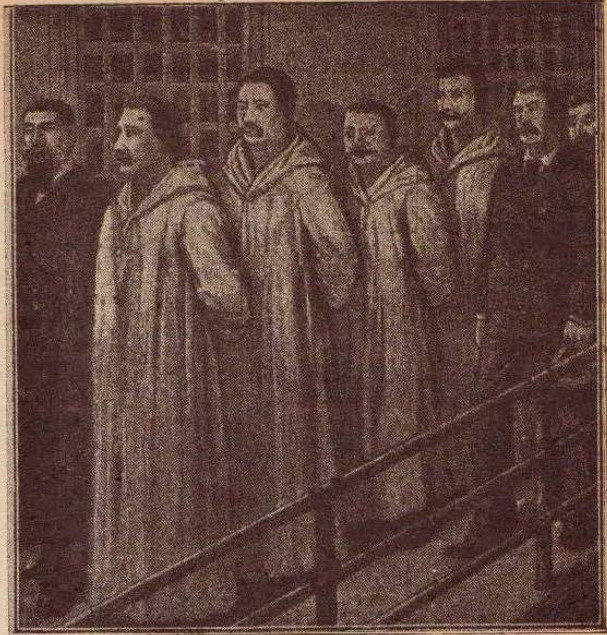
November 11

Fifty Years

Ago

By

LUCY PARSONS



Once again on November 11 a memorial meeting will be held to commemorate the death of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs—1937 is the fiftieth anniversary and this meeting bids fair to be more widely observed than any of the forty-nine previous ones.

It has taken fifty years to dig the facts of this case out from under the mountains of lies that was heaped upon our martyrs by the exploiters in their attempt to cover up their crime of sending five labor leaders to the gallows. You will hear people say today, as one said to me recently, "What! Calling those Haymarket bomb-throwers martyrs? Do you think I believe that? You will have to show me."

Now I am writing this article to "show" all such doubting Thomases.

The Protest Meeting

The Haymarket meeting was held as a protest against the brutality of the police who, during the great strike for the eight-hour work day of 1886, tried with all the vicious power at their command to defeat the hopes of the workers.

At noon on May 3, 1886, the striking workers of the McCormick reaper works were discussing their problems in a mass meeting near the plant when two patrol wagons loaded with policemen appeared. With drawn clubs the police rushed down upon the workers, clubbing them. Two workers were shot.

The next evening the famous Haymarket meeting was held to protest against this and other outrages of the police. This meeting was attended by about 3,000 people, men and women. I myself was there with our two children.

The meeting was perfectly peaceful but when it was about to adjourn a company of police charged upon it and ordered the crowd to disperse. At the onrush of these police, violators of the law they were sworn to uphold, someone—to this day he is unknown—hurled a bomb into the ranks of the police. Then hell broke loose!

The "Anarchist" Craze

The papers came out next morning with great flare headlines, "The anarchist dynamiters, bomb-throwers had started a riot and had intended to blow up the city; and but for the courage of the police they would have thrown many more bombs," and so on. They demanded that the leaders be arrested and made examples of.

Six weeks later eight men (our Chicago martyrs) were arraigned in a prejudiced court before a prejudiced judge and a packed jury. They were charged with murder.

Mayor Harrison of Chicago testified for the defense. Here are a few lines from his testimony:

"I went to the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it should it require my attention, when the meeting was about to adjourn I went to the station (about half a block away) and told Cap-

tain Bonfield to send his reserves home, that the meeting was about to adjourn, that the speeches were tame."

But State's Attorney Grinell, pointing to the defendants, said:

"These defendants are not more guilty than the thousands who follow them; they were selected by the grand jury because they were leaders. Convict them and save our society."

Bailiff Rylance was heard to remark:

"I am managing this case. Those fellows will hang as sure as death. I am selecting men that will compel the defense to waste their challenges, then they will have to take such men as the prosecution wants."

Triumph of Reaction

The trial, so-called, lasted sixty-three days. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty in three hours.

The judge in dismissing the jury-men thanked them for the verdict and told them that carriages were outside to take them home. The capitalists were over-joyed. A sum of \$100,000 was paid the jury. The Chicago Tribune on August 20 opened its columns thus:

"The twelve good men and true have rendered a

just verdict, let them be generously remembered. Raise a sum of \$100,000 to be paid with the thanks of a grateful public."

When the march to the gallows was begun all the men showed remarkable courage without the slightest tinge of bravado. Parsons was wonderfully composed. The moment his feet touched the gallows he seemed to lose his identity . . . "No tragedian ever made a more marvelous presentation of a self-chosen part," a capitalist paper reported.

On that gloomy morning of November 11, 1887, I took our two little children to the jail to bid my beloved husband farewell. I found the jail roped off with heavy cables. Policemen with pistols walked in the inclosure.

I asked them to allow us to go to our loved one before they murdered him. They said nothing.

Then I said, "Let these children bid their father goodby, let them receive his blessing. They can do no harm."

In a few minutes a patrol wagon drove up and we were locked up in a police station while the hellish deed was done.

Oh, Misery, I have drunk thy cup of sorrow to its dregs but I am still a rebel.

"The Life Abundant"

A SHORT STORY

By WALTER PFEFFER

*Suzanne Gives Some Low-Down On
The Crust of the "Upper Crust"*

Slim shouldn't discuss economics after a big meal. It always makes him too optimistic. Last Thursday he happened to be full of spare-ribs and cabbage—it was just the day after he got his pay from the WPA—and was discussing about Intelligence. It wasn't just the spare-ribs and cabbage, it must have been something he had read about a speech by one of these big shots who do the window dressing for the corporations.

"The world is going ahead to a greater abundance even if the unions don't do much about it," he opined. "Improved machinery not only makes it possible; it makes it necessary. For years haven't we heard political leaders of every party, in and out of office, business leaders, lawyers, college professors, everybody in general say that the problem is one of bringing consumption of goods to a par with our productive capacity? Isn't it plain as day that the economic problem is making everybody think? Aren't the capitalists, the industrial

leaders, the big bankers, all talking differently about the standard of living than they used to? Yes, sir, there's a growing Intelligence among all classes of people, and that is going to solve our problem. They know that they've got to raise the standard of living, or they can't keep their machines running."

Suzanne had dropped in—Thursday is her day off—in the midst of this optimistic opinionation, and was already busy on her knitting. (That's a sure sign that she was all set for a big argument.) She actually stopped knitting to ask: "So the leopard is changing his spots, is he?"

"Yes, sir, right in front of our eyes every day," says Slim, "you can see them coming to recognize the impact of technology on our socio-economic structure." (Every time Slim feels shaky about an argument, he hoists up all the six-bit jawbreakers he can find.)

"Well, the only ones of the tribe that I know

much about are the Old Man, and His Nibbs (that's the Old Man's son-in-law), and the folks that come out to eat, drink and be merry with them," says Suzanne, "and their spots ain't changing. In fact you should have tin-eared on them last night," she says.

"I was out in the kitchen, dishes all washed and Algernon in bed, and the house that quiet that I was pretty sure the little spoiled brat would soon be asleep, when the Old Man let a holler out of him. 'They're eatin' too damned much,' he says. So I look into the library where they had a log fire on to make it look cheerful, and there he was looking at the Saturday Evening Post.

He'd said it so loud that His Nibbs, and Letitia, (that's the Old Man's daughter that His Nibbs married), and Cornelia, (that's the other daughter that's waiting for the Old Man to buy her a title), and Mr. and Mrs. Spifdink who were over playing bridge with His Nibbs and the Mrs., all looked up respectful like. Even Gerald, His Nibbs' kid brother who's going to college, took his nose out of his book long enough to see if the Old Man was goin' to throw a fit.

"I was wondering if he was hollering about the help, but I'll say that for the Old Man, he always leaves it to Letitia to begrudge us enough to eat—yeah, she buys chops for us, exactly one apiece, and the butcher's boy is that well trained that he has to slip us something extra, and once in a while we take up a collection for him. 'Look at this ad,' he says, 'in a magazine that reaches millions of people. How to coax kids to eat a hot cereal for breakfast! When I was a kid we used to fight to clean out the pot!'

"Well, they all relaxed a bit to find it was nothing worse than that. But he wasn't goin' to let them have any peace. He lays down the magazine, and glowers around at everybody, and lets another whoop out of him: 'Yeah, they're eatin' too damned much!'

"It set Algernon to crying that he wanted an ice-cream cone, and Mrs. Letitia sent the chauffeur out to get him one, and that's one chore Dick always kicks about, for he usually gets gypped out of the nickle. His Nibbs doesn't figure Algernon should have ice-cream after bed time either, and that must have made him sore, for he came back at the Old Man with: 'Well, dad, that's just a line of advertising that's brought you in plenty—you have a ten per cent interest in that—and they just grind up some wheat, and parch a bit of it—and package it and sell it at a fancy price by that kind of advertising, so what are you squawking about?'

"I don't give a damn whether I made a million on it or not,' says the Old Man. 'That ad is a sign of the times. It's a sign that these damned people that are striking, and raising so much hell, are eating too damned much. If they didn't have too damned much to eat, there wouldn't be any sense

to this sort of advertising—and it all goes to prove my point that you can't pacify the beasts by giving them more. We put the lazy bums on relief, and even then they eat too damned much and want us to pay their doctor bills for them too. We'd all be better off if the kids were still scrapping to clean out the pots.'

"Then how would you sell them this cereal?" asks Gerald.

"We wouldn't have to sell it to them,' says the Old Man.

"If you didn't sell it to them, what would you do with the mills that make it, how would you make money out of them if you closed them down?" he asks.

"I'd damned well fire a few people if they couldn't figure how else to make some money with those damned mills. I know well enough that if we paid people less money, and they got along by wasting less food, and not eating so damned much, I'd have more money. Oh yeah, I can tell by the look on your face what you're thinking. I know what sort of radicalism they're teaching in that college that I'm fool enough to pay for—I've heard some of those political orators call me a gilded Grease-Us and you think I begrudge the working class the very bread that's in their mouth. But I'm telling you this, young feller, that there never was a kinder hearted man than yours truly, or a man who had the interests of the working man closer to his heart. It's the principle of the thing that I'm fighting about. We give these men jobs, and they bite the hand that's feeding them. We have to give them bonuses to get any damned work out of them. We get a bunch of college bred boobs as personnel managers, and every time some outside agitator comes around, they get yellow around their gills and tell us we'll have to give the men an increase or they'll organize and go on strike—and all the time it's the same old story—the more they get, the more they want. The world's going to the dogs and it's all because they eat too damned much. We got to do something about it. We got to save this damned waste. We got to save this damned civilization. And we're going to cut these wages next week, and we're going to keep on cutting them until kids start fighting to clean out the pots."

* * *

"Hell," says Slim, "he's just one of the Old Guard. The new type of capitalist is college trained—he knows his economics—he knows you can't keep on running that way—increased productivity won't permit it."

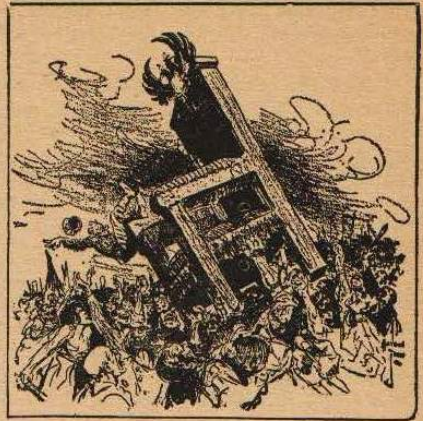
"Well," says Suzanne, "he may be Old Guard, but he's the guy that tells these other fellows where to get off at. I'm just telling you that you won't be wrong if you start telling the boys that they have to organize and fight, or they'll be getting wage cuts."

Industrial Unionism - -

It's Power And Promise

By

COVINGTON HALL



No subject is being more "cussed and discussed" today than the question of Industrial Unionism.

Therefore, what is industrial unionism? Out of what environment did the idea originate?

To me at least, Frank Walsh, the chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission of 1913, "hit the nail on the head" when he said: "The I.W.W. is the most American thing in America." By which he meant that the plans and principles laid down in the Preamble to the constitution of the I.W.W. could have originated only on this continent; for only here were the economic and other factors ready for the birth of the idea. Well, what is this idea?

For A Democratic Society

It is, first, that democracy as defined by Thomas Jefferson, "equal rights and opportunities to all and special privileges to none," is a good doctrine for the masses to cling to and strive to perfect. Under the influence of this idea, the American workers have sought to organize from the earliest times. All their great spontaneous attempts at organization were based on class and not on craft rights, as witness the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the American Labor Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Brewery Workers, the Bakery Workers, and others too numerous to mention here.

No one who reads the history of American labor movements can honestly believe that the idea is "a foreign one," for, if any idea was ever born on American soil, it is the idea of industrial unionism and its logical corollary, industrial democracy. Craft unionism, not industrial unionism, is "un-American."

This is not the only source of the origin of the great idea, of course. There is yet one other that makes it a race-idea. And that idea is that economic and social evolution is inevitably driving us on, whether we will or not, to one of two things—revolution, or a going onward and upward to a higher and nobler society; or devolution, or a sinking backward and downward to a lower standard of living.

With this idea ever in mind, the industrial unionist forever insists that the hope of a free and classless society depends first and last upon the ability of the working class to control the factor that finally determines the lives of men and nations—the economic factor.

