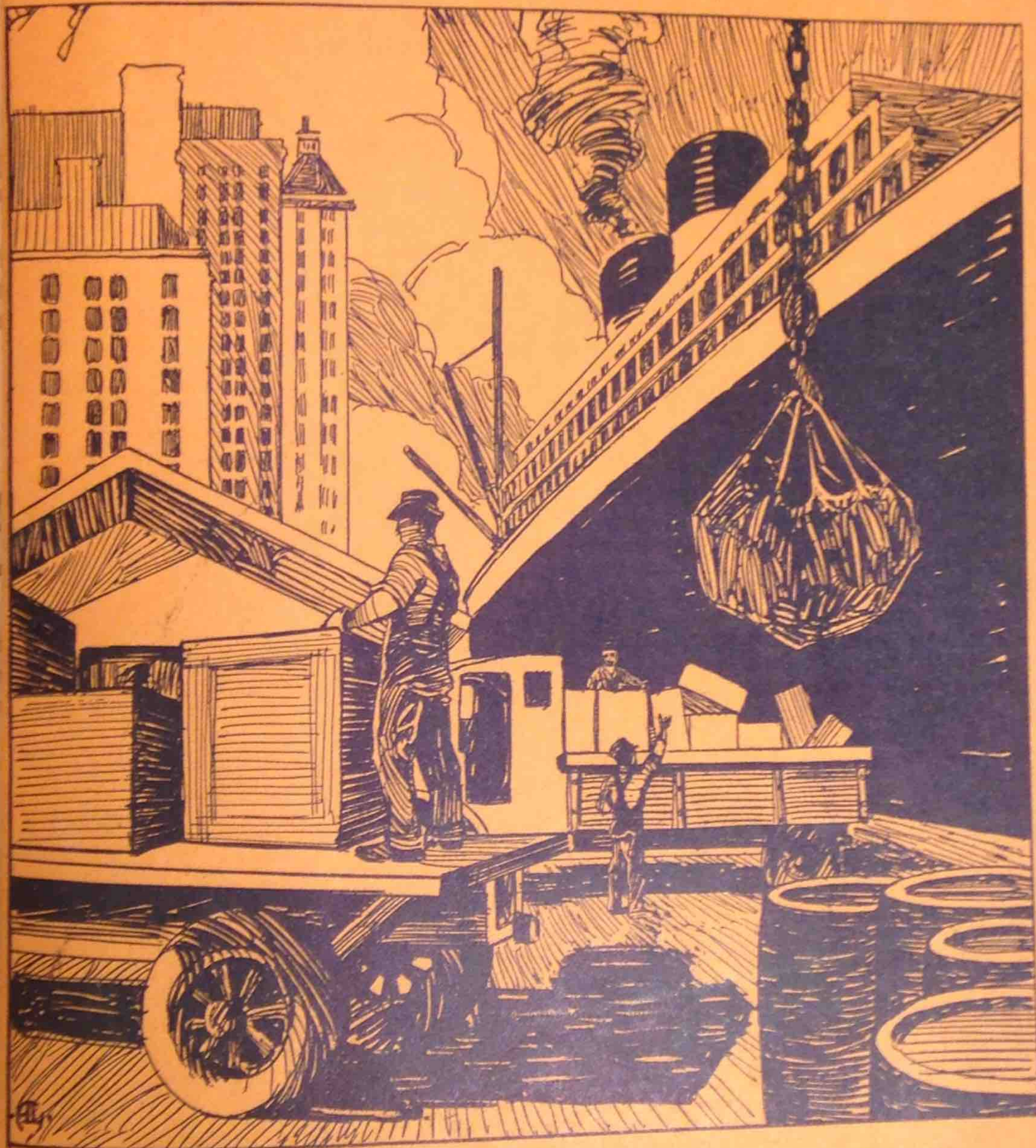


AUGUST, 1923

20 CENTS

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Henry Ford for President
San Pedro General Strike
110's Best Drive On

Labor Banks
The Worm Turns
Brockton Shoe Revolt

Boycott All California-Made Goods!

THE state of California has put itself outside the pale of civilization.
It has taken from workingmen the right to organize.
It has suppressed free speech and free assemblage.
It persecutes men for reading in public the Constitution of the United States.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California wants to reduce the working class to a condition worse than chattel slavery.
It sends men to prison for believing in and advocating industrial unionism.
It has reverted to barbarism and the dark days of the Spanish inquisition.
Its criminal syndicalism law is an outrage and an insult to the working class of the whole world.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California has sentenced over fifty workingmen from one to twenty-eight years in prison for being members of a labor union — the Industrial Workers of the World.

These men are now rotting in Folsom and San Quentin penitentiaries for the "crime" of trying to improve the miserable living conditions of their class; for the "crime" of having the courage of their convictions.

Scores of others are now on trial, or out on bail, awaiting sentence.
The crimes being committed by the state of California cry out to high heaven.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California keeps in prison for life men who are admitted by the whole world to be innocent — Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr.

The city of San Pedro has arrested and herded into stockades like cattle over six hundred peaceful striking marine workers and sympathizers.

The state of California is paying ten dollars a day to three professional witnesses, Dymond, Coutts, and Townsend, moral and sexual perverts, who have confessed to having committed so many crimes that they ought to be put behind prison bars for the balance of their lives.

The corrupt and vicious powers that rule and control California have caused the arrest of Upton Sinclair, internationally known writer and idealist, for upholding the United States Constitution.

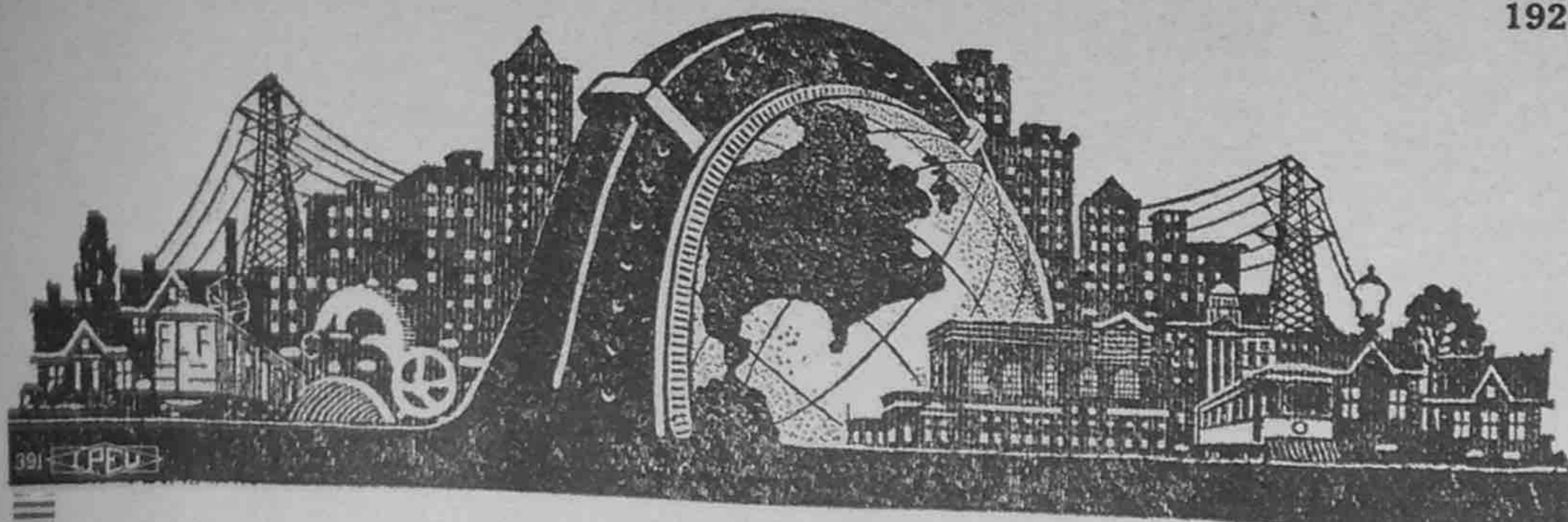
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

Demand the liberation of all workingmen and women incarcerated in California's dungeons!

Demand the repeal of the infamous criminal syndicalism law!

In the meantime—

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!



Vol. I.

The Industrial Pioneer

No. 4

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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Henry Ford for President

THERE'S an old story told of a primitive settler who alternately encouraged a grim struggle between a bear and his wife, neither of whom he very highly esteemed, by shouting, "Go it, bear! Go it, Maw!!" The workers should feel the same way regarding the political struggle now going on between Wall St. and Henry Ford. They should shout, "Go it, Wall St.! Go it, Henry!!" in the hope that they will mutually despatch one another.

One thing is certain, namely, since Henry has appeared as a presidential candidate many facts about himself, not generally popularized by himself, are getting extensive circulation. And before election 1924 comes round, Wall St. no doubt, will have exposed Henry for what he really is, while more truths than previously known will be afloat regarding "the world's greatest financial center" Go it, Wall St. Go it, Henry!!