Industrial Unionism the Only Way

Holding steadfast to this idea, we further hold that it is only by and through the industrial union that labor can plan and control the production and distribution of the means of life, food, clothing, shelter, education, power, etc. All of which, we hold, should be produced for consumers' USE and not for private profit, whether of individual or corporations.

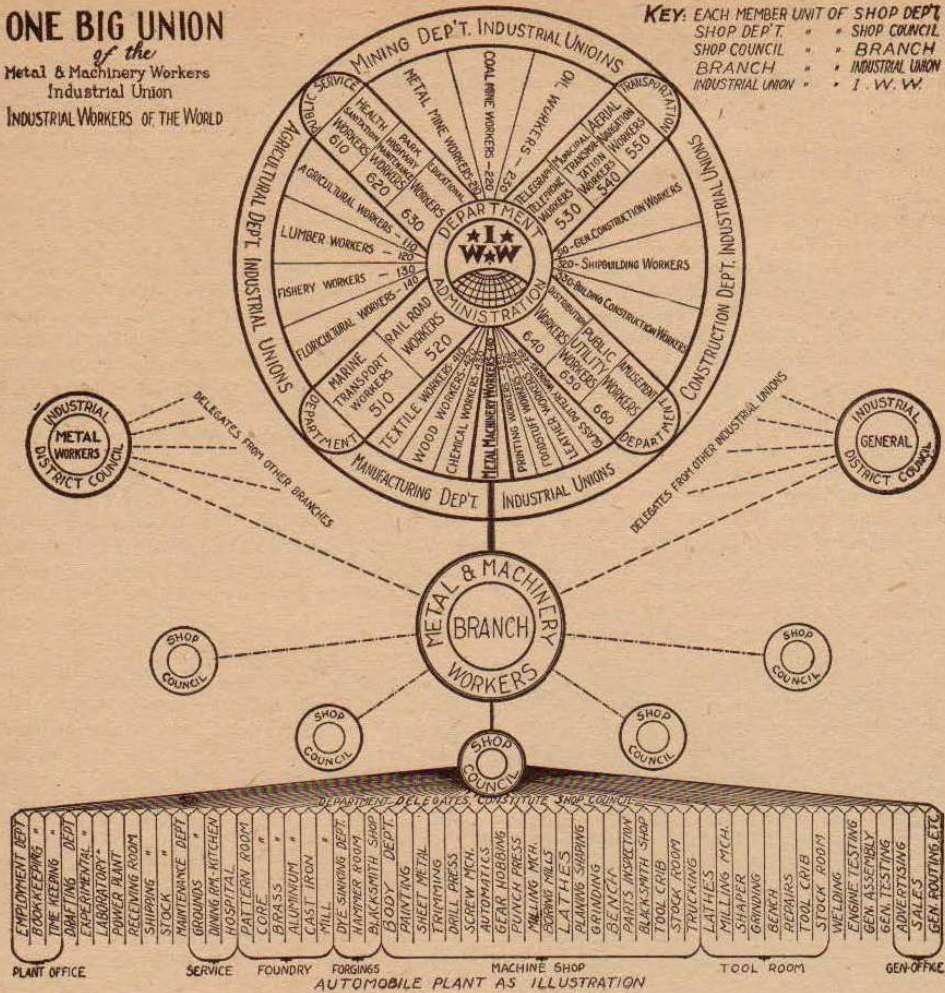
Believing this, we demand the organization of the workers into, first, unions covering an entire industry; and, second, that these industry unions be bound together in ONE UNION of the working class, the working class being, as we define it, all those who must depend upon the sale of the labor-power of their hands and brains to acquire the means of life.

Only by and through such an organization can we conceive of society carrying on when "capitalism collapses," as we hold that it most surely will, at no distant date now in these United States.

ONE BIG UNION

of the
Metal & Machinery Workers
Industrial Union
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

KEY: EACH MEMBER UNIT OF: SHOP DEPT. * * * SHOP COUNCIL
SHOP DEPT. * * * BRANCH
BRANCH * * * INDUSTRIAL UNION
INDUSTRIAL UNION * * * I. W. W.



In building the one big union it is not alone a question of forging a fighting weapon to use in the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. When capitalism shall have disappeared through the operation of forces that are even now hastening it to its end, the organized working class will take control—

through its industrial unions—of the means of production and distribution.

The diagram of an I. W. W. industrial union above need not be taken as representing exactly the manner in which the functions of the workers on a job are or will be carried out. For instance the functions of the "shop council" indicated are at present merged in the shop branch,

Other than the machinery of the industrial union, we can see no other way society can carry on if our democratic rights are to be preserved and broadened. We cannot conceive of the co-operative commonwealth functioning through the machinery of the capitalist or political state, nor through any other machinery of administration based on territorial units of organization and representation, any more than we can conceive of a capitalist system functioning through that of feudalism. With President Woodrow Wilson, we hold that "the corporation is a new form of social organization that has already risen superior to and above the state"; and that, this being so, we either democratize the Corporation or lose all we have gained through centuries of bitter struggle.

Of, By and For the Workers

Seeing this fact of the domination of human welfare by corporations and the kings who own and govern them, and seeking for a way to establish a truly democratic co-operative commonwealth, working class thinkers evolved the idea of industrial unionism as the only means to gain control and management of industry and agriculture—as the only means whereby could be established "a government of, by and for all the people": for if the people, who are the workers, cannot control that on which their jobs depend—industry—their control elsewhere is a delusion and a snare. So, our idea is that the union and its correlated organizations will supersede the State as the administrator of society, and that the workers and technicians alone are capable of creating the Industrial Republic. We look to no "withering away of the State" save as the power of the industrial republic grows and develops; and, despite the seeming evidence to the contrary, we hold that no power on earth can finally prevent the conquest of social power by the workers, not in this country, at least, for if President Roosevelt is correct, we, the working class, already constitute "ninety per cent of the American people."

The Conquest of Poverty

To organize that "90 per cent" and run this continent on the good old American principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number" is the aim and purpose of all true industrial unionists, whatever their affiliation may be. We hold that this can be done, that President Hoover for once stated truth when he said shortly before leaving the White House that "the American people today stand face to face with the conquest of poverty, the first time in history any people have ever so stood." There is no doubt about the truth of that assertion, for it has since been backed up by statement after statement by many able engineers to the effect that a minimum income of around \$5,000 per year was now possible for every American family, some engineers putting the minimum still higher.

Not within the bounds of the present economic system, however, can this higher standard of living be achieved, but only in a system based uncompromisingly on **production for use**. It is either that—**PRODUCTION FOR USE**—or a steadily falling standard of living for the mass of the American people from now on, and no matter what their money wages may be.

It may be said that production for use means socialism. It does. But it is no longer a question of "whether we will have socialism or not." As regards that, the only question now before the American people to decide is this: "Shall the socialism that is **ALREADY** here be an industrial democracy or an industrial despotism?" That is the only choice we have, for all our great basic industries and natural resources are today operated, not by individualistic, but by collectivized labor. They have been trustified—**socialized**, but not for us who labor.

Therefore, seeing this, and while we battle ever for higher wages, shorter hours and better working and living conditions, industrial unionists never forget this: that the final purpose is **INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**, the ending of kingship in industry, of dictatorship everywhere.

Power in the Union

There is no doubt that the One Big Union, once organized, will have the power to bring this about, for it will have the power of food, clothing and shelter, of transportation and communication, aye! and of rifles, cannon and machine-guns in its hand. It will control the mightiest might on earth—**ECONOMIC POWER**, the source of all other powers, and of all other freedoms, as well.

Finally, there is no other plan that offers so great a promise of individual and collective security and prosperity, so much of spiritual liberty to the race as that held out to mankind by the industrial unionists and syndicalists of the world. It is a promise of free men and women working in free workshops and on free soil and of free children in free schools and free playgrounds everywhere under the banners of the **Democratic Industrial Republic**.

Let us rise and march, my comrades, to the song that Freedom sings!

Let us hurl a Man's defiance in the ashen face of Kings!

Let us rise and organize for justice, freedom, homes and bread

Till the whole world shakes and trembles to the thunder of our tread,

To the thunder of our tread, to the thunder of our tread,

Till the whole world shakes and trembles to the thunder of our tread!

Onward, onward, onward

Till the toilers all are free!

Forward, forward, forward

In a mighty jubilee!

"Fordism's" Sacrifices

By JOHAN KORPI

On Thursday evening the radio broadcast "March of Time" dramatizes the news over the ethereal waves. Regarding one particular news item from Paris, the dramatization was as follows:

Women, in an apparently paralyzed condition are brought to emergency receiving room of Hospital from a sugar refinery, their nerves irritated to the utmost, the slightest confusion could bring about an awful hysteria.

The physician arrives, examines the patients, makes notes of his findings, at last asks:

"Where were these patients brought from?"

"From the sugar refinery."

"What kind of work did they do?"

"They worked on some machinery."

"What happened to them in the refinery?"

The party who had brought the women related: "They were working on machines, the speed of which is exceedingly fast and the speed of the attendant's hands must conform with that of the machines. Oftentimes a worker gets a fainting spell, but now it was a little more. In the place of just fainting—they just stood with a horrified stare in their eyes, when suddenly one screeched in a terrifying voice at the machinery, others joined her. Finally they fell in a faint."

The Doctor asked one of the patients—"Do you remember what happened to you?"

"—I remember. The high speed of the machine, from day to day, week to week, the terrifying noise of machinery in motion, it gets my fingers to shaking, my eyes see images, see a horrifying, shattering machine. Oh! It's there! In front of me! . . . I can't get my hands away from it. — Now my eyes!!! Oh! Oh! oh . . ."

The woman shrieks the last words in a voice filled with terror and suffering. The doctor follows every detail of the happenings with keen interest, until once again the patient has been revived to consciousness.

It was not the first occurrence of this kind that the doctor had witnessed, therefore, he appears before the Health Commission and speaks as follows:

"Medical Science has come to the conclusion that the mass production era, its speed and ex-

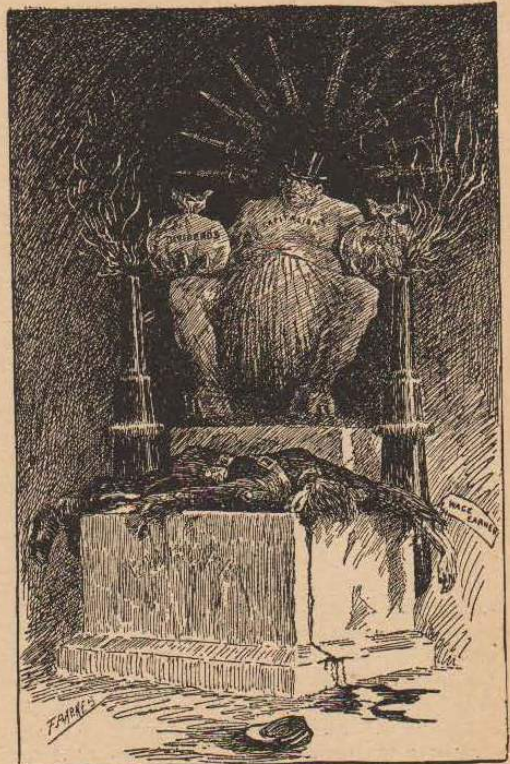
cessive noise-producing machinery has created a heretofore unknown disease which is widely spread and of serious nature. It creates high blood pressure, nervous prostration, fainting and it may have as a climax total paralysis."

* * *

This, in brief, was the contents of the radio broadcast.

* * *

This news item deprived me of my sleep that night for I too have been at the mercy of similar machines. Only once in my lifetime, but, that one time was enough to create memories, harrowing mental images of a machine for the remainder of



my life. Originally I was a cobbler by trade. In this trade, as in all handicraft, the worker handles his tools as well as the materials worked upon, being totally individually in control of the work and speed thereof. The worker can either speed up or slacken his pace at will.

We Used to Control the Machine

At the age of sixteen I started working in a fully machine-equipped shoe factory, now about thirty-five years ago. The machinery was primitive and the output, accordingly very small. Each machine was separate, operated individually, not depending upon the other for speed, hence, the worker was the master of his machine. He was able to either start or stop it whenever he wished so to do. He could control the speed of his machine according to the speed of his own ability.

Upon my arrival in the United States in the year 1905, I worked in a few shoe factories, but then machinery still was in its early stages.

The automobile industry probably is the first, in the so-called, mass production form, where the machine and article worked upon control the movements of the worker on the working premises. Its murdering effect upon the worker can hardly be fully realized by no one outside of the ones who become the sacrifices of this sort of industry.

The Ford output probably was the way-opener of the development of this creation.

Many corporations in the automobile industry have followed Ford's ways of development and some have possibly exceeded him in it.

In the year of 1923 I experienced the fate that befalls workers of mass production. At that time I secured work in Ford's River Rouge Plant, where, already then, 45,000 workers were doing three shifts. Seeking work, we stood close to a thousand in number, in line. This line lasted from 4 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon, for many were the seekers and many hundreds of workers were employed.

A Job at Ford's: Preparation

A stout man, equipped with eagle eyes, reminding one of a southern slave driver, walks alongside the slow moving line, cane in hand, with which he points at a worker, whom he has approved. He asks a few questions. If the answers are satisfying, he points with his cane to an office where this worker gets a stamped slip and then upstairs, where, first some routine questions are asked regarding his former places of employment. If the answers are satisfactory to the officials, then starts the physical examination by the doctors. The first doctor examines the eyes and tests them as to their sight. The next doctor examines chest, heart and lungs and the third examines the hands, feet and completes the examination. This occurs while the

worker or applicant is stripped. If the outcome is satisfactory as was in my case, then he gets a slip which designates the department in which he is to work.

On stepping out, Ford transportation, which took about twenty of us straight to the factory, was waiting. We went not directly to our departments, but first into a theatre within the factory, where there were about a hundred men already waiting. Then the show started. On the white screen appeared a machine and beside the screen, with pointer in hand, stood the instructor who explained the moving parts of the machine as they appeared on the screen. He explained each movement in detail and how the worker is to conform his movements accordingly so as to keep the equipment and the material under control during his time at the machine.

First the moving parts and the functions of each, on the machine were explained thoroughly during the showing of the slow motion series of the picture, then it was speeded up faster, then still faster. The instructor brought out very carefully all of the dangerous movements, with which the workers could cause damage to the machinery, the material and also to themselves, but the greatest stress was laid upon how to use the equipment most efficiently so as to eliminate all pauses and gain more and more speed. So, on the screen there appeared one machine after another, with their respective movements and, before two hours had elapsed this audience knew just what department they, each one, would be referred to and how the speed of this work could attain its maximum.

The Job

After the show each was given a number with instructions which shift he was to work and in what department. I was assigned to the Open Body Department. My duties were to paint the space for the lock in the door frame which is about four inches wide and four inches long.

At that time the frame was of wood and the paint was to eliminate rot. It did not need much skill, three strokes with the brush and that was all, but, the speed, it necessitated was more than I was capable of or could withstand.

The boss who first showed me the work, just how it was to be done, pointed and made motions with his hands and movements with his lips, for his voice was not audible above the din and noise of the machinery, it was so great, unless he hollered in my ear.

The work was to be performed alongside a conveyor. From the department where the frames were manufactured, the conveyor brought a continuous line of frames. My duty was to take the frames from the conveyor, place them on the floor, then paint them, and pile them up for the

next operation to be made upon them, the covering by sheet metal panels.

I felt a certain attachment to my duty, as insignificant as it seemed. I endeavored to keep up with the speed of the arrival of the frames, but that was impossible, I could not. The frames stacked up more and more which I had no time to paint. When I started to paint, the conveyor which kept moving constantly, took the frames past me when I could not snatch them off fast enough.

An Introduction to Speed

The boss came around and watched my panicky circumstances and smiled. It created in me a thought that he surely is thinking: "There is another ass without brains." And, perhaps, he would not have been very much in the wrong, for I was not there for pleasure but for the want of bread. Soon a young man came to assist me. He yelled in my ear: "Do not hurry! I shall assist you this shift and the shift following to get you accustomed to the speed. Take care, not even the best of men have been able to stand the gaff more than a couple of months."

The extreme noise and din of the machinery caused me to nod my head in assent. I endeavored to quieten from my first bewilderment, I tried to think that others before me have been unsuccessful here, but the work and its din drowned my thoughts.

During the eight-hour work day we had a fifteen minute rest period, during which we grabbed some sandwiches. The keen interest in the work during the first shift had caused forgetting to note anything else. Up to then I had not noticed the so-called mercury lights; it destroys color. Starting to eat my sandwich it appeared soiled green, then my working tools, my skin, the skin of others, all seemed a soiled green. Later I read of such a light completely destroying the optical nerves in a short period, so much so that over 50 per cent of the Ford employees have weak eyesight.

The Machine is Master

I resumed my work with the same vim and interest after lunch. Should it be necessary to leave even for a moment, another worker must take your place for that time, for the machine cannot be stopped. At the lavatory door is a guard with stick in hand, should anyone overstay, either falling into a stupor of relaxation or faint, for even such has occurred from overexhaustion, — then the guard steps in and does his duty.

So continued the first, second and even the third shift, and so on until I had attained the speed required to put out from six to eight thousand frames in an eight-hour period.

But the effect that this speed has on one, I have never experienced in any other work. This

constantly moving conveyor, frames, painting, stacking up the frames, they control every iota of the human being, hands, eyes, body and mind, so that it is impossible to remove ones thoughts without impairing the speed.

When the eight-hour strain is ended, the workers of the next shift take the place at the machine without a stop, stepping out of the shop with the noise of the machine in ones ears.

When the outdoor clear and quiet air contacts the worn and strained body, it is as though paralysis had struck each nerve and muscle. Thus weary we get on the street car and hardly a block is passed when this paralyzed body and nervous system is in a drowsy sleep. It so happened to me and also to the other workers. This paralysis does not stop on the way; it also continues to the home. Still tired, weary, sleepy, no desire to go anywhere but sleep, to remain quiet and away from noise and hurry. The saying throughout Detroit is "Nodding like a Ford employee."

Voiceless Mummies

Thus arriving for the next shift we are still weary, sleepy. Voiceless mummies we move inside of the entrance, but, what a miracle! When we step within the factory, where grease, gas fumes and the din of the machinery surround us, then the outward appearance seems to change. Every nerve and muscle becomes alert. The eye becomes sharp, the movements become quick. So living is the memory—as though this small individual human, stops being, thinking, and joins and becomes a part of, a moving part to this large, giant-like, noisy machinery. Without our own desire we feel ourselves becoming a part of this mass production. It pulls us along with itself.

Human Scrap: A Machine Product

Thus I felt, also saw my work companion feel. We hurried to our machinery, not hearing, not seeing, not thinking of anything but that we must do our part in this hellish conglomeration. At the end of the sixth week I was at the end of my wits. The constantly increasing speed was increased according to my ability and the constant bending over paralyzed my back. I could not bend it. The boss referred me to the first aid department. There I had to wait, for there were 28 ahead of me. It was not a pleasant sight. Many a worker had a mashed hand, some a foot, an eye, head, or some other portion of the body injured. I asked one comrade:

"Have all of these been injured in this department?"

"They have, and the day is just beginning, there will be many times this before the day is over."

"Never have I read in the paper that workers are injured here."

"Oh, that is not necessary, why that would injure Ford's reputation and would probably hinder the sale of Ford automobiles."

"So, now I understand why they hire so many workers each day."

I received a plaster on my back and was ordered to the factory hospital nearby for examination. There I was advised that I could come again for treatment, but should I not recover within 14 days, I would lose the hospital treatments as well as my job. I was in bed for close to two weeks.

I received employment in other factories, where I thought myself more human, although yet a wage slave. But even then finally, I developed lead poisoning which is an occupational disease attributed to metal finishers, as in the development of machinery, even in that I became the sacrifice of "Fordism."

Workers Awaken!

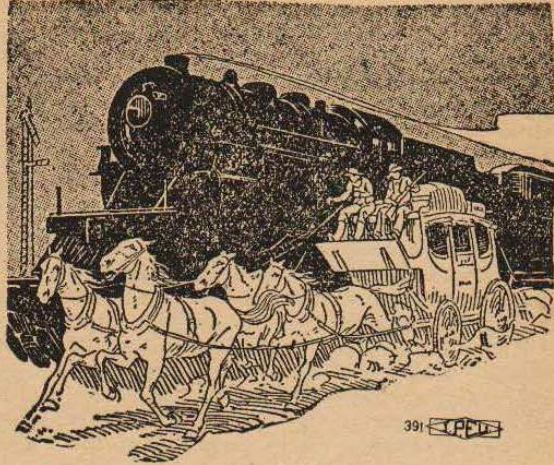
Of the foregoing has been heard for over ten years. I know of many, many, working companions during this period who became paralyzed, sacrifices of "Fordism." How large is their number—and how many thousands suffer in hospitals . . . Could I but call so that I would be heard from

one end of the earth to the other, in the factories, mines and mills to the slaves therein, brothers of mine—I would call in their ears over the din of the machinery with the last of the broken down strength of my lungs: "Stop! Look! That machine will crush your muscles, your nerves! It will maim you long before your time! It will dullen and paralyze your brain, making you dull, desireless, machine-governed robots . . . That machine will murder you unpitifully with its noise and speed . . . Think! You are human! You have a life and you have a right to the good in life! You have human responsibilities to your loved ones, to your working companions, to your own class! Organize in your class . . . Organize on your jobs, in your industries, over production! Organize and get possession of that machine, the machinery of all production, and make it the slave of the human workers! Clothe the machine in your garments, give it the speed you desire to protect the good of life. Use the production of the machinery you govern, use it for the good of your relatives, your beloved ones, and for the good of the class that has made this production possible . . . Then and only then is the machine the up-builder of the human race.



The End of an Epoch

By A. B. C.



The period beginning with the discovery of America and just coming to a close has been, in many ways, the most remarkable in human history. The best traits and the worst, carried men into new wildernesses in search of souls to save and bodies to enchain. Intellectual heights were scaled by men of genius; new depravities were invented, more ruinous than those of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In the preceding centuries all forms of wealth had become private property in the hands of a few; even religion was a monopoly in most cases and was the ready tool of despotic governments. But the newly discovered lands promised wealth and liberty of conscience to all.

Under the banner of religious and political freedom the oppressed of Europe murdered natives of the new lands and took possession. They enslaved the red men or chased them into the desert; the blacks were chained and taken to far countries; white slavery soon flourished in every part of the world. The new freedom was the same as the old—freedom of the strong, the crafty, the unscrupulous. From the very start force and fraud ruled in the new colonies. Private property everywhere became the corner stone of the new governments. Now the wealth of four new continents is as thoroughly monopolized as it was before the sailing of Columbus.

The Triumph of Monopoly

Not only are all the available resources marked private property, every day new machines take the place of the men and women who labor. One man stays to tend the machine, others are turned into the street. The mechanical equipment that

has brought us in sight of the promised land becomes a weapon in the hands of the oppressors. The accumulated wealth and knowledge of the ages are used, not for our welfare but for our destruction. Those who still have jobs or some petty property are clinging to a sinking ship. Foolish are their hopes, if they expect to ride safely through the coming storm. Private ownership of resources degrades those who own as well as those who work. The prosperity of manufacturing countries such as England, Germany, and the United States was cheap, one-sided, and transient. The poverty of the world at large was wide-spread, deep, and lasting. The day of reckoning is at hand. It is time to choose between industrial democracy and industrial slavery.

For whether the process be fast or slow, the inevitable end of private ownership of resources is monopoly. And never in all recorded time has the development of small properties into monopoly been so rapid. Four continents, each larger than Europe, have been surveyed, colonized, made private property and then gathered into the hands of a few. The scientific and mechanical advances of the race have been rapid, even startling; these also have been turned to the benefit of the money changers, so that all future progress is subject to the whims of the miser and the profiteer. Humanity stands face to face with world-wide monopoly and no new lands as a refuge.

Individualism is Doomed

Two roads are open before us, reorganization and chaos. Already we see in Europe a row of dictators with promises in one hand and force in the other.

Behind them stalk hunger, ignorance, and demoralization. The same causes will bring the same results here in America. Monopoly of resources means political centralization. The sooner we face the facts, the better for all concerned.

Even though the iron hand of monopoly were not at our throats, even if privately owned labor devices did not threaten our standing as wage workers, the totalitarian states would surely put an end to the fiction of individualism. When millions of people equipped with modern machines and scientific methods are armed with the avowed purpose of conquest and pillage of their neighbors, such action compels all other governments to arm likewise or face extinction.

The totalitarian state is another product of monopoly whose development is easy to trace. The main business of all political states is the protection of property. In the colonies, especially in the English colonies, a large proportion of the colonists obtained land or other wealth. Under such circumstances a democratic government is usually formed.

Government Through Force

While giving ample protection to property, such states seldom need to use much force as land may be had for the asking, jobs are plentiful, and the general standard of the people is one of comfort. But when the day comes, as come it must, when the great resources are monopolized by a few, the pressure from the landless and the unemployed calls for a stronger government and the use of more force to protect the monopoly.

The ruling gang in such a state, usually headed by some dictator, dominates all individuals, classes, minor groups, and even the property they are supposed to protect. Democratic forms and ideas are abolished; force is the only argument.

But the greater police power of the state requires greater revenue to keep it. Revenues must be increased. At first this is done by lowering the standard of living of the population at home and, when finally that fails, by conquest of weaker nations. The struggle for world domination is on and no matter which dictator wins, the human race will lose. The "Age of Individualism" is dead.



Truth vs Humbug

By A. B. COBB

A Short Discussion About Education

"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In apprehension how like a god!"—Shakespeare.

"The properly trained intellect can understand, describe, the whole world in a simple, natural way."—Dietzgen.

"Nor are we possessed of any evidence which authorizes us to assign even an imaginary boundry at which human intellect will, of necessity, be brought to a stand."—Buckle.

But do not take the word of these men, though they are recognized as authorities. Go to the playground and see for yourself. Better still, try to answer the questions of some bright boy. It is nothing less than miraculous what they see, hear, and ask about.

Yet in a few years those brains will be dull and

inattentive, and their later years will be spent in an atmosphere of confusion and frustration. Most of them will be like masterless dogs, ready to follow the first demagog or neurotic who promises a rescue from insecurity. Those intellects, the most complicated and delicate tools in the universe, have been crammed with facts, figures, rules, and tables—most of which are worthless and even meaningless. Those minds capable of analyzing and classifying everything in nature, resemble a storehouse for unclaimed freight; only a few items are labeled or classified and the rules for classification have not been learned.

Obscurity Reigns Supreme

In a time when the future of every nation, the fate of humanity, hangs in the balance, not one institution can be relied upon to tell the truth.