Rejoice, for between now and November, 1924, Henry Ford's brutal paternalism will be exposed! So will his moron-producing engineering and his scientific skinning of the working class. Then will his stupendous avariciousness, his colossal profiteering and absolute lack of philanthropic endeavor, together with his capricious Caesarean egoism, be given the light of day. Then will Henry Ford stand revealed as the American Herr Stinnes, swallowing the railroads, coal and iron mines, waterways,

power plants, newspapers, movies, etc., etc. And, oh, what won't Henry say about Wall St. and its strangle hold on credit, its ruin of the farmer and its "crimes against the common people." We rub our hands with glee and look forward to as big a muck-raking campaign as has agitated a presidential year since the Bryan-Altgeld days of 1896. Go it, Wall St.! Go it, Henry!!

But all joking aside, why should not Henry Ford be the next president of the United States? Just as his counterpart, Herr Stinnes, is the dominant power in the German republic? The richest man in the world, economically speaking, ought logically to dominate the richest capitalism in the world, politically speaking. Then will politics truly reflect economics. Again, government is representative of big business. Whose business is bigger than Henry's that government can more consistently be representative of? And as the tendency of government is paternalistic, where is there a more paternalistic plutocrat than Henry Ford to make the government of the U. S. A. the most paternalistic of all? We wonder.

By all means, Henry, pitch into Wall St. and, Wall St., don't forget to hand Henry a wallop as often as you can. Perhaps then some of what Frank Vanderlip calls "our economic illiterates" will receive a few lessons in an eye-opening prejudice-shocking manner. Go it, Wall St! Go it, Henry!

What's On the Workers' Mind

There is a general belief existing to the effect that the workers are too cowardly to organize for their own protection and advancement. It is charged that war hysteria has instilled the emotion of fear in them so deeply as to make them incapable of manly self-assertion in their own interests.

Apparently, there is much to be said in favor of this theory. It does look as if the workers are afraid of their own shadows. But there are other and different theories accounting for the actions of the working class. One of these asserts that the working class is confused, nay, dazed, as a result of the war and its aftermath. They seem to be unable to straighten out the whole bloody cataclysmic tangle to their own satisfaction.

The observers who formulate this theory,

say that this condition of working class stupefaction has at least one very hopeful feature, namely, those afflicted with it will listen. They will try to learn and get at the bottom of the matter that baffles their understanding. Such material should not be neglected by our readers. Get out among them. Straighten them out and set them on the road to working class industrial organization and emancipation. Begin by pushing the working class press among them. Make them familiar with the working class view of capitalism, war and labor organization. Do that and there will be a psychological revolution that will ultimately end in the abolition of capitalism.

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I.

AUGUST, 1923

No. 4



San Pedro Strike Meeting.

Conviction of 27 Starts General Strike at San Pedro

ON July 12, following the conviction of 27 I. W. W. prisoners at Los Angeles, Calif., the Marine Transport Workers' I. U. No. 510, went out on a protest strike at San Pedro, the harbor of the aforementioned city. Other industrial unions also took action.

The General Construction Workers' branch at Portland, Ore., in special meeting the same day, went on record to call a general strike immediately for release of all class-war prisoners in support of action taken in San Pedro.

Industrial Solidarity, in issue just off the press as Industrial Pioneer is being made up, dwells as follows on the situation created by the conviction of the 27:

The General Strike may soon sweep over the Western coast ports and into the woods and agricultural districts! Three branches of the I. W. W. in Seattle, Wash., and in San Pedro, Cal., have been so roused by the hideously unfair verdict of the Los Angeles county jury in convicting 27 I. W. W. prisoners that they are calling on the membership at large and the unorganized as well to make this most serious protest.

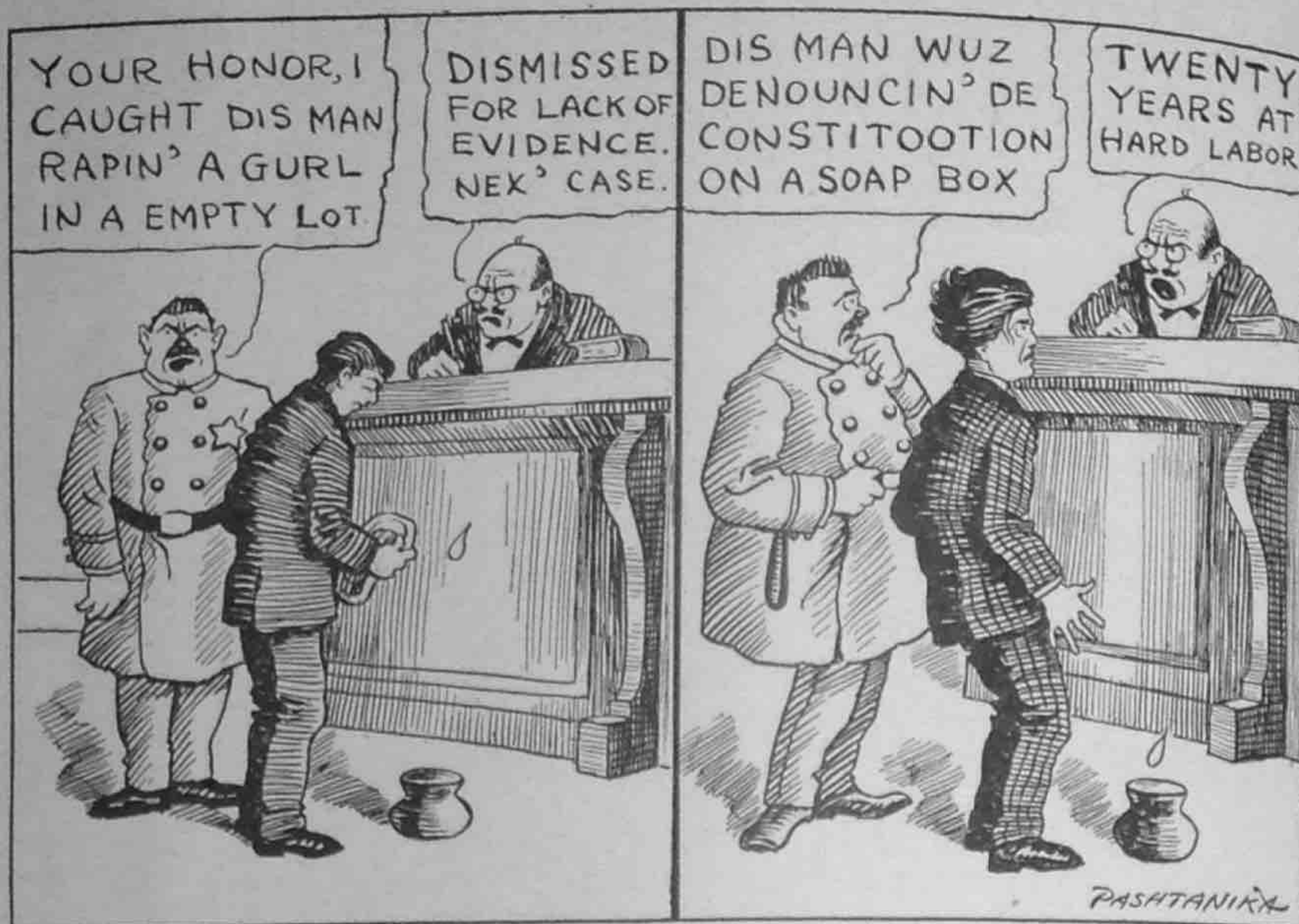
I. W. W. general headquarters in Chicago is in receipt of telegrams from these two points, at opposite ends of the Western coast line. The telegrams tell the story. The first was sent just before the verdict in the case of the 27 wobblies accused of criminal syndicalism was rendered; it is from San Pedro, and it reads:

"Soon as jury brings in verdict, if it is guilty or fine; a five-day general strike starts in the Marine Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W., and also in Oil Workers' Industrial Union here. Please ask East coast and also Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union to co-operate with us, and show their solidarity.—John Farley, Port Delegate."

The next wire sets the date for the San Pedro section of the walkout:

"Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W. go on record to go on strike the seventh month, the twelfth day, 1923, at ten a. m., in protest against conviction of the 27 fellow workers in Los Angeles. Yours for Solidarity. Let's go!—Port Delegate."

So much for San Pedro. When the news



of these actions reached the big I. W. W. stronghold in the Northwest, Seattle branch of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 took the matter up at once. A special branch meeting elected a Ways and Means Committee of five to draw up resolutions to cover the matter of the conviction of the 27 members of the I. W. W. in Los Angeles, and to devise ways and means to co-operate with Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510.