Radio, press, and church are no more respected. But, says H. V. O'Brien, columnist, "In my catalog of smitten shams, education must take a high place. What was long regarded as a miracle appears now as menace . . . It is the crowning irony of our faith in education that the educated man, in his attitude toward ideas, is emotional, childish, indistinguishable from the taboo-ridden savage of the jungle."

"But it is dangerous to tell children the truth," says someone. It can be dangerous only to those individuals and institutions that profit from fraud and deceit. Harm comes to the children by lying to them or by withholding from them the truths of nature and the civilization in which they live.

"Head Fixing"

"The children will learn to think for themselves," says another. The most important natural laws are concealed from them. How will they learn? As for social laws, the wiseacres themselves are ignorant of them; how can they teach others? Why not teach students the rules of sound thinking, the nature of the human brain processes?

We are told that scientific laws of thinking are too difficult for them. "Such is not the case," says John Dewey, who ought to know if any of them do: "The native and unspoiled attitude of childhood, marked by ardent curiosity, fertile imagination, and love of experimental inquiry, is near, very near, to the attitude of the scientific mind," he adds. But regardless of ability and capacity, which are infinite, they are compelled by law to go to school to instructors who are also compelled by law to withhold the most important truths and to palm off untruths, half truths, and plain humbug.

Then comes Chief Justice Hughes of the Supreme Court with another wise crack: "Then there will always be a multitude who are congenitally unable to think straight." In the face of the evidence, Your Honor, I think you are wrong. And when Pegler says we owe more respect to the Supreme Court than to nine old bums in the back room of a saloon, I fear he is getting effeminate. I vote for the nine old bums.

In view of these vicious circles that afflict the educational system and for which our wise men have only silly answers, what is to be done?

As a general proposition when any institution becomes useless or detrimental, that institution will be remodelled or abolished, or be permitted to die out. Since it is inconceivable that the school will be allowed to die or be destroyed, it remains to us to find means and methods to modify it to suit the present needs. It is proposed, therefore, to those, especially students, who have given serious thought to this subject, to write to the author in care of the **One Big Union Monthly**, giving their opinions as to causes and conditions

of this disease, and suggestions for a cure. Write if you are interested, or give this magazine to a friend who is.

Fundamental Truths

"Profoundly pathetic are youths' hoping against hope that some older person can help untangle the riddles of existence." Let us hasten to add that it is absolutely damnable. For these great riddles are not natural but artificial creations, propagated by church, state, and school with the knowing and avowed intention of misleading the young regarding the most simple and important truths about themselves and the society in which they live. In the hands of well paid, highly trained specialists, the simple facts of individual, sexual, and social life are so mixed with the prejudices, traditions, and delusions of past ages that the young and innocent minds of children are wrapped up in a vicious maze from which they seldom escape. Let us examine a few of these truths and then see how they have been smothered with lies.

First: Man is an animal, nothing more. This very evident fact is so constantly with us throughout life that we cannot entirely escape it. But by starting on the child at its mother's breast, with lies about his divine nature, following this with solemn rites and music in the church; then the evasions and hypocrisy through school, even into the university, the facts are obscured and the lies are accepted.

Second: The sex life of mankind is wonderful but as simple as that of the domestic animals and less difficult to understand than that of the honey bee, the kangaroo, or the spider. Yet out of these simple, natural processes, prejudice, religion, and school have built taboos and ostricisms that wreck the lives of millions. Our savage ancestors venerated the sex organs and at times worshipped them. We in our superior wisdom must not so much as utter their names.

Third: Man is a thinking animal. Thinking is as natural as digesting food or the circulation of the blood and hardly more difficult to understand. The laws for sound thinking could be written on one sheet of paper. Says Dietzgen, "Thinking, understanding, explaining, realizing, are so many terms for a formal classification and description of the final test, anyone can verify whether he has been thinking truly, as soon as he compares his thought with the available material of the studied object." Our primitive ancestors allowed accidental and imaginary relationships to assume permanent forms; they peopled the world with mermaids, centaurs, unicorns, angels, gods, and ghosts. The medicine men took advantage of their ignorance, made these creatures of fancy into permanent tools to browbeat and blackmail their fellows. All modern religions can be traced back

(Continued on page 28)

The Power of Folded Arms

*All the wheels be standing still
If thy folded arms might will!*

By
W. E. TRAUTMANN

(Continued From Last Issue.)



Another period of ten years passed on the annals of time. What is now recorded had direct bearing on what is transpiring at the present time in the field of conflict between capital and labor. Under date of May 17, 1937 there appeared the following news item in Washington D. C. newspapers:

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The distinction of having been the scene of the first sitdown strike in the United States—and a successful one belongs to Schenectady, N. Y., it is claimed here.

In 1906 the Industrial Workers of the World organized a sitdown strike in the General Electric plant to back up a demand for higher wages. At a given signal, picked groups of mechanics in key departments stopped work, folded their arms and sat quietly looking at their tools and work tables. Picket lines were thrown around the plant and most of the 5,000 employes joined in the strike.

The sitdowners stayed in the plant 65 hours, receiving food and drink from outside friends. The demand for more pay was agreed to by the G. E. and sitdown tactics accomplished their first victory in this country.

It was a demonstration of what Bill Haywood, famous I. W. W. leader, called "the power of folded arms."

We may discount the latter part, for at the time of that "Folded Arm Demonstration" Haywood was awaiting trial in Boise City, Idaho. After his acquittal Haywood did not come near the I. W. W., nor did he mention it until he paid to Joseph Ettor in Pittsburgh on May 1, 1910 his admission fee into the I. W. W. as a member at

large. The "Folded Arm" method, however, had been explained to Haywood in Wortz's Hall on January 5, 1905.

The Buzzards Come to the Rescue of Gould and Belmont

Again the background of events leading to the affair in Schenectady—and incidentally in Lynn and Pittsfield, Massachusetts; Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Erie, Pennsylvania—must be projected into closer view.

Once again railroad workers, of ninety percent native stock, were forced into rebellion. In May 1904 Jay Gould's heirs had challenged the right of labor to be treated as human beings and entitled to consideration for long years of service.

August Belmont, under Tammany Hall's political dictatorship, had assumed control of the subway system then completed. Engineers and conductors of the Second and Third Avenue elevateds, controlled by Jay Gould interests, were to be transferred to service on the subways, but only after each and everyone had passed a physical examination, without regard to the seniority rights by which the retirement pension was regulated. It meant, in blunt language, that half of the superannuated were to be discarded. So the workers on the Jay Gould elevated and on the Belmont-Tammany Hall subway revolted.

As the American Federation of Labor buzzards had long since scabbed every Knights of Labor Assembly out of existence, the rebelling railroad workers turned to the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance organizers and their publications for

sympathetic support. Rozelle and Samuel French, both strikers themselves, took charge of the muddled up affairs, and directed the activities of the men.

Instantly the Belmont-Gould-Tammany Hall interests branded the rebellion as instigated by international revolutionists. Easley, Secretary of the National Civic Federation of which Samuel Gompers was vice-president, summoned all labor leaders to New York City for a conference in the Waldorf Astoria. Chief Stone represented the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, William Mahon the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Employes. All made common cause with James Farley, engaged by Belmont to regiment thousands of strikebreakers into service. The charters of the rebelling members of the different trade unions were revoked. New charters were issued to the professional scabs and a free range was given hired thugs to use the tactics of civil war against the strikers.

The orgies staged in the Waldorf Astoria, and the drunkards' brawls when the gangsters came to receive their orders constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of proletarian uprisings in the United States—aye, in the whole world.

The Industrial Workers of the World is Launched

The resentment among Americans, I say this advisedly, was tainted with a bitterness beyond description. It was in this period that the Industrial Union Manifesto was issued—another Declaration of Independence—after a conference in January 1905 at Wort's Hall in Chicago. In another conference at the end of June, 1905, between Thomas Hagerty, Daniel DeLeon, and William T. Trautmann, a Preamble was drafted which in its original draft was adopted at the convention when the Industrial Workers of the World was launched on July 4, 1905 in the noon hour.

During the days of the convention a conference in the Ontario Hotel deliberated on the methods and tactics of an impending conflict with the employers combined with the hoodwinked masses of trade unionists sold over the counter of collective bargaining—so misnamed then—for a mess of pottage.

The idea of a general strike was discarded. The method of "passive resistance" offered a way of avoiding bloodshed and riotous encounters at the factory gates. It gave Daniel DeLeon the idea of advocating the lockout of the Employing Class" by



Charles Proteus Steinmetz, "electrical wizard," and "unreplaceable superman," he was called in the scientific world—was to the last days of his life a class conscious working man. From the time of the famous sit-down strike discussed in this article to his death in 1923 he remained a firm friend and generous supporter of the Industrial Workers of the World.

immediate application of passive resistance methods. Bear in mind that nowhere in the literature of the I. W. W. of those days is there any mention of overthrowing the government by ballots or otherwise. The passive resistance methods could, therefore, be applied only to industry, and that alone, not to destroy but rather to safeguard the tools and instruments of production against vandalistic designs.

When the delegates from New York left the convention, they made Schenectady a point at which to deliver a message on the Preamble of the I. W. W. Daniel DeLeon's speech on that subject, a classic in itself, delivered in Minneapolis, was printed and distributed in thousands of copies in the plants of the General Electric company.

Eighteen craft unions of the American Federation of Labor, however, were determined to exercise control over the workers in the plants of the G. E. and, in case the employes would make demands, repeat what had been done to the workers on the elevated and subway of New York City.

G. E. Workers Sit Down

The eight-hour work-day with corresponding increase in wages for all employes regardless of station or craft, was the key issue. To have called a strike would have been disastrous to working class solidarity and conducive to the engineering of riots and bloodshed by the trade union leaders who would make contracts with the corporation to keep the workers in their places.

So, therefore, the workers decided to stay at their places and fold arms. It is needless to say that in this matter venerable old engineer Steinmetz who occupied a high position with the corporation, had secretly approved of that method. Passive resistance—and that alone—intelligently applied, brought the results anticipated.

Whenever the history of those great days is written the names of a few workers, will stand out as true industrial democracy; men whose names glorify the records again as the intellectual leaders of the "Folded Arms Protest" staged in the plants of General Motors in Detroit and Flint in the winter months of 1936-37.

1909

In rapid succession the men and women in the industries of steel and iron applied methods that demonstrated the stupendous power that can be wielded by the "Folded Arms."

At the third convention of the Industrial Workers of the World it had been recommended that international connections be established so that workers in European countries, when landing on the shores here, would not fail to make contact at the nearest places with the advocates of "One Big Union," a term used by me first to embrace the symbol of interests in common by all engaged in

services of Field, Factory and Fireside. The three stars in the emblem of the I. W. W. were conceived in that meaning. That symbolic objective of the industrial union movement was portrayed in brilliant oratory by Thomas Hagerty on July 5th 1905 in the Bohemian Hall mass meeting in Milwaukee.

In the wake of the first Russian revolution of 1904 a wave of uprisings swept all over the Slavic countries of Central Europe, directed mostly against the absentee lords of manors in Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia and extending into the Paduah, Italy's agricultural districts. The uprisings of the rent-peasants and agricultural workers assumed alarming aspects, for it was verily a "Passive Resistance Strike" of immense proportions. Harvests went to rot on the ground; and thugs of the landlords set fire to the drying grain so as to collect insurances and place the onus on the leaders of the uprising. Thousands of them fled across the borders, and, indeed, landed in the United States together with thousands of others who were gladly received as willing workers in the steel mills, particularly.

By the indoctrination method discontent ripened into the fruit of action. When, therefore, steel workers in McKees Rock, later in New Castle, Sharon, Monessen, Martins Ferry etc. suspended work they had the leadership of men seasoned in furious conflicts across the sea, and these leaders had made close contact with friends in the I. W. W.

McKees Rock Strike

When, therefore, trainmen on the Lake Erie Railroad refused to haul trains past the immense plants of the Pressed Steel Car and the Carnegie Steel Mill plants in McKees Port and Schoenville, — — the railroad corporation deemed it rather expedient to reroute the course, and not a wheel stirred either inside or outside.

Then it came to pass that in the political-economic contest for subterranean traffic control between the interests of August Belmont-Tammany Hall on one side and the Pennsylvania Railroad—Wm. Gibbs McAdoo on the other side it became a paramount issue that work be resumed in the plants of the Pressed Steel Car Company. August Belmont, boss of the New York Subway, did not want the Pennsylvania to fulfill the terms of a franchise whereby passenger cars were to run through the Hudson-River bore built by William Gibbs McAdoo. So therefore A. F. of L. union men of the bridge and structural iron workers, of which one J. McNamara was Secretary-Treasurer, passed with passports signed by one Ernest Boehm, for the Central Federated Union of New York, through the picket lines into the plants of the Pressed Steel Car Company. With them went about 250 seasoned "Passive Resistance Militants" under disguise of strikebreakers. What happened then within the

plant is well recorded in the "Pittsburgh Leader" of those days. That was a Sitdown Strike indeed, and the corporations paid for it at the rate of twenty thousand dollars a day.

Tired of having such a farce continued, the company paid off all the men quartered in the plants over two weeks and all were told to leave the plant in the evening. However, the company officials had failed to inform the State Constabulary (Cossacks) also quartered within the mills, that there was to be a general exodus of over a thousand men from the plant after the payoff.

It was then at the bridgehead of the viaduct spanning the freight yard of the Lake Erie R. R. that the Cossacks opened a fusillade only to find themselves encircled by thousands who had gathered to give a welcome and cheers to the hired men from New York who had sat down on the job of strike-breaking." After seven cossacks fell dead under a counterfusillade by trained men, the rest were disarmed and released on their word of honor.

Another, a more important episode, came as an aftermath of a vote taken by ballot in the town hall, and the return of the day shift to work under accepted terms of settlement.

In the spacious hall established by the I. W. W., steel workers' locals of Pittsburgh,—at that time 22 industrial unions were in the process of formation—about 50 volunteers from Pittsburgh militants were busy posting membership books and collecting dues that came in that day by the thousands of dollars, when, headed by one W. Novak, as official of the Iron City Trades and Labor Council, an A. F. of L. affiliate, who displayed a letter from Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners addressed to J. McArdle of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, deputies came to put the I. W. W. out of business. Tables were overturned, the cash drawers confiscated, and I was placed under arrest and taken to the lockup, manacled.

Instantly a word was passed around by Joseph Schmidt, the greatest of loyalists who ever crossed my path of life. Alarm spread. Max Forker, speaker for the Pittsburgh Turnbezirk (Gymnastic Unions) with a committee came to consult about posting bond. Twenty thousand dollars were required,—in cash. They went to get it.

Solidarity

Soon word came through the Servian, Kroatian and Dalmation Committees that the workers in the Aliquippa plants of the Jones-Laughlin Steel Corporation, only a few miles off down the Ohio River, were ready to sit down on the job. U. S. President William H. Taft who had married into the Jones family, had heavy interests in the corporation. Alarm spread all over the valley. The night shift had gathered at the gates of the Pressed Steel Car Company and when the day shift came out, both

shifts formed lines of march, and the heavy tramp of 8,000 men augmented by twelve thousand more of closeby mills, echoed from the hills around the Indian Mount.

Close to midnight the McKees Rock business district and the fire house where I was locked up, was occupied by a throng of not less than thirty thousand people. The detachment of 50 cossacks, all mounted, yet trembling, surrounded the lockup. In vain did Max Forker try to break through with the news that he had the cash for the bonds.

"No bonds," roared like a thunder of warning the voice of Joseph Schmidt, supported by the giant Katuskas, a Lithuanian. "Stoicie razem, obywateli towarzycie" came the response from a hundred steel-strong chested men.

The burgess, for a preliminary hearing to be forced, came trembling, under the escort of a dozen heavy set steel workers. As he was pushed into the firehouse, more than fifty of the known leaders of the McKees Rock rebellion rushed to the front. With a smashing blow G. Heney, a Magyar, splintered the rolltop of the judge's desk.

There were charges. Nineteen counts. The "Bloody Purge" affair was charged in the indictment. Most convincing to the burgess-judge was the letter from Charles H. Moyer. There was no doubt in the mind of thousands that the Western Federation of Miners was now an ally of the interests who wanted someone as a scapegoat to go to the gallows. Charles H. Moyer was merely the deliverer of the rope. Further comment at this time is superfluous.

In 1906 three hundred thousand men and women had marched through the streets of Pittsburgh and Allegheny to the airs of the slogan "If Haywood, Moyer, Petibone die, fifty million workers must know the reason why." I headed that monster demonstration, walking afoot. Surging neck to neck on the streets of McKees Rock was part of that crowd of 1906. By the morrow they would be half a million,—folding arms. Wires ran hot from Washington not to permit the Jones-Laughlin mills to be affected; anything to be done to avoid implicating a firm in which the President of the United States was a heavy stockholder. Sheridan was on the ground to witness that the President's silent wishes be fulfilled "Not guilty!" was the plea by the prisoner before the bar, "Acquitted"—came the judgement, and a hundred thousand steel-muscled workers marched that night, carrying me on their shoulders. Will there be another day when the Power of Folded Arms will thwart the policy of craft union leaders in their resort to violence and bloodshed as the result of pitting one group of workers against other groups and fomenting hatred so horrible in its disastrous consequences?

Victory

Let it here be said to the credit of the stalwarts of the Socialist Labor Party in the Pittsburgh district that in the crucial hours when my own

life was in jeopardy, they did forget all differences that had arisen over tactics, methods and objectives of the industrial union movement. Nor should we forget that in the supreme test for intellectual fortitude, as an aftermath of this industrial revolt of steelworkers, involving all around 150,000 men, two men blazed a new trail in the defense of rights guaranteed in the constitution of the U. S., J. McCarthy who was present at the scene of my acquittal in McKees Rock, and Ben Williams, on the grave charges of being involved in a conspiracy of subversive sedition, stood their ground against a galaxy of highly eminent jurists in the court of New Castle, and they proved to the consternation of a stern judge and jury that the movement to dislodge capitalist-profit control of industry does not necessarily suggest the overthrow of government by insurrection. As both were acquitted, the principles of the I. W. W., their methods and tactics, the objectives of building within the shell of the old the structure of a new social system as so originally incorporated in the Industrial Union Manifesto, were vindicated before the law of the land.

Too little attention has been given to this epoch-making decision! much irreparable injury to others might had been prevented in later controversies and judicial anathema, if more information had been disseminated among workers in other parts of the country.

Fifteen years before this steelworkers uprising in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio, Samuel Gompers and the leaders of the craft union movement in 1894, had helped to break the solidarity of labor, assisted in destroying the American Railway Union; gave moral and factual support to the court to hamstring the workers by injunction and send leaders of the industrial movement to jail.

In vain did these same leaders, of whom quite a few are at present "headmasters" in the Committee for Industrial Organization, try to strangle the I. W. W. in the crucial test of strength of ideals; and they failed, though enlisting the aid of the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners in this nefarious scheme, to place the stigma of murder on us so as to have us hang by the neck by verdict of a court of law. The Power of Folded Arms was justified in the claim to be the best safeguard against the methods of violent destructive force.

However, with all this illuminating display of the power of organization and power of intelligence in the past, how is it that now, quarter of a century after the passing of foregoing events, workers in the steel mills, in the same districts where they won their skirmishes, are being pitted against each other? Why should it be that violence unexcelled in fury, and killing in bloody encounters is displaying a tragedy of errors that, in comparison on a smaller scale, but in consequences leading

to the same disaster, is on the same pattern of events as the Civil War episodes in Spain?

Syndicalist League

Let us retrace occurrences to get a clearer picture. In 1919 William Zack Foster, appointed general organizer by Samuel Gompers, although known by the latter as president of the Syndicalist League, summons the highest officials of eighteen national unions of the A. F. of L. to Youngstown, Ohio, to prepare for a general strike of all steel, iron and tin mill workers.

At that time the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is recorded as having a total membership of 5,200, the other national unions had no members whatever in any of the mills and possessions of the United States Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlins, the Republican Steel, the Inland Steel, and two other independent corporations represented in the Iron and Steel Institute under a "Gentlemen's Agreement," and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller controlled corporation. Of the total of 456,000 employees in all these possessions about twenty-eight thousand workers had retained their industrial workshop councils although then divorced from the I. W. W.

In the Youngstown conference one main demand is formulated as basis for commanding a "general strike." "The check-off system, the power to be delegated to the employers to deduct an approximate total of five million dollars in initiation fees and eight million dollars annually in dues, and turn it over to designated financial agents of the eighteen national unions.

Approximately two hundred thousand workers follow the strike call. Instantly an approximate sum of \$850,000.00 is collected from the strikers to be used as an "organizer's fund."

The corporations make it known what the check-off system means, the Workers Industrial Councils also issue a warning. Thereupon two-thirds of the strikers break their neck in trying to get back to their vacated positions. Bloodshed and riots follow; at the mill gates. A fake issue demands a toll in life that runs up to over one hundred all around.

Further back! In 1911 William Zack Foster declares in the Chicago Federation of Labor in presence of Samuel Gompers that the Syndicalist League was operating for the purpose of eliminating the Industrial Workers of the World. Gompers nods his assent.

In 1910, a day after the blowing up of the Los Angeles Time building by dynamite Andrew Gallagher, pal of Anton Johanson, bursts out the inuendo: "This is another of the dastardly acts of the I. W. W." And Samuel Gompers, knowing better, nods assent.

In 1909 at the International Trades Union congress in Budapest, James Duncan, Vice President

of the American Federation of Labor, and admitted by the congress as delegate, offers bond for the release of William Zack Foster, picked up by the police as "vagabond" in Harlots Alley. Foster is released, and then travels extensively in European countries, returns to the United States, organizes the Syndicalist League, enlists an army of traveling agents preaching the gospel of destructive sabotage, all received with open arms in the meetings of the craft unions, particularly in cities along the Pacific Coast. Acts of violence and sinister destructions are recorded, quite a number of wobblies too mouthloose for their own good, are picked up and dumped into dungeons for things they talked too much about although the deeds were done by agents provocateur organized in the Syndicalist League. We have the word of William Hynes, captain of the "Red Squad" police in Los Angeles that he got into the I. W. W. through the

Syndicalist League of which he was a member to get the goods on the *I, double you, double you* so as to help in their elimination.

At this time, 1937 the issue of the check off system,—nothing else, once more is pitting workers against workers in the mills of five steel and iron corporations, in East Chicago, Indiana Harbar, in Cleveland, Youngstown, Warren, Niles, and in the plants of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation where, forsooth, the workers had to go on a strike in 1910 conducted by Joseph J. Ettor to obtain, along with better wages and shorter hours the "abolition of the abominable check-off system."

No one must expect the CIO to be in reality an industrial organization not more than getting good wine by pouring it for aging in old vessels where the liquid had turned into vinegar.

THE END.



The Right Kind of Education

By "A PAL"

In order to perform any job in our line of duty, we must have the necessary tools to do it thoroughly. When you start to write an article for publication as I'm doing, you must dig up a typewriter or some other instrument to perform your writing. The same thing holds true in our every day struggle for more of the good things of life. We must be prepared with the right kind of tools to get them. One important tool to get more of the good things of life is the right kind of education.

The men who put the three stars in the I. W. W. emblem knew what they were doing. The first star stands for education; the second star means organization; and the third star is the best of all—emancipation. The first star is the beginning of it all—it will lead to organization and emancipation. The second star has been shining off and on ever since the I. W. W. was born. The first star has been shining from Work Peoples College for some twenty odd years showing the way to real revolutionary workers education. Workers have struggled for real working class knowledge for many decades, but without much success. The public school system was given to the workers when the employing class saw that it needed better educated and trained slaves. Naturally it made the school system into the biggest bulwark of capitalism that we have today. To counteract the poison fed us in the public schools, the I. W. W. has its own workers residential labor college at Duluth, Minn.

Work Peoples College

The school itself is located on the shores of Spirit Lake, eight miles from the business district of the city of Duluth proper. Still the street car line goes by two block from the college giving it a very suitable location. Being a residential labor college, the only one of its kind in the country, it can take care for food, shelter, and instruction to the satisfaction of the students who are inclined to take advantage of the real bona-fide workers' education that is taught there. All is not work at the college. The college has a very good gymnasium and skating can be very readily indulged in on the clear mirror like surface of Spirit Lake. Duluth is

located in the northern part of Minnesota, so heavy clothing is in order. Still while in school, the students are in complete comfort, because the college has its own steam heating plant.

For Industrial Unionism

The school and instructors are required to stand for and teach the industrial unionism of the I. W. W. Subjects taught are Marxian economics, labor history, Industrial Unionism, sociology, organization methods, public speaking, journalism, English grammar, etc. This year for the first time, three subjects are going to be required, namely Marxian economics (a thorough explanation of the capitalist system), history of the labor movement (an examination of the past struggles of labor) and Industrial Unionism (the ultimate road to workers emancipation.). The rest of the subjects are elective. Work Peoples College is the one place where the brutal functions of capitalism are analyzed and the way for its removal shown. The purpose of the college is to get trained speakers and organizers for the I. W. W. along with writers, and other functionaries of a labor organization. The dough that goes to make the products of the school. If the raw material is good, the products will be good.

Any body, regardless of sex, color, or previous schooling can enroll providing they have attained the age of eighteen. Room, board and tuition is reasonably low being only \$30.00 per month. The coming winter courses will begin on December 1st and continue for four months. Do not fail to investigate the possibilities offered by this school and if possible attend the courses. Let's put our shoulders to the wheel—support the college, use the college, and boost the college. Let's actually go out on the limb and find out how many students we can get to go to the Work Peoples College for the "right kind of education."

If anybody is interested in further information about the college, I'm sure the business manager at the school will provide it for you. Just address your inquiry to:

Work Peoples College, Box 39, Morgan Park Sta., Duluth, Minn.

On with the Fight!