The committee reported, and the following resolutions were carried unanimously:

1—We are in favor of the resolutions acted upon by this body being published in all I. W. W. publications and we request editors of the I. W. W. publications to write an article for their respective papers in connection with resolutions.

2—We, the undersigned, resolve that, insofar as 510 and 230 of San Pedro have gone on record for a protest strike in case of a verdict of guilty in the case of the 27 fellow workers who were active in putting out literature and propaganda during the strike for release of all class-war prisoners, and are asking the members of the Northwest for co-operation.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, As a verdict

of "guilty" has been brought in, we, the members of 120, Seattle branch, in special meeting this eleventh day of July, call upon members of other branches to take action in regard to pulling a strike off the job as a protest against the continued imprisonment of class-war prisoners and the recent Los Angeles verdict.

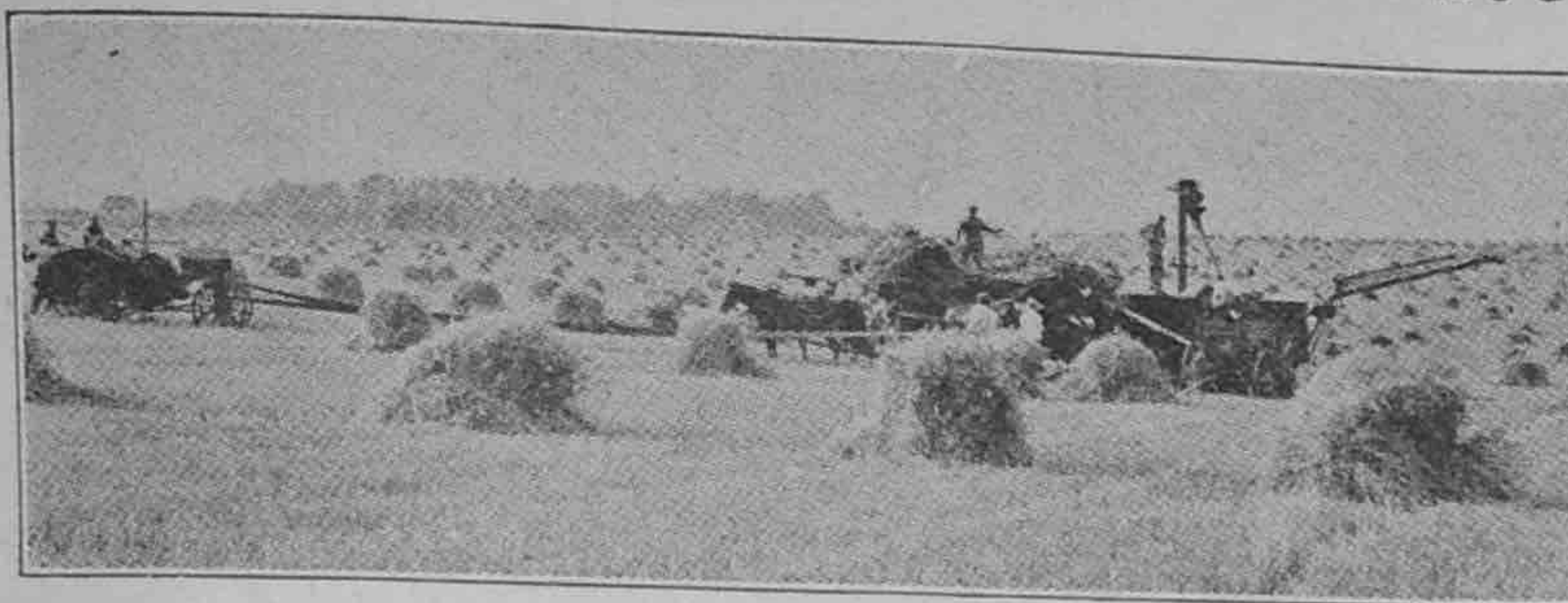
Therefore, We ask the members of the I. W. W. to notify the ways and means committee as soon as possible in regard to any action that can be taken in other localities.

Be It Further Resolved, That we call upon all members of the I. W. W. to make plans to call an immediate strike at any time in the future when a verdict of guilty is brought in against any of our fellow workers on trial for organization activities.

(Signed) Ways and Means Committee,
Card Nos. 788533, 741806, 259732, 412105,
510973.

The war clouds appear to be gathering again in Europe. The British and French are now struggling for European economic supremacy. The Gaul seems destined to take the place of the Hun in the next "war for democracy," etc.

The price of living is soaring. Organize to send wages up after it.



110's Best Drive Ever!

THE biggest and best drive in the history of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. is under way. If the present rate of initiations continues, it will mean that 1923 will run 100 percent over 1922, which was a good year. As a result, the office of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 is taking on a very active appearance. The work of enrolling members is going on apace.

The A. W. I. U. is also active in raising the I. U. 110 Bail and Bond quota of \$13,150.00, and they are sure they will get their quota. In three hours a stationary delegate issued \$1000 worth of bond stamps to delegates, and the job delegates are selling them like hot cakes.

The season is in favor of the agricultural workers. In Kansas the farmers are holding up autos with the shipments of labor agencies, and "inducing" the workers thereon to go with them instead of the farmers to whom they were consigned. This demand will rebound to the benefit of the workers organized in the I. W. W.

A member of 110 writes from the field on the situation there, as follows:

"It reminds me of conditions in the harvest field ten years ago. The hours of labor for harvest workers ran from 12 to 14 on the average, and wages were from \$2 to \$2.50. The food supplied was of inferior quality, without variety and badly cooked. The harvest workers were knocked around by bullying "town clowns" and plug-ugly railroad bulls. They had no status in law and secured no justice in the courts. Life

then for the migratory workers was one damned denial after another.

"That was before the advent of the A. W. I. U. But since its coming these things have changed. If they have not been entirely uprooted, they have been considerably modified. Organization has improved the conditions for the migrant workers and more organization will bring greater comfort and more security. The standard of today when compared with that of a decade ago, is something of which the A. W. I. U. membership may well be proud.

"And it is not only in the harvest fields but wherever the I. W. W. has secured foothold enough to influence industries, a similar improvement is to be noticed. The lumber, general construction and marine transport industries testify to the value of I. W. W. unionism to the working class. Life for the workers in these industries is better worth living than previous to the coming of the I. W. W.

"We must not permit ourselves to lose sight of the fact that the destinies of the workers in all industries and in all localities are interlinked. So that, after following out our program for the small grain belt, we shall prepare to muster our forces for the final tilt in California which will end the criminal syndicalism law in that state, and prove conclusively that economic solidarity is vastly more influential than any other weapon the workers may employ.

"The criminal syndicalism law is tottering under the resistance with which the I. W. W. has met it. Men with the spirit



Stockton Plow, With Ten Up.

of pioneers and crusaders have risked from one to fourteen years in the penitentiary to uphold the right of labor to organize as its experiences dictated and industrial conditions demanded. These champions of labor's right have been convicted unjustly for everything from carrying an I. W. W. membership card to being in possession of a leaflet or one of our papers. Witnesses have been arrested in defiance of law and in violation of their constitutional rights. The machinery of the state has operated to deny the very rights it is presumed and instituted to uphold. The men themselves merit our consideration, but above and beyond them is the cause in which they fell

victims. That cause is the cause of all labor. That fight is a fight in which our interests are involved. To neglect our part in it is to enlist on the side of the enemy.

"So, let's go into this California fight without shackles. Debts incurred during the war are yet unpaid. Our quota is \$13,150.00. Every member should be willing to go his limit in trying to eliminate handicaps upon our resources. The convention in Oklahoma City authorized a \$1 Bail and Bond Obligation Stamp for I. U. 110 members. These stamps are now in the field,

"Now, all together, fellow workers—for the Biggest and Best Drive I. U. 110 ever had!"



INJUNCTIONS DON'T ENJOIN

The idea that labor's assertion of its own rights can be prevented by injunctions is going to be doomed to overthrow in the future as it has been in the past.

Where labor is prevented from striking legally, it is forced either into extensive wide-spread individual action, or spontaneous revolt. There is no law compelling individuals not to strike; nor is there any law that has as yet been able to suppress general dissatisfaction.