By *COVAMI*

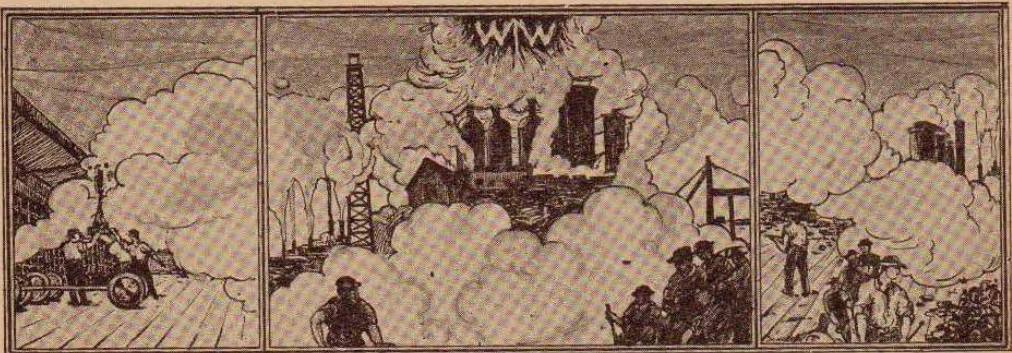
There is no "Natural Wealth"—
Without LABOR the Fairest Gardens soon
return to Jungle Wild and Desert
Waste,
The Monuments and Mausoleums, the
Palaces and Pyramids, quick crumble
into Dust!—

All Learning, all Science, all Cities, States
and Empires, all—
All on Labor's mighty shoulders rest!—
Without the HANDS, the BRAINS that
boast themselves Supreme would
perish ALL with the setting of the
Summer Sun!

There is no Wealth, no Good that LABOR
does not give!
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the
CRAFTS—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the
GOVERNMENTS—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the
BANKS—

Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the
CHURCHES—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the
ARMIES—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES by LABOR
comes all things Beautiful and Good
and True!
Tis LABOR that ALONE CREATES—

Tis LABOR is the SAVIOUR of MAN-
KIND—
Tis LABOR stands between the World and
CHAOS—
Down with ALL DICTATORSHIPS!—
The Last Great Fight is on—
On with the fight for INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACY!



HI-JACKING THE REVOLUTION

Translation and Introduction by
JOSEPH WAGNER

L. Nicholas reveals some interesting facts about the betrayal of Spanish Workers by the "friends" from Moscow.

INTRODUCTION

I am presenting the readers of the One Big Union Monthly another translation on the Spanish situation, written by another old-time revolutionary syndicalist, for the "Revolution Proletarienne" of Paris. The writer is entirely at home in Spain, and is intimately acquainted not only with the political situation, but with the personnel of the various workers' political and economic organizations of that country. He has written in the past many valuable and informative articles on Spain for the French revolutionary press, and continues to do so. Many months before the outbreak of the Franco rebellion, and even before the historic convention of the C. N. T. in May 1936, he predicted pretty accurately what would take place in Spain in the near future, including the present long drawn out civil war.

Perhaps, a large portion of the article will seem superfluous to the readers of this magazine, as they are already acquainted with the facts; other parts will appear to be obscure. The reason for these shortcomings is that the article was written for the French reading public and I, as translator, could and would not take too many liberties with the writing of others. But, I am sure that the article contains also some very valuable information for the majority of our readers. It throws additional light on the mission of the Stalinists in Spain and on the role they are playing.

The arrest and kidnapping of "Marc Rein" is not exceptional, but rather a typical case of the work of the bolshevik "comrades." Whatever the outcome of the present phase of the class struggle in Spain, when the history of it will be written, among the black pages that that history will necessarily contain, I am not sure that the blackest of these will be those furnished by Franco and his outspoken fascists, gory beasts, I am not sure but that the first prize will be awarded to the Stalinist gangsterdom. For while the fascists are openly declared enemies of the working class, the Stalinists, as the champions of proletarian revolu-

tion, profiting by the crying need of the Spanish working class for weapons, sold them some, but at what price! They not only had to pay in gold for the arms and services received, but in addition they had to turn over the country, their army, their government, and their freedom to the Stalinist gang and allow them to set up their own private police and jails and death chambers, and to offer their best and sincerest friends and warriors as sacrifices to the hatred of the new masters in exchange for Russian arms and ammunitions.

And perhaps the greatest tragedy of all is that a portion of the leading element of that excellent proletarian militant organization, the C. N. T., are accepting the situation, are willingly accepting the Stalinist tutelage, and are proud of what they are doing.

In the light of the above, the vacillating policy of England and even of France, toward the Spanish situation will seem a little less puzzling.

In the meanwhile history is marching on, the class struggle will continue until the working class achieves complete victory, in spite of all the stumbling blocks and betrayals and desertions.

IN THE SPANISH MIX-UP

The Difficulties of the "Whites"

Public opinion in loyalist Spain is mainly preoccupied with the situations that are being created at the war fronts, on the one hand by the fascist advances, which, after having taken Bilbao and Santander, are now seriously menacing Asturia, on the other hand by the governmental offensive in Aragon, where for the first time since July 1937, the government forces succeeded in capturing a very important position, namely Belchite.

Unfortunately, it must be conceded that the successes of the governmentals are far from equaling in extent and importance the successes of the fascists. Inevitably, therefore, the question arises: If tomorrow the Asturias are taken by the fascists, will all revolutionary resistance in the North be

crushed? Will this fascist triumph be as lasting as that of Hitler in Germany and as that of Mussolini in Italy? Or will the Russian phenomenon of the Civil War, where the occupation of Siberia by Kolchak and of Ukraine by Denikin brought about the disintegration of the whites, be repeated in Spain?

There is no doubt but that one has to take with the greatest of reserve the news dished out constantly by the government dispatches, announcing riotings in all parts of the zones ruled over by Franco. And yet, on this subject there is much information coming from fascist sources, evidencing that as a matter of fact, the situation in fascist-ruled Spain remains unstable and the revolutionists are continually harassing the Francoist power. One instance is the ban of Guiepo de Llano, published in the "ABC" of Seville and reproduced in the *Solidaridad Obrera* of August 28, which plainly reveals how extensive is the menaced zone in the fascist rear and the extent of the support of the civilian population given to the revolutionists; moreover these things are taking place in regions occupied by the whites almost since the beginning of the civil war. Part of this ban reads as follows:

Article 1. The region composed of the Province of Huelva and by the corresponding parts of the Provinces of Seville and Badajoz, up to the Seville-Badajoz road will be delimited and considered war zone in which all service demanded by the authorities will have to be performed in the same manner as on the battlefield, when facing the enemy; these limits may be extended and they will be so as to include all the zones necessary in order to fight and to defeat the unsubmissive Marxist elements.

Article 3. (This article designates the additional offenses, revealing the existence of extremely summary Martial Courts).

The following shall be considered as acts of rebellion:

- a) acts tending to furnish alimentation or any other aid to fugitive persons within the prescribed zone;
- b) furnishing information on the situation of the forces, or of their movements to fugitives in the villages;
- c) leaving the proscribed villages in the mountains without the possession of documents, issued for the purpose by the military chief of the zone;
- d) disobedience of any orders given by the military as well as civil heads of the zone;
- e) neglect or lukewarmness in the execution of orders and of military services demanded by the chief of the zone;
- f) giving shelter in urban or rural properties to fugitives considered rebels;
- g) failing to inform the regular authorities of the existence of rebels, by possessing such information will be considered as rebellion;
- h) traveling in the mountains or to stay there

without a clear justification of the reason and the object of the travel.

Another proof of the efficiency of the action of the civil population in the rear of the white front, is the account of the Italian legionaire, Albert T. de Parme, fighting at Guadelaajara, published in *Libro e Moschetto*, organ of the Italian Fascist Students and reproduced by the *Nuovo Avanti* of Sept. 18:

In the occupied villages some of the best elements of the population whom we have respected, were hostile to us; they signaled to the reds, by radio, the positions of the nationalist forces, indicating the objectives to the aviators, directing the artillery of the reds. This was done by a few traitors whom we had spared because they were unarmed. In the meantime we were being methodically bombarded both from above and from the land and we found ourselves menaced by the insidious blackguards. In spite of that our moral and material strength was not lessening... every evening we shouted with pride our "Saluto al Duce!" every night we sang with passion the songs of Italy, in answer to our enemy, who, by means of loud speakers, invited us to go over to him in order to attain finally liberty, well being, and other such foolishness...

This activity of the reds that presupposed a perfect knowledge of our positions, filled us with stupor, but we were entirely amazed when that same plane, flying very low over us, scattered thousands of tracts, written in Italian, stating that we were being betrayed and inviting us to pass over to their side. What did that mean? What was going on behind our backs? Why did the division commandment's telephone no longer answer our appeals? Why was it that our artillery, usually so prompt and precise, did not at present heed our plea for fire and failed to counterstrike the rapid and correct firing of the enemy artillery? Only much later have we learned that our telephone line had been cut by the spies and that our artillery was being bombarded from the sky as well as from the earth. Everyone of us, without saying a word, was being tormented by the suspicion of having the enemy behind his back, while on the front an unusual movement could be discerned.

Difficulties of the "Governmentals"

But the rear of the "governmentals" is also extremely divided. The main internal fight is that led by the communist party against the FAI-CNT. The Stalinist leaders understood that they were not yet sufficiently strong to destroy the syndicalists on a frontal attack. So they consented to some concessions, preparing the spirits for the acceptance of the latest note of the Political Bureau of that party as told in *L'Humanite* (Paris) of September 16:

"...The communist party is disposed to enter

into friendly conversations with the CNT in order to definitely dissipate misunderstandings and to arrive at a collaboration that will become more efficient from day to day."

It was necessary to throw out some ballast in order to keep the boat afloat. The French press announced the liberation of J. Acaso (CNT militant), ex-president of the dissolved Aragonian Council. Furthermore, the trial of Tortosa, which resulted in death sentences, will be revised. According to *Solidaridad Obrera* of September 9 all the defendants who were present at the trial were acquitted, only those of the accused who could not be arrested were sentenced to 15 years each.

It would be in order here to reproduce the answer of Vidella, Minister of Labor in Catalonia and member of the United Catalan Socialist Party, to a delegation composed of the parents of the prisoners: Here are the essential passages quoted from *Solidaridad Obrera* of Sept. 9:

...The judges could not admit the charges based on acts of revolutionary character that sprung out of the movement provoked by the rebellious generals, for that would be placing the revolution itself on trial.

...For these reasons, the judges not only ought not to have accepted charges of this kind, but they ought not to have accepted them when these charges came from persons whose flats were requisitioned on the ground that they were considered fascists, or that they have abandoned themselves. The judges ought to accept only concrete charges against such persons who, instead of having acted as revolutionaries, actuated by mercenary spirit, have availed themselves of the revolutionary situation in order to eliminate their personal enemies or were inspired by the base desire of stealth.

This thesis was accepted unanimously by the Generalidad, (the Catalan government), and that means that the persons at present imprisoned for various causes arising out of the revolutionary facts, should immediately be given their freedom.

It would, however, be an error to believe that these concessions mean an intention to practice a policy of understanding between all the anti-fascist sectors. It is only maneuvering to cover up new measures of repression. Thus it is taken for granted that the members of the P. O. U. M. and the syndicalists arrested for the May events, will continue remaining in prison. In the place of Acaso, who has been set at liberty, we have now in the Carcel Modelo, Aurelio Fernandez, well known CNT militant, ex-Minister of Hygiene, ex-director of Police, charged with participation in the attempt against Andreu, presiding judge of one of the important Courts of Barcelona. It is to be noted here, that the FAI and the CNT have repudiated immediately any solidarity with the attempt, and that there is not the least presumption

that Fernandez had any share of guilt. Tens of political refugees, Germans and Italians, tried and true syndicalists, are being conducted under escort to the border as rewards for the months they put in on the war front. The CNT limits itself to sending messages to the CGTSR (Revolutionary Syndicalist General Confederation of Labor) of France, asking that body to come to the aid of these twice outlawed revolutionists.

And on the economic field, the counter-revolutionary attacks inspired by the Catalanian United Socialist Party, are developing also. A violent campaign is led by the communist press towards the militarization of the railroad employees; it is a question of taking away even the last vestiges of the workers' right to have a say so in the conduct of that industry, a right accorded to them by the nationalization of the railroads.

Solidaridad Obrera of Sept. 8 informs us that the dispositions of the new Administration forbids the Shop Committees from giving the workers any information which would enable them to judge as to the progress of the institution.

When it comes to the agrarian question, it is only now that it is fully understood how much the workers' collectives have been encroached upon. An underground paper, *Liberdad*, published by the POUM and by the minority anarchists of Barcelona, in its Aug. 1 issue describes, with much detail, a series of attacks, confiscations and arrests the collectives of Catalonia were subjected to. And, it is this paper that also gives for the first time a precise account of the kidnapping of the young Russian social-democrat, Marc Rein Abramovich, son of the militant social-democrat Abramovich, member of the Executive Committee of the Second International.

The Work of the Cheka in Barcelona

The night of April 9-10, the Cheka, of which we have previously spoken, cleverly seized the journalist Marc Rein. Rein had come to Barcelona at the end of February and was lodging at Hotel Continental, Rambla Canelatas.

But, who was this Marc Rein and what was he doing in Barcelona?

"Marc Rein" is an alias, which would betray North American nationality. In reality he was the editor of Social-Demokraten of Stockholm, a paper that published sensational but true information about political problems of the USSR. The great Soviet leaders were extremely embarrassed by this paper, that often unmasked their most intimate secrets, and led them to suppose that it was an important communist party member who gave out the information, furnishing all the data, details and documents.

Marc Rein came to Catalonia to see the revolution at close range. On his arrival in Barcelona he gathered around him a small group of socialists—anti-fascists and anti-P. S. U. C., who

considered themselves his collaborators. He published several articles on the Spanish situation, criticizing some aspects of the activities of the CNT anarcho-syndicalists; he explained that the reason he criticized exclusively the activities of the CNT was because the CNT is the only one that was creating something.

The GPU having learned of the presence of Marc Rein in Barcelona, conceived the plan of getting hold of him. For that purpose it brought over some of its best elements with the double mission of seizing the social-democrat journalist and of perfecting the Cheka in the service of the communist party.