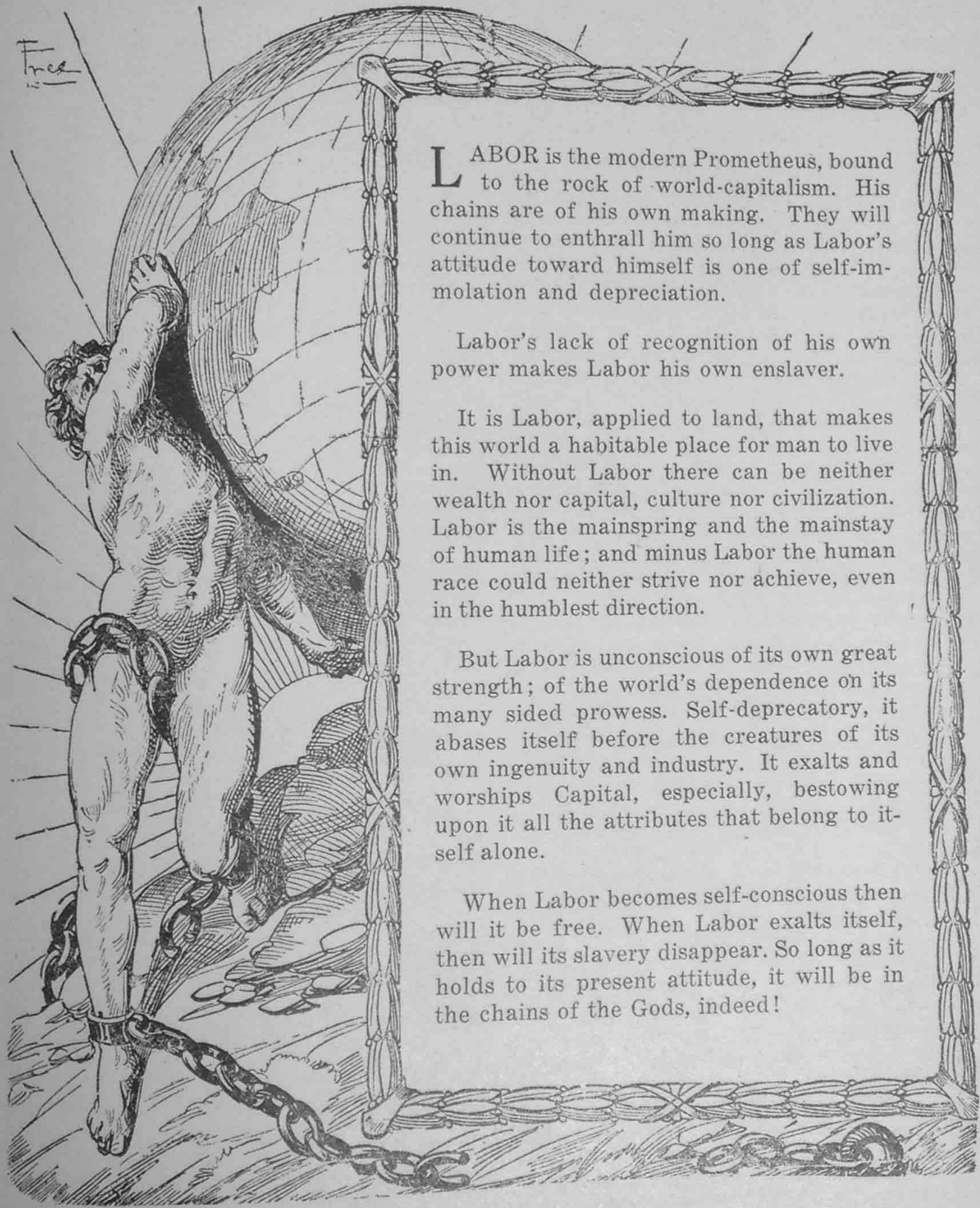
Where striking is not permitted, where labor is virtually enslaved by law, there will a bad morale exist, to the detriment of the very industrial peace and efficiency which it is intended to preserve and promote.

OUTLAWING WAR

The proposal to outlaw war fails to recognize the causes of war. These are to be found in commercial rivalry, which knows no law but its own profits and interests. Under the pressure exerted by commercial rivalry all laws, treaties, constitutions, etc., become "scraps of paper." This is not theory but historical practice. Under the circumstance, what will it avail to outlaw war? Why not strike at the commercial rivalry—the imperialism—which causes it? Do this through world organization of the world's workers.

The battle is to the organized.

The Modern Prometheus



LABOR is the modern Prometheus, bound to the rock of world-capitalism. His chains are of his own making. They will continue to enthrall him so long as Labor's attitude toward himself is one of self-immolation and depreciation.

Labor's lack of recognition of his own power makes Labor his own enslaver.

It is Labor, applied to land, that makes this world a habitable place for man to live in. Without Labor there can be neither wealth nor capital, culture nor civilization. Labor is the mainspring and the mainstay of human life; and minus Labor the human race could neither strive nor achieve, even in the humblest direction.

But Labor is unconscious of its own great strength; of the world's dependence on its many sided prowess. Self-deprecatory, it abases itself before the creatures of its own ingenuity and industry. It exalts and worships Capital, especially, bestowing upon it all the attributes that belong to itself alone.

When Labor becomes self-conscious then will it be free. When Labor exalts itself, then will its slavery disappear. So long as it holds to its present attitude, it will be in the chains of the Gods, indeed!

Harding's "Lettre Du Cachet"

By LEONE ESMOND.

SOME 1900 years ago, St. Paul, whose relations with the civil and criminal statutes of his time were no better than those of a modern I. W. W. expressed his opinion of mundane laws in an unforgettable sentence.

"All things are lawful unto me; but all things are not expedient."

The people of the United States have long ago adopted St. Paul's saying as their pet maxim. All things are lawful unto them. The only thing to be regarded is the whereabouts and corruptibility of the local police officer or the prohibition agent. No man hesitates to take part in an unlawful poker game, unless his pocketbook is flat and his card-playing skill in question. The Volstead Act is a standing joke, and half modern conversation consists of ways and means to violate it. A man who knows a good bootlegger is envied, and his counsel taken by his neighbors. Automobile speed laws are of no importance. The judge can be "fixed," even if the speeder is so unlucky as to kill some careless pedestrian. "Bucket shops" rob the private citizen openly, hardly troubling to disguise their operations. A business man who has a good chance to take advantage of his neighbor or his government is considered rather a fool if he fails to do so,—witness the real estate men, stock brokers, second hand automobile dealers, and the thousand and one "cost plus" contractors of the world war. Murder is a matter of daily occurrence, and so little regarded that no matter how crude the method employed, the killer has a good chance of going unpunished.

Are Exceptional Class

Perhaps the general acceptance of St. Paul's saying is the reason why the United States Government has determined to establish at least one law-abiding class in the United States. No one else obeys the law. Having failed to prove that the I. W. W. ever broke it, perhaps it may be safe to order I. W. W. members to do what they evidently intend to do in any case.

The political prisoners of the United States—as distinguished from those class-war prisoners of the several states of the Union—were all sentenced under the Espionage Act, during the period of hysteria which swept over this nation in 1918 and 1919. The charges were various, and little proof adduced to uphold them. Charges of sabotage freely made were thrown out by the Appellate Courts in two of the cases; the third, the "Sacramento case," was not given a hearing on the evidence, due to legal technicalities connected with the form of appeal. For five years every right-thinking person in the United States has demanded the release of the political prisoners, and at intervals three or four have been pardoned, apparently in the wild hope

that the raging liberal lions would consider themselves satisfied.

In the month of June, 1923, Harding, fearing liberal demonstrations on his western tour, offered commutation of sentence to 27 out of the 51 held. Thirteen, who did not realize the meaning of the offered commutation clause, accepted. Five of these were immediately notified that they were held pending deportation proceedings, so that in their cases, the commutations were meaningless. The others, grasping more fully the exact meaning of the conditions to which they were to pledge themselves, refused.

The Perpetual Sentence

The following is the exact wording of the commutation offered:

"* * * do hereby commute the sentence of said * * * to the term already served upon condition that he be law-abiding and loyal to the Government of the United States, and does not encourage, advocate or become wilfully connected with lawlessness in any form and upon the further condition that if he violates any of the foregoing conditions, of which fact the President shall be the sole judge, he the President, may revoke the commutation and it shall thereupon become null and void, and of no effect, and he may by direction to any officer of the penitentiary where the prisoner is now confined, or to any U. S. Marshall or Deputy Marshall, cause the said * * * to be apprehended and returned to the penitentiary, there to complete the service of his sentence."

Careful reading of this clause reveals several startling facts.

This "commutation" is not a commutation of sentence, but a parole. Unlike the usual parole, its extent is not for the remaining term of the sentence. It is a parole for life. It keeps a law, thoroughly obnoxious to the people of the United States, in force so far as these men are concerned, though outraged public opinion has forced the abandonment of the statute. Though the Espionage Act is now a dead letter, at any time during the rest of his life the unfortunate political prisoner who accepts this "commutation" may be seized by any police or federal official and flung again into a penitentiary to serve from one to 20 years, as the case may be. Though it states that "the President shall be the sole judge," who doubts that the word of the Department of Justice would be accepted without the slightest investigation of the charges? Daugherty, or some successor of like caliber, would state that the charges were justified; the President would cheerfully affix his signature to the necessary documents.

"Lettre Du Cachet"

This form of commutation revives the old "lettre du cachet" which was such a terrible weapon of the French kings before the Revolution of 1789. In that

day, an order signed by the king sent men of the highest intelligence and most unblemished character to the cells of the Bastille. Imprisoned without a hearing, without opportunity for defense, with no chance of appeal, few ever returned to the world. The king forgot. The victim died when life became an unsupportable burden.

Frequently these letters were given to some favorite who had a personal enemy, with the name of the victim left blank. The favorite filled in the name, and the unfortunate who stood in the way of a pet project or a contemplated crime disappeared forever.

Under the ordinary parole in the usual criminal proceedings, the parole breaker must be brought into a court, must have a full and open hearing, must be confronted with the witnesses against him, and permitted to prove himself innocent, if he can. In the cases of the political prisoners, any one who has an interest in so doing may cause their re-imprisonment. The political prisoner is to be granted no hearing. He has no right to prove himself innocent; no right to know the witnesses against him or the charges made. The President is the sole judge. His order, obtained perhaps by some representative of the Steel Trust, some mouthpiece of a steamship company, some American Legion echo of Alvin Owsley, is sufficient. The lettre du cachet is issued.

Usurping Judicial Power

The President usurps judicial power in these commutations. The Constitution of the United States does not give an administrative officer judicial powers. Nothing could be more dangerous to a popular government than for an administrative officer to seize these powers. History is full of examples of such seizure—and its results.

The President has the right of pardon and parole. He has not the right to judge whether the terms of that parole be broken. That is the duty of the courts, and of the courts alone. The courts may be inefficient, may not do their duty—but so long as they continue to function, no other individual or organization may take their place.

The refusal of clemency to F. J. Gallagher on the ground that he was the cause of several strikes during the war shows a further tendency to usurp judicial powers. It is not a penal offense to strike or to induce others to do so. There are several court rulings on the question. But the administrative power of the land refuses a political prisoner clemency on grounds that the courts of the United States have declared are no grounds.

Those who actually disobeyed the law—spies, dynamiters, profiteers—were released without conditions, presumably because they had lived up to the American maxim: "All things are lawful." They had merely overlooked the final clause about expediency. They are in no danger of going back to jail. They did not stay there very long. The political prisoners have been in jails and penitentiaries

for nearly six years, and most of them are there yet. The ones at liberty are in danger of being returned at any time.

Law-abiding—in a country where no law is obeyed. Loyal—to a government that favors declared enemies, grafters and spies, above men who attempted to do the right as they saw the right. Not to be connected with lawlessness—in a country that cherishes the Ku Klux Klan, race rioters and "patriotic" mobs.

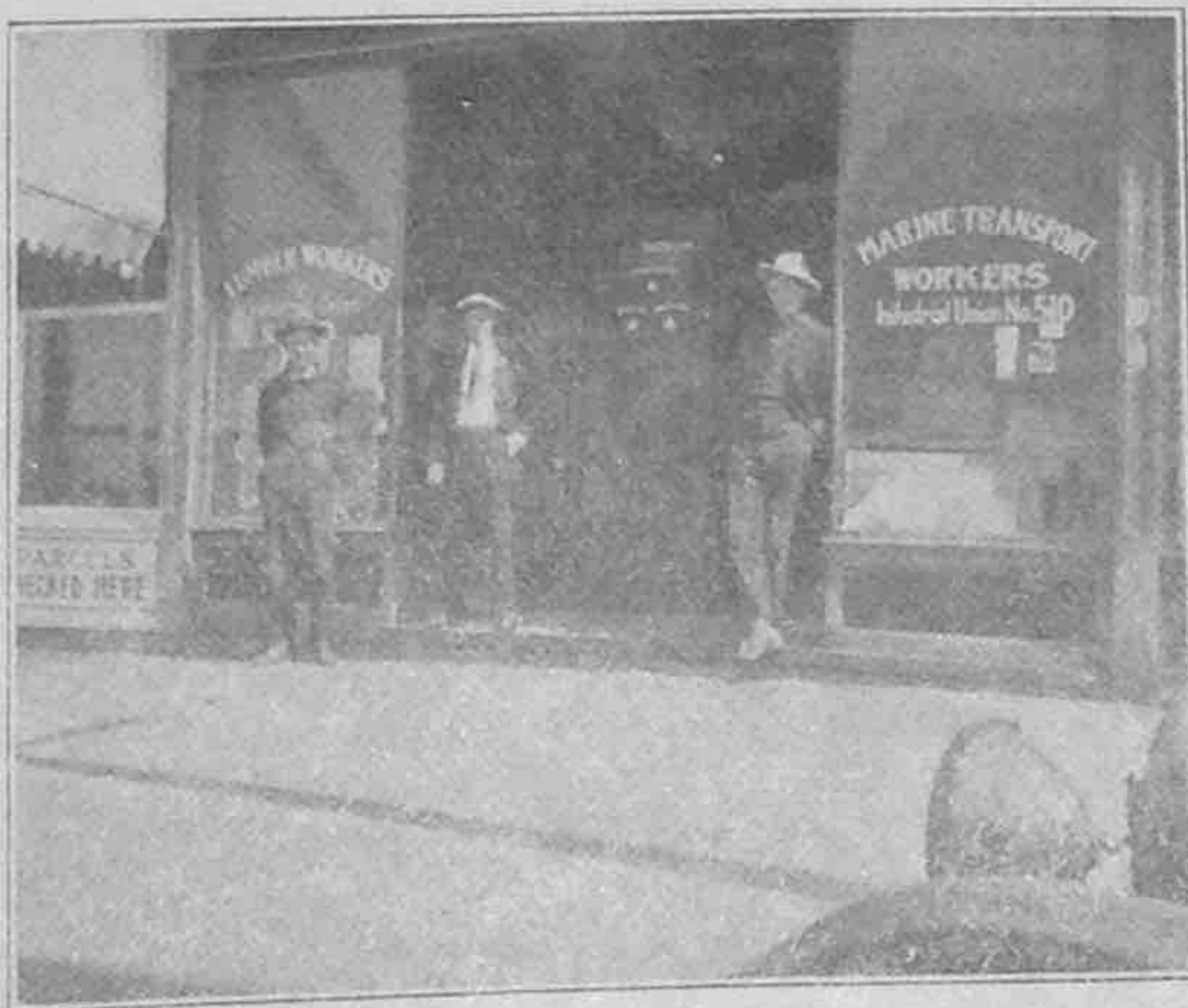
The commutations offered to the political prisoners of America form another chapter in the dreadful work now being written—the history of the decline and fall of the American Republic.

Hurrah, To The Next That Goes

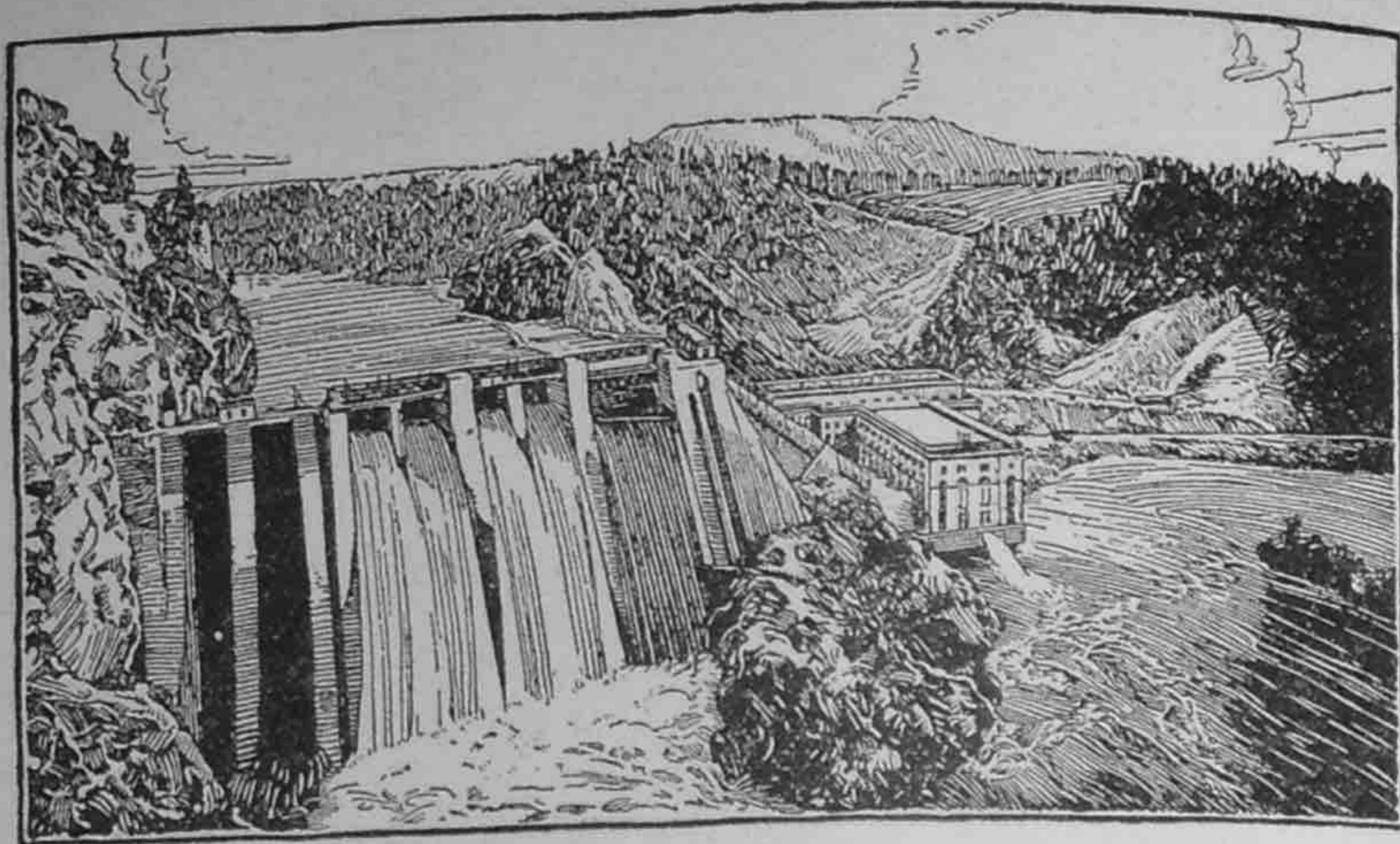
By Vera Möller.