The night of April 9-10, Marc Rein was writing one of his articles in the room he was occupying at the hotel. Soon the phone rang; an agreeable feminine voice was heard through the receiver asking for an immediate interview on matters of great interest. Marc Rein interrupted his writing and left the hotel.

What happened?

Shipped to Russia by the G. P. U.

What became of Marc Rein? Some believe that he has been murdered by Herz's gang. (Herz is the chief of the Cheka in Barcelona according to *Libertad* (Autor's note). We, who are better informed, do not believe so. Well, in order to efface all trace of that "raid" that was clumsily enough performed, Marc Rein was constrained to write a letter by his own hand to one of his friends, Nicholas, whose wife is at present detained in prison, after having been horribly manhandled, and one to the owner of the hotel. In these letters the journalist is taking farewell from them, begging them to forgive him for his flight and for the expenses he has caused them. The letters seem to have been written in Madrid but it could be seen without much trouble that the date was written in by another person. This ruse does not betray much intelligence on the part of the elements working under the orders of Alfred Herz.

We said that Marc Rein was not assassinated in Barcelona. But one could be informed with more authority and knowledge by a certain Schaya Kinderman, a Polish Jew, a militant communist who lived in Barcelona for some time and who was the "chief of the foreign police of Valencia"; this function enabled him to keep track of all the movements and plans of the other parties, especially when these parties wanted to get in contact with their respective Central Committees in Valencia or in Madrid, and creating difficulties in the contacting of all non-communist parties.

Marc Rein was not murdered; it can be affirmed with certainty that he is at present in Russia, in the hands of the G. P. U., having been transported there "as a package" on board of a ship, between the dates of the 11th, and 30th of April.

The Retort of the FAI-CNT

When the maneuvering tactics of the communist party are too raw, the FAI-CNT answers with written or verbal protests; but at the same time the anarcho-syndicalist leaders are not missing a single opportunity for hinting the idea of approachment with the communist party and its boss, the Russian government.

Thus, the infamous speech of Commorea, in which he referred to the first heroic confederal militias as "tribes," led the Regional Committee of the CNT in Barcelona to refuse the invitation of the communist party to celebrate September 11, the National Day of Catalonia, in common; yet, these same leaders, a few days later, accepted a similar invitation from the Catalanist Union, (which includes the communist party).

The campaign carried on in the communist press against the now dissolved Aragon Council provoked a break in the parleys between the CNT and the communist party; but later and without any retraction of the insults, the parleys were resumed.

The anarcho-syndicalist officials are attaching great importance to their re-entering in the Cabinet; they are carrying on an active campaign in that direction. They seek by all means to prove that the foreign bourgeois governments would not be displeased by the collaboration of the CNT in the government of Spain. They widely publicized the conclusions of their militant Augustin Souchy (ex-secretary of the IWMA) just returned from a tour in Europe. We reproduce them from *Solidaridad Obrera* of August 28:

The liberal and democratic powers of Europe see in anarcho-syndicalism the most authentic expression of the character of the Spanish people.

The participation of the CNT in the government is considered by them a strong guarantee of the independence of Spain.

... A Federal Republic of a socialist character, created with the participation of the CNT would be acceptable to the foreign powers.

The same in regards Russia, the anarcho-syndicalist press is displaying, in big letters and boxed, hossanahs extolling the Stalinist foreign politics. Here are a few examples: *Solidaridad Obrera*, Aug. 9: "*The Rock of the USSR in the Pool of European Diplomacy*;" same paper, of Sept. 12: "*The Voice of the Only One that Arose at Nyon*;" same paper, on Sept. 9: "*The World Proletariat Should Support the Position of the USSR in its Activity*."

Their concessionist policy is growing in the interior also and the leaders of the Libertarian Youth are following the same road. Only a few months ago this organization had formally refused the invitation to join in a common front of Youth; the reason for the refusal was that the Stalinists within the United Socialist Youth, who were the inspirators of this front, as a preliminary condition, demanded the non-admission of the Youth movement

of the P. O. U. M. qualifying them as fascists. At that time the Libertarian Youth indignantly and categorically protested against that conception of a Youth Alliance.

However, as early as September 2, *Solidaridad Obrera* reproduced from *Ahora*, a summary of an accord, grouping the Libertarian Youth, the United Socialist Youth, the Syndicalist Youth with the bourgeois organization such as the Youth of the Left Republicans and the Federal Union of Spanish Students. The summary follows:

This accord establishes the collaboration for unity of all the political and syndical anti-fascist forces; it pledges action by the Youth in the popular army, in the field of production and in the other manifestations of life; it determines that the Youth will intensify its efforts towards better production in the fields and in the shops, and will increase its sacrifices by furnishing fresh thousands of soldiers to the people's cause.

For moral principle, this Alliance of the Youth will combat the use of insulting terms, slanders and acts tending to produce discord on the front as well as in the rear; it will fight against anything that weakens the unity of the anti-fascist forces.

It is plain that there was no longer question of including the POUM Youth in this anti-fascist alliance. This changing in the attitude was decided by the Peninsular Committee of the Libertarian Youth, without a convention and without consulting the rank and file of the organization. As a result of this policy we now see Fidelio Miro, the young Libertarian, making speeches from the same platform with the worst of the Stalinist valet, Santiago Carillo, and this only a few weeks after

the "extra-legal" murder by the Cheka of the eleven Libertarian Youths at Barcelona, after the May events; all these after the mysterious kidnapping and "disparition" of the Libertarian Youth leader, Martinez, at Barcelona.

The National Committee of the CNT is going in the same direction: it accepted the invitation of the "Friends of USSR," (an organization to serve the Spanish Stalinists) to celebrate in common the Russian national holiday, November 11, the committee appointed its militant Alfonso Miguel to arrange in common the details of the common parade where the Spanish syndicalist workers will march arm in arm with the assassins of Andres Nin and of Berneri, in honor of Saint Stalin!

At the same time the Madrid paper "C. N. T." reproduces from *Solidaridad Obrera* the answer to the underground tracts published by the POUM, appealing for a coalition of that body with the CNT, in order to create a revolutionary workers' front in opposition to the Negrin-Stalin government. The text follows:

The comrades of the POUM should not let themselves be misled by the advise of those who are not living our revolution, nor by their state of spirit that was necessarily the result of the treatment they received. Demagogy leads nowhere. The anti-fascist front should be defended with the greatest determination by all those who really wish to win the war and assure in the rear the conditions that will open the road for the march towards social and political progress.

How odd! The press informs us that the journal "C. N. T." will be suspended for an indefinite period by the censure of the . . . government.



TRUTH VS HUMBUG

(Continued from page 15)

to the infancy of the race. Later, when science had undermined the old religions, metaphysics—fantastic speculations—, were invented to further beguile humanity. Metaphysics is a reversal, a contradiction of the inductive method of modern science, "an undigested relic of the theological period." Metaphysics must go.

Fourth: Man is a social animal. Yet in no part of the school courses do we find any emphasis upon this fact. Go from the first grade to the Ph. D. degree and you will not find one law of social development nor an accurate definition of a society. Most students will come out obsessed with individualistic ideas, not knowing that the age of

individualism is dead and that at best it was but a short and an abnormal period.

If the millions of students now in school want to fit themselves for contact with the world or to remake the world so it will be a fit place to live in, they will have to do a lot of reading and thinking on the outside. If our educational system is to be improved it will have to be done by the present generation. Thousands of youngsters are now engaged in a crusade against syphilis. With the experience gained in this struggle they should be able to tackle our diseased educational set-up. But they will find it a much larger undertaking, and perhaps more nasty.

Fifty Years After Haymarket

"A day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today."

By **ART HOPKINS**

There are two monuments in the United States that on November 11 of each year are an inspiration to much oratory and an attraction to the gaze of crowds of people who pause to read their inscriptions and then pass on.

One of these monuments is in Arlington cemetery near Washington, the other in Waldheim cemetery near Chicago.

On one of these monuments are inscribed the word: **HERE RESTS IN HONORED GLORY AN AMERICAN SOLDIER KNOWN BUT TO GOD.**

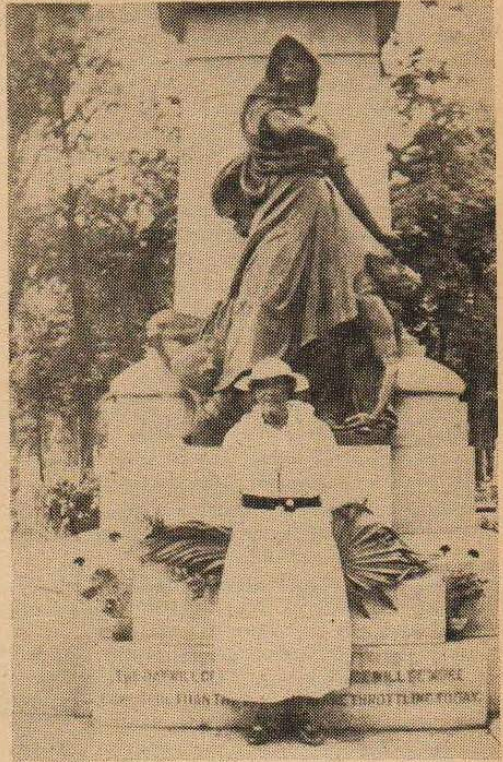
The other bears the prophecy of one of Labor's martyrs: **A DAY WILL COME WHEN OUR SILENCE WILL BE MORE POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU ARE THROTTLING TODAY.**

Arlington

One is erected in memory of those soldiers who fought and fell in the World War. The second is dedicated to working men who fought and fell in the class struggle. The former is a symbol of militarism; the latter symbolizes all those things that true rebels of the working class have fought and died for and the coming unity of the workers.

The tomb of the unknown soldier! Somehow, while standing near that sepulcher last summer, I was reminded of the words of Robert Ingersol at the tomb of Napoleon, when he said that he would rather have been a French peasant than that "imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great."

I could not help reflecting while standing there watching the honorary guard that paces back and forth before this largest piece of marble ever mined that it would be infinitely better to be an unknown fighter, fallen in the class war, than that



Monument in Waldheim cemetery in memory of the Chicago martyrs—Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, and Louis Lingg. Lucy Parsons, surviving widow of Albert R. Parsons, is standing in front.

symbol of capitalist war-making—the Unknown Soldier.

What was the progress he had brought to this world? None whatsoever! His was a career of war—fighting his fellowmen—killing, plundering, murdering. He did not reason nor question. His duty was to obey!

He is one of many who went to France and returned a corpse.—

He is a hero of war, of patriotism, of nationalism, of plunder, of murder. He is a hero, honored

not by his class brothers but by those who believe in social inequality, in class distinction, in wholesale murder—WAR.

Waldheim

Those eight men who lie buried under that monument in Waldheim are heroes of a grander, a more wholesome and a more humane cause; they are the heroes of the international working class. They are the heroes that are condemned by the powers-that-be; they are the martyrs who have fallen in the class struggle. They fought not for the supremacy of a particular nation or group of nations. They believed not in slaughtering their fellow men. Theirs was an ideal of uplift, of international solidarity.

There is no stately guard pacing before the Waldheim monument. No governmental body supports the upkeep of the monument over the graves of the Chicago Anarchists. Poor workingmen, humble workingmen—with their pennies and dimes and quarters support that monument.

Who Are the Heroes?

The story of the Haymarket is written large in working class history. It is a story that would make an effective plot for one of Dickens' novels, were it not for the horror of its actuality.

Webster's Dictionary defines a hero as "a man honored after death by public worship, for exceptional service to mankind..."

When we hear the patriotic orators speak this November Eleventh on the Nineteenth Anniversary of the Armistice and they will issue a flow of oratory about the heroes of the World War and the Unknown soldier as the representative of those who died in an honored and glorified cause—let's stop and ask ourselves this question: "What exceptional service did these men,—did the unknown soldier render to mankind that they are to be called heroes?"

They may have decreased the population a few million—but that does not warrant their being called heroes? Birth control has found a more effective way of limiting the growth of population.

Did those heroes "save the world for democracy?" Have they made the world a better place to live in? Have they left an heritage that the next generation may be proud of? All these questions must be answered in the negative. The only thing that can be said of them is that they were dupes who were lead to believe that they would make this world a better place to live in. But their accomplishments were nil.

On the other hand, the Haymarket martyrs are heroes in the true sense of the word. They are

"honored after death, for exceptional service to mankind."

What is this exceptional service?

It lies in the fact that they preached the unity of the labor movement. They preached the gospel of the organization for labor. They said: Labor must organize. We must have a shorter working day, a shorter working week. Labor must organize against its masters. It must throw off its chains.

They Saw Truth and Spoke It

These men taught, that men can live in a more beautiful way, that they can live in harmony and social co-operation. That well-being and joy can be the heritage of all. They believed in that old Greek maxim: "Man is the measurement of everything."

They despised government and the State for they saw it an evil—having no function of necessity. They believed that instead of government of men there should be an administration of industry.

They despised law because they saw it as rules of the master class, made for the benefit of that class.

It will be fifty years this November Eleventh, the very same day that "patriots" will celebrate the Armistice, that these men walked to their gallows in the Cook county jail in Chicago.

Fifty years ago these men spoke for the eight-hour day. Today it is a reality.

Their Challenge

Fifty years ago these men issued a challenge to Labor to organize for freedom.

Fifty years ago it was a crime to tell Labor these things—and so they were judicially lynched.

These men are heroes! Their philosophy, their ideas have rendered exceptional service to mankind. They opposed slaughter of millions of men in war. They opposed the oppression of the working man. They revolted against the tyranny of the State. They spoke of organization. They were not interested in politics; they were interested in economics. They did not believe in political action, they believed in revolutionary industrial unionism.

Politically and economically they were anarchist believing in the destruction of the State and the establishment of a communistic form of society. In tactics they were Revolutionary Industrial unionists.

Long after the marble monument has crumbled to dust, the monument in Waldheim will stand as a symbol of victorious martyrdom.

Long after the Unknown Soldier will have been forgotten, the names of Spies, Parsons, Fischer, Engels, the four who were hanged November 11, 1887, and Lingg, who committed suicide in his cell, and Fielden and Schwab, who served prison sentences, will reverently be remembered.



There is promise of power only in a working class united on the Industrial field to control the wealth it produces.



*The 'Hero' of Kronstadt
Writes History*

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

By Leon Trotsky.

Doubleday, Doran \$2.50

To those readers who are already acquainted with Trotsky's ideas and the publications of his movement, his present book will be a disappointment as it contains little new material. In this review we shall therefore limit ourselves to those portions of the volume which indicate that even in the mind of the party-intellectual changes do take place. But, it must be said, even such changes as Trotsky sees are only matters of emphasis—an effort to adapt his “theoretical line” to the new situation which has obviously contradicted previous postulates of his theory.

Any serious student of Soviet Russia must admit that Trotsky's factual material gives an accurate picture of the real situation in Russia. It may also be said that, on the whole, he has paid due regard to the high-lights in the history and present policy of the Third International even though he still tends to account for the counter-revolutionary role of that institution and its sponsor, the Soviet state, by referring to the stupidity and viciousness of Stalin and his associates. The subjective “errors” and “crimes” of these leaders seem to play, according to Trotsky, a more significant part in the general development than the objective factor of economic-social necessity.

Hazy History

The farther Trotsky searches back into the past of Bolshevism and Russia, the more meagre are the fruits of his investigation. It is regrettable that the period during which Lenin and Trotsky held sway is dealt with in such a cursory manner as not to admit of a critical evaluation. It should be evident that to explain Stalin's triumph it is necessary to refer back to pre-Stalinist conditions



Book Reviews



By **PAUL MATTICK**

in Russia and it is precisely these important years that preceded Stalin's rise which meet with no criticism at the pen of Trotsky. Stalinism can be explained only by way of Bolshevism. If Leninism was the revolutionary stage of Bolshevism, Stalinism is its phase of consolidation. The two are inseparable and a criticism of one is of small value without an analysis of the other.

Trotsky writes: “Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of *Das Kapital*, but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface—not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity.” (p. 8. This sentence, accepted at its face value, vitiates all criticism of Stalinism for certainly, this “right” of “Socialism” has been better demonstrated in the period of Stalin than before. Only with Stalin has this “right” been demonstrated at all “in the industrial arena.” Lenin himself did not think it possible to do more than vindicate the “right” of *state capitalism* after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Can it be that when Trotsky innocently states that the “term ‘state capitalism’ has the advantage that nobody knows exactly what it means,” he is expressing a hope that his readers are unacquainted with Lenin's position on this question which dominated the ideas of the Bolsheviks prior to Stalin's ascendancy?

Lenin, at the eleventh party congress, stated clearly his line: “*State capitalism* is that form of capitalism which we shall be in a position to restrict to establish its limits; this capitalism is bound up with the state—that is, the workers, the most advanced part of the workers, the vanguard is ourselves. And it is we on whom the nature of this *state capitalism* will depend.” But it was necessary to camouflage the state capitalist character of Russian economy before the Russian masses. As Bukharin expressed it at a government conference toward the end of 1925: “If we confess that the enterprises taken over by the State are state-

capitalist enterprises, if we say this openly, how can we conduct a campaign for a greater output? In factories which are not purely socialistic, the workers will not increase the productivity of their labor." This plainly reveals that the Bolsheviks did not think it convenient to tell the workers that Russia is a state capitalist system. Of course the international bourgeoisie understood that they could deal quite as well—if not better—with the One Big Corporation which was Soviet capitalism as they had done formerly with the multitude of individual capitalists.

Frequently Lenin identified state capitalism and socialism. In *Towards the Seizure of Power*, he writes: "Socialism is nothing but *state capitalist monopoly* made to benefit the whole people; by this token it ceases to be capitalist monopoly." In spite of the unmistakable meaning of Lenin's words Trotsky nevertheless writes that his analysis of the concept of state capitalism "is sufficient to show how absurd the attempts are to identify capitalist state-ism with the soviet system." (p. 248)

Russian State Capitalism

Trotsky denies the state capitalist character of Russian economy by reducing the term state capitalism to a meaningless phrase. That is, he sees in the concept no more than was seen in it prior to the Russian revolution, or than is seen in it today with reference to the state capitalist tendencies of the fascist countries.

Since it is clear that Russia today is dominated by an economy different from what is implied by the term state capitalism in fascist or general bourgeois society, Trotsky is enabled to win his argument by posing the question to suit his convenience. But a full-fledged state capitalist system is surely something other than *state capitalist tendencies*, or state enterprises, or even state control in an otherwise bourgeois society. State capitalism as a social system presupposes the expropriation of the individual capitalists, that is, a revolution in property relations.

While the capitalist *mode of production* grew up historically on the basis of individual ownership of the means of production, the Russian revolution has shown that under certain conditions the capitalist *mode of production* can continue to exist even though the individual proprietors are eliminated and replaced by a collective exploiting apparatus where factories are not owned by capitalist "X" or "Y" but are "controlled" (i. e. *owned*) by the State (i. e. the controlling classes).

The Russian revolution changed property relations, replacing individual proprietors by the Bolsheviks and their allies, substituting new "revolutionary" phrases for the old pep slogans, erecting the hammer and sickle over the Kremlin where the Czarist Eagle once stood, but the Bolshevik seizure of power did not change the capitalist mode of

production. That is to say, under the Bolsheviks, there remains, as formerly, the system of wage labor and the appropriation by the exploiting class of surplus value which is profit. And, what is done with such profit is exactly what was done with it under the system of individual capitalists, allowing, of course, for the special character of state capitalism.

Such surplus value is distributed according to the needs of the total capital in the interests of further capital accumulation and to safeguard the state capitalist apparatus by increasing its power and prestige.

Only a change in the mode of production can bring about socialism; otherwise, as far as the workers are concerned, they will have only exchanged one set of exploiters for another. Under the conditions of state capitalism the process of accumulation, the development of the productive forces by wage labor is bound up, as in the case of "regular" capitalism, with an increased appropriation of surplus value, with further exploitation, and hence with the development of new classes, of new vested interests in order to continue this process since the working class cannot exploit itself.

This capitalist necessity serves to explain Russian development; no other "line," no other "policy" could have essentially changed this development. By failing to recognize the state capitalist character of Russia, by regarding its present economy as a transitional step to socialism, Trotsky merely indicates his readiness to precipitate a new state capitalist revolution which must lead to a new Stalinism—another betrayal of the Revolution.

Advocates A New Machine

Trotsky describes the contradictions of the Russian economic situation as follows: "To the extent that, in contrast to a decaying capitalism, it develops the productive forces, it is preparing the economic basis of socialism. To the extent that, for the benefit of an upper stratum, it carries to more and more extreme expression bourgeois norms of distribution, it is preparing a capitalist restoration. This contrast between forms of property and norms of distribution cannot grow indefinitely. Either the bourgeois norms in one form or another spread to the means of production, or the norms of distribution must be brought into correspondence with the socialist property system." (p. 244)

The solution, according to Trotsky, lies in the replacement of the present parasitical bureaucracy by a non-parasitical apparatus. Nothing else in his opinion needs to be changed as the Soviet economic system is fully qualified to proceed toward socialism in combination with the world-revolutionary trend. This new bureaucracy, essential in Trotsky's transitional stage, will, according to Trotsky, in-

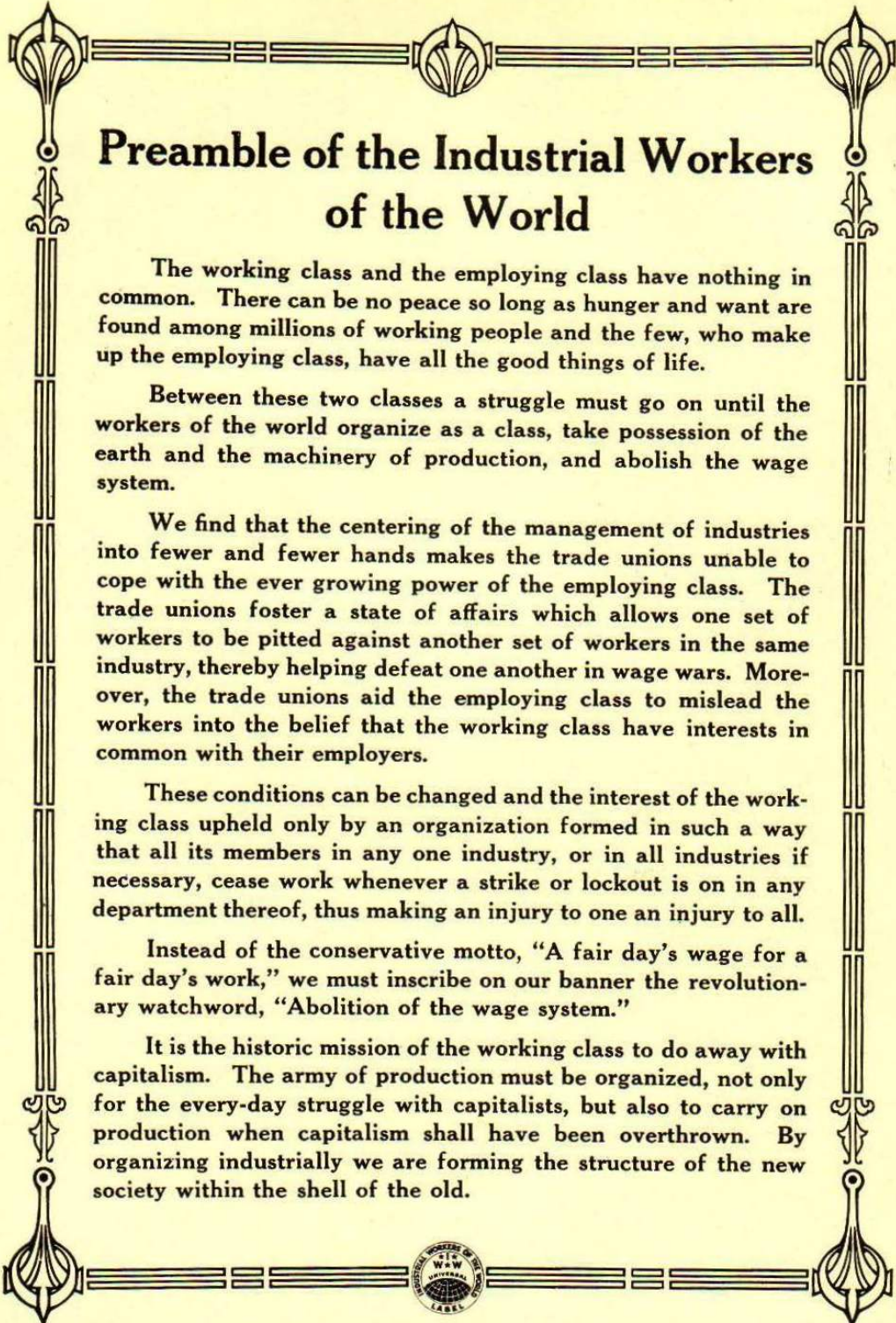
produce a greater equality of income. But Trotsky must remember that the present bureaucracy started out with the same idea, originally limiting salaries to Communists, etc. It was the circumstances enveloping the economy which not only enabled but obliged the present bureaucracy to adopt a program of ever increasing economic inequality in its favor. This was in harmony with the need of a faster accumulation to secure the system as a whole. There is no guarantee that a hypothetical Trotskyist bureaucracy would be any different in this respect from Stalin's machine.

Under the prevailing mode of production Russia cannot develop the productive forces higher than the old familiar brand of capitalism in the western

world was able to do. Because it cannot do so its system of distribution can never exceed the norms of capitalist distribution. Such a contradiction between forms of property and norms of distribution as Trotsky envisions does not exist. The Russian method of distribution is in perfect harmony with its state capitalist method of production.

It is only necessary to reflect on the paramount role which Trotsky played in the first thundering years of Bolshevik Russia to understand why he cannot admit that the Bolshevik revolution was only able to change the form of capitalism but was not able to do away with the capitalist form of exploitation. It is the shadow of that period that lies in the way of his understanding.





Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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





CAPITALISTS OWN THE EARTH

That the ownership and control of the whole world has passed into the hands of a few is the most astonishing fact of our civilization—it also is the most important. All economic problems are rooted in this circumstance, every movement for the improvement of the lot of the many must take it into consideration.

From this fact it follows that owners need not be producers and that those who live only by producing cannot be owners. It follows that the producers are slaves of the owners.

Private property in the means of production is the great, outstanding evil of our age. A working class movement worthy of the name, and entitled to the support of labor, must aim at establishing worker-control of the means by which the population lives. The Industrial Workers of the World is such a movement.