Cut off from the world of freedom
In the shade of these grated walls,
That some shall find but a doorway
To gloomier prison halls.
Stand, Stand with your cups held steady,
A message to friends, to foes;
One cup to those gone already,
Hurrah, to the next that goes!

Cut off from the world of sunshine
We have but the inner light:
A flame that burns ever stronger,
Like a lamp that is trimmed and bright.
Then let them confine the body,
They cannot subdue the soul;
We brought our unsullied honor
And here, we shall keep it whole.
Then stand with your cups held steady,
The great doors may open or close;
We'll pledge to those gone already
Hurrah, to the next that goes.



Everett, Wash., I. W. W. Headquarters



Every idle stream or waterfall that is put to work, and furnishes light and power to homes and factories many miles away, means a saving in coal and, what is more important, a saving in human energies.

Super-Power Capitalism

GAZE on the above picture reader. It's a part of an advertisement of a public utilities bond investment company appearing in a weekly magazine. It is an indication of what the country is coming to, namely, super-power capitalism. Never heard of it before? Well, you ought to know all about it, especially if you are a construction worker or an electrical worker; also a railroader or a coal miner.

Frank G. Baum, consulting hydro-electric engineer of San Francisco, gave the recent National Electric Light Association convention in New York, "the dope" on super-power capitalism. It consists of harnessing within the next two generations vast charges of electricity, with a reduction of 40 per cent in production of coal and the release of 500,000 laborers now in the mines.

The displacement of a half-million laborers—that's what the advertisement means when it refers to "a saving in coal and, **what is more important**, a saving in **human energies**." Talk about "labor shortage" then—that's likely to go out of fashion about that time.

Other workers may also be hit hard. We wonder what Mr. Baum's "single system of 220,000-volt transmission lines grouped in twelve areas according to existing facilities—water power, industrial centers and transportation systems," will do to locomotive and stationary engineers?

Electrification, with its manipulation of switches and pressing of buttons, does away with high-priced motive-power engineers, according to our observations. But then

look at the work the building of all these super-power dams is going to give to general construction and electrical workers. We look for some more Hetch-Hetchy and Southern California Edison Power strikes in the future. To judge by the past this super-power capitalism is going to engender some super-proletarian struggles.

Get ready for them. Join the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, I. W. W. Start now. Don't wait two generations. It'll be too late then.

Organization Brevities

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, Marine Workers, 510, Agricultural Workers, 110, General Construction Workers, 310, Metal Miners, 210 and Railroad Workers, 520 are now the six leading industrial unions in the I. W. W.

Lumber Workers' Bulletin for July 1st gives space to articles dealing with the organization of saw mill hands and lumber town home guards in the I. W. W. Also to extending the organization eastward into Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York.

The activities of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, in the Schwab Steel Works at Bethlehem, Pa., contributed greatly to the exposure of the illegal importation of Mexican workers by steel corporations. No. 440 was among the very first to "write up" this feature for the I. W. W. press, which interested liberal and reform journalists and investigators.

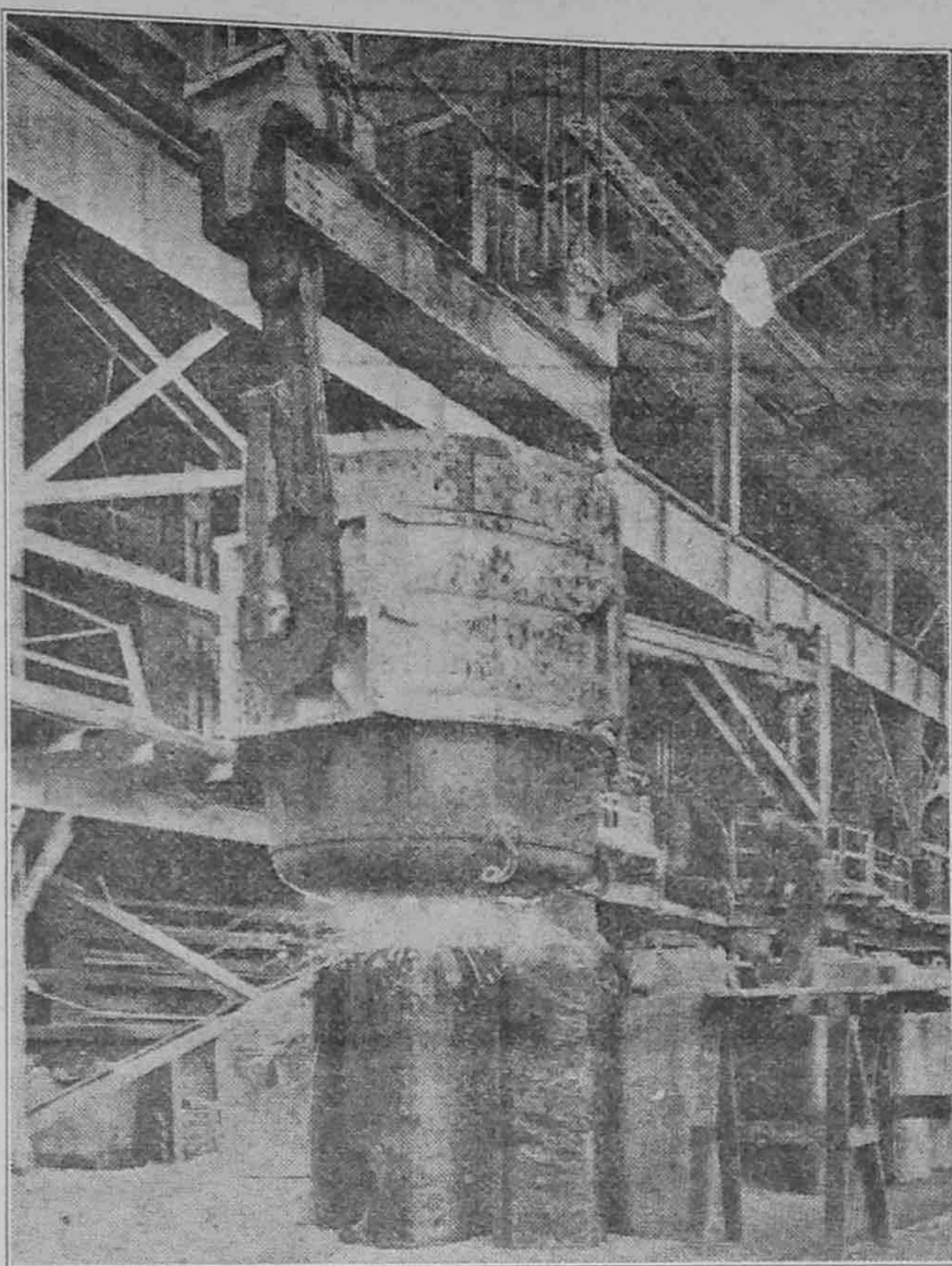
Judge Elbert Gary Exposed



Misrepresents 12 Hour
Day and Other Steel
Mill Conditions



Prostitution Widespread
In Homestead



Workers in the United States Steel Company plant are in danger of being burned by splashing steel when they tap this seventy-five-ton ladle from which the molten metal can be seen running.

JUDGE Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, refused some time ago to permit the New York Daily News to investigate labor conditions in his mills. Therefore Ralph F. Armstrong, Industrialist, was assigned to work as a laborer in the corporation's mill at Homestead, Pa. He reports (1) That Judge Gary has totally misrepresented the twelve-hour day and other labor conditions. (2) That the workmen want conditions changed, but are powerless to protest and hold their jobs. (3) That the seven-day week has not been abolished. (4) That the "Corporation with a soul" has a soul of production only. (5) That the corporation is enticing colored laborers from the South to work in its mills under false pretenses. (6) That the corporation controls entire town governments and police forces. (7) That prostitution is widespread in the labor settlement at

Homestead. These reports are contained in a series of articles.

Declaring that "120,000 men are toiling for twelve hours each day under conditions injurious to health in the steel mills of the United States," Senator Matthew Neely of West Virginia bitterly scored Elbert H. Gary and other "steel kings" for their attitude toward labor in a speech delivered on Independence Day.

Judge Gary's acceptance of the abolition of the 12-hour day (in principle) is not worthy of trust. His past promises are still unfulfilled.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, No. 440, I. W. W. is actively at work endeavoring to extend its organization among the steel mill workers.

A ton of literature was recently sent among them for distribution. A mass conference at Toledo, O., on July 22, will consider further steps to organize them. Watch for report in September Pioneer.

"The Worm Turns"

A Tale of the Northern Woods

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

NICK GOUGE, son of the senior partner of Gouge and Payless, whose logging operations stretch from Maine to Oregon, walked briskly into his father's private office one crisp morning early in October. His father sat at a flat-topped desk near the window overlooking the mill pond. The "old man," as he was affectionately called by the free-born American citizens whom he employed, looked up from the papers that were scattered in neat disarray—whatever that is—on his desk, and seized a check book.

"Well, son, what can I do for you this morning, a little check, eh?" he said.

Dick raised a well manicured hand in protest. "No, father," he said, "I have had my fling. I have scattered wild oats from Mobile to Saskatoon and am ready to go to work and in some measure try to repay you for all your kindness to your wayward son."

Gouge senior reached out and gripped his son's hand hard, or hard hand, I have forgotten which. "Why, son, I have not done very much for you. I have only allowed you \$26,000 per year since you started to college!"

"Wait a minute, dad, let me finish," replied Dick. "I have decided to go to work and learn the lumber business from the ground up, so, with your permission, I am going into one of our camps at Frozen Fish Landing and learn to be a lumberjack."

"Dick," growled his father, "you are made of the right kind of stuff."

"A chip of the old block, eh?" said Dick as he turned to go.

Riding the Logs

As the train on the "Mike and I" pulled into the little depot at Frozen Fish Landing, Dick Gouge seized his two suit-cases and stepped off onto the platform. A pair of riding breeches were stuffed into knee-length laced boots. He wore a gray flannel shirt and a windsor tie, a plaited shooting jacket and a stiff rimmed gray felt hat, dented at the four corners. He had heard of lumberjacks riding the logs, and as he believed in efficiency, he wore a pair of silver spurs to hurry the logs to their destination in the mill-pond. Anyone could tell at a glance that he was a full-fledged lumberjack.

He decided to go into the camps incognito, and so, with the exception of the foreman, two of the loaders, the blacksmith, handyman, saw-filer and bull-cook, he told no one of his identity.

That night the crew, led by a huge French Canadian teamster, with the shoulders and chest of a gorilla, decided to have some fun at Dick's expense. They rushed at him with the evident intention of rolling him in the snow, but after twenty-

six of them had been knocked cold by a fist hardened by years of whist-playing, they decided he was a good sport, and accepted him into the free-masonry of the camp. One night in the vermin-infested bunkhouse redolent of punky socks and toe jam was enough for Dick, and the next morning he moved into the office with the foreman and time-keeper. At noon the foreman gave him a cant-hook and sent him tailing down for "Chain Lightning" MacLean. Two days later he was promoted to a top-loader. What it had taken ordinary lumberjacks years to learn Dick acquired in two days. He was a true son of old Alex Gouge, who through industry, patriotism and above all honesty, had risen from a farmhand to the owner of vast lumber holdings.

An Obliging Tragedy

The weeks flew merrily by and Dick went about his task in a manner denoting efficiency and loyalty to his employer. Then one morning a limb of a tree, torn loose by a wind storm the day before, obligingly fell on the foreman, breaking his neck, and Dick was installed in his place.

A few days after his installment as camp foreman Dick called the men into the office and addressed them as follows:

"Owing to the small demand for lumber and the consequent low prices, we—the company—have decided to cut the wages ten percent and to work an extra hour per day."

His remarks were met by an enthusiastic outburst of silence on the part of his auditors.

"And further," he continued, raising his voice slightly, "Anyone who hasn't the interest of his employers at heart can go down the road."

Only one hundred and eight out of the one hundred and twelve men in camp drew their time. By noon that day Dick and his four lousy, lazy, loutish lumberjacks had the camp to themselves.

Although he was somewhat surprised at the lack of loyalty shown to his dad, Dick accepted the situation as cheerfully as possible, and the next morning he boarded the train for Tamarack Falls to secure another crew. He was agreeably surprised on arriving at the Falls to find a large number of lumberjacks in town. He quickly got together another crew and returned to camp.

Eight-Hour Men

The men, on arriving at camp ate their supper and turned in and next morning went to work. Everything went smoothly, too smoothly Dick thought, as the men seemed to have some secret joke. Every time he looked at one of them he caught a glint of humor in his eye. Nothing happened in the forenoon, however, and after dinner Dick believed that his fears were groundless. At

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF LABOR

Runaway 7-Car Log Train
Wrecked At Cokedale,
Sagkit Co., Wash., Sept.
5, 1922.



Left on a steep incline with the brakemen set up and no evidence of blocking, the train ran a half mile, jumped a turn and smashed into the cookhouse. The cooks escaped by a narrow margin.

four o'clock the mystery was explained. Dick, on a tour of inspection, met the crew coming in to camp. "What's the matter?" he inquired.

"There's nothing the matter with us," replied one of the men, "What is the matter with you?"

"Well, this is a ten-hour camp," shouted Dick.

"Yes?" was the quiet rejoinder, "Well, we're eight-hour men."

Dick swore and threatened, but it was of no avail, he only evoked grins from the crew.

At last he shouted: "Get out of camp, every one of you!"

"We'll get out alright," they replied, "tomorrow morning, and take the other camps with us. We have already notified the crews in all the camps that we are pulling out in the morning and by noon tomorrow your old man won't have enough lumberjacks in his camps for a baseball nine. You people have been getting away with murder and we have decided you need educating."

"Don't we pay you good wages for working for us?" screamed the now enraged Dick.

"No," said Joe Dunn who had spoken previously, "you don't pay us at all, we pay you for the priv-

ilege of being enslaved. We produced all the wealth that your old man has, except the raw material, and Nature produced that, and as far as that goes raw material—in this case standing timber—is not wealth, because it is worthless until labor power has been added to transform it into lumber. And, furthermore, the methods your old man employed in acquiring the timber lands he now calls his own cannot stand very close scrutiny. If the courts of the land were not rotten to the core with corruption, your old man would be facing a charge of bribing the legislatures in every state where he owns timber holdings."

Dick was struck dumb by anger and amazement. What had got into the lumberjacks? The once contented "timberbeast" who submitted to any conditions imposed upon him seemed to have disappeared and in his place had come these clear-eyed, intelligent lumberjacks who demanded a good standard of living. As the men rounded a bend in the trail leading to the camp, the sound of singing floated back to where Dick stood.

"Hold the fort for we are coming,
Union men be strong;

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Side by side we'll battle onward,
Victory will come."

A Weighty Problem

Dick stood pondering over the situation a few moments, then he slowly turned and went back to the office. He resolved to go home and lay the problem before his father, and seek his advice. "Dad will know how to handle the situation," he fondly thought.

The next day he boarded a train for Gougetown where his father ruled supreme. The train was crowded with erstwhile employes of the Gouge and Payless Lumber Company. Dick took a seat at the forward end of the day coach and tried to appear as inconspicuous as possible.

As the train rolled out of Frozen Fish Landing a clear tenor voice struck up a song and Dick listened attentively although he could not have told why.

Oh, such a lot of devils," that's what the papers say—

They've gone on strike for shorter hours and some increase in pay—

They left the camps, the lazy tramps, they all walked out as one;

They say they'll win this strike, or put the bosses on the bum."

A young lumberjack came down the aisle with a pile of books and papers under his arm. He stopped in front of Dick and extended a small red book. "Song book, ten cents?" he inquired politely, with a twinkle in his eye. Dick took the book and handed him the dime. "Thank you," said the young fellow gravely, and passed on.

The Flames of Discontent

The first words he saw as he picked up the book seemed to symbolize the whole situation. "To fan the flames of discontent." Dick read the book from cover to cover. The songs—some humorous, some intensely serious—all breathed the spirit of revolt. Suddenly his thoughts went back to a lecture he had once heard. It was in the class room at college. The professor of history was speaking.

"The British soldiery were well fed, well clothed and had good equipment. The Yankee farmers lacked all these, and yet these same farmers, who fought in the snow with bare and bleeding feet at Valley Forge, won the day, because of their intense love of Freedom."

In some way that Dick could not have explained, the cases of these men and the men at Valley Forge, seemed to be analogous. Into the eyes of Dick Gouge crept something like admiration.

By the time he had arrived at his father's office, Dick had lost some of his confidence. Would his father blame him for starting the strike? In a way he was responsible, and the worst of it was that he could not condemn the men for striking against the conditions that prevailed in the camps of Gouge and Payless. He shuddered when he thought of that first night in the bunkhouse at Frozen Fish Land-

ing. The crawling vermin and the foul air were a nightmare; and the quiet, orderly, determined air of the men excited his admiration.

The Brass Check

"Well, son," greeted his father, "you started something you couldn't stop, didn't you? Don't take it to heart boy," he hurried on, "this thing was bound to come anyway. Look here!" He spread a copy of the Gougetown Courtesan on the desk and pointed with a stubby forefinger at an article on the front page:

"A strike has been called against the Gouge and Payless Lumber Company. Few of the men have responded to the strike call and the rest are believed to be going back to work today. Sporadic strikes are reported throughout Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho and Montana."

"Of course, you know, son," he continued, "we own the Courtesan and it publishes just what we tell it to publish. The fact is, however, the whole Northwest and Minnesota and Wisconsin are tied up. We will hold out a few days, but we will have to give in. The old time 'timber beast' is no more. We are fighting an organized body of men who knows more about industrial warfare than we'll ever know. And what do you think is their chief demand?"

"I, I don't know," stammered Dick.

"The release of Class-War Prisoners," said his father. "You see, son," he continued, "whenever men were active in organizing the lumberjacks, it has been our policy to have our judges and all the rest of our men in public office arrest them and throw them into prison. So far it has worked fine but now I guess we will have to call a halt. I guess I'll have to wire Washington and Olympia to turn them loose. Of course they will have to find some excuses for doing so. It would never do to let the workers know that it was their power that secured the freedom of their fellows."

"Do you know, Dad," said Dick, "I believe the lumberjacks are right."

"You turned Bolshevik too, son?" inquired his father.

"No, no, but still they, they"—Dick floundered helplessly.

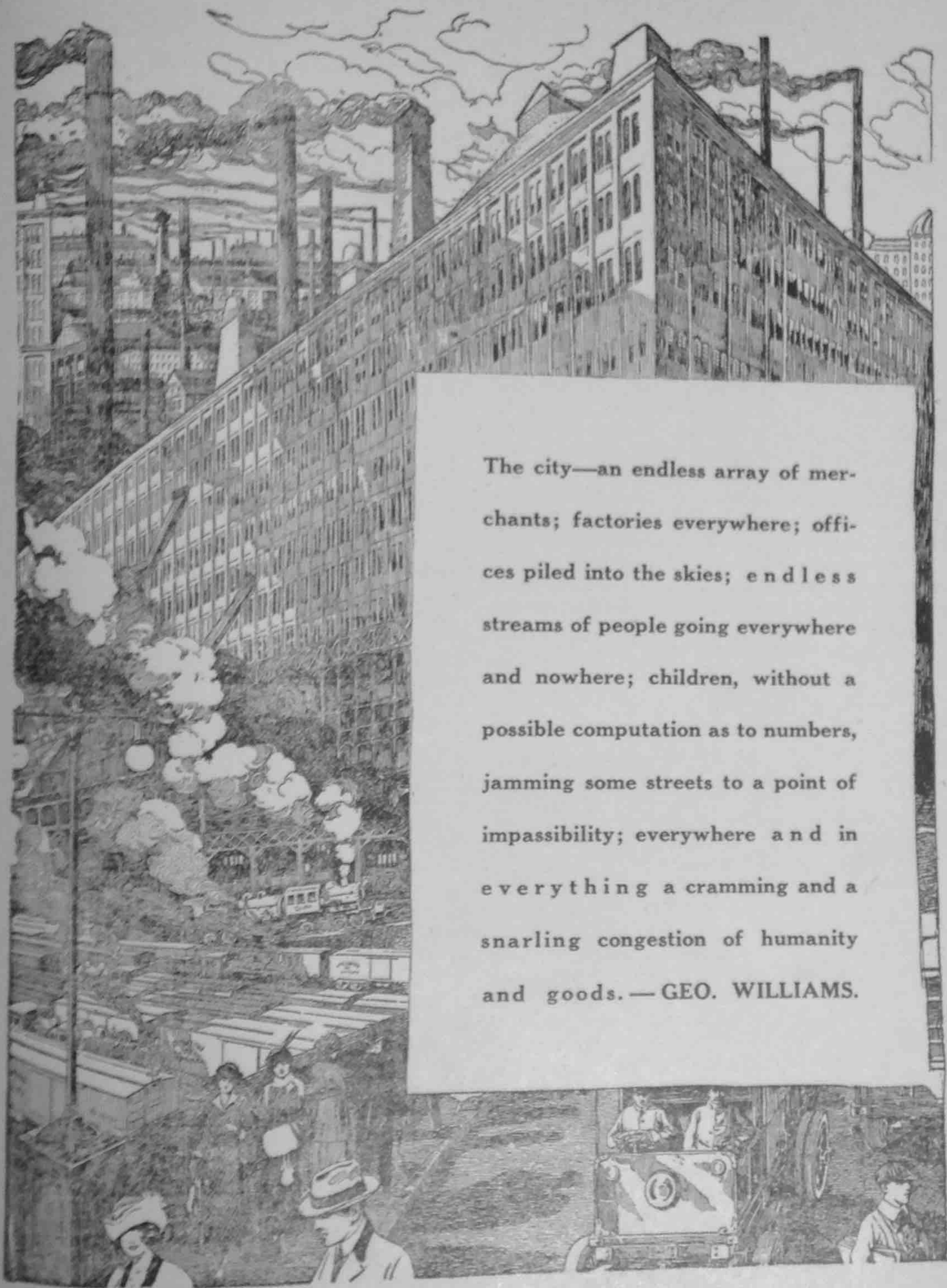
"Hell yes, of course they're right," shouted the old man, "but we'll have to fight them just the same."

"I guess I had better resign," said Dick. "I want to take a trip to Europe anyway. Lionel Plute is making up a party to sail next month."

"Sure, run along," said the old man.

As Dick stepped out into the street he heard the sound of voices raised in song:

"Hold the fort for we are coming,
Union men be strong;
Side by side we'll battle onward,
Victory will come."



The city—an endless array of merchants; factories everywhere; offices piled into the skies; endless streams of people going everywhere and nowhere; children, without a possible computation as to numbers, jamming some streets to a point of impassibility; everywhere and in everything a cramming and a snarling congestion of humanity and goods. —GEO. WILLIAMS.

The Significance of the Modern City

By GEORGE WILLIAMS

Part II.

THE potent fact that distinguishes **production** from **distribution** (in the sense with which this article deals with these attributes of society), is that the production of raw materials is largely a natural process; in this way—coal, which is a raw material, attains its combustible and chemical properties through a natural process. It only remains to be dug out and transported. No system of society, capitalistic or otherwise, will ever stop for an instant the process and nature of a bed of coal one iota; likewise with the base metals—copper, gold, tin, silver, etc. Agriculture relies more on human aid for development, but even with these products of the earth, the sun, weather and soil play the largest part. Crops already planted, under favorable conditions from the elements already mentioned, will grow the world over despite the system under which production and distribution is carried on. But the party in power (a dictatorship of some kind) can, by disrupting the functions of **distribution**, leave the coal and metals in the ground or cause the agricultural areas to become sterile in a short time.

Nature of Distribution

But **distribution**, in its general sense, is almost entirely performed by human labor: more than that, the manner of conducting **distribution**, or rather in apportioning the products, is almost entirely of human arrangement and energy.

To sum up briefly and perhaps make a certain point clearer—machine development so far has greatly simplified the production of raw materials on the one hand, but has greatly complicated the distribution of the finished products on the other. The reason is that the production of materials is a matter of nature and labor—**distribution** of the finished products is a human institution—capitalism.

Viewed from any standpoint, the methods of production is a process that changes only with the development of machinery. A revolution could not change the manner of production any more than it could change the course of the earth around the sun. Production is a matter of developing power—applying labor and machinery to the land.

But a revolution must alter the system of **distribution**. Not of course such a function as transportation, but all those relative parts of distribution such as buying, selling, finance, etc.

A system of society that succeeds Capitalism, besides abolishing the exploitation of labor, buying and selling of commodities for profit, landlordism, etc.,—must substitute something to take the place of these functions of capitalism, and what is substituted must be as good or better than the capitalist system; otherwise it will fail or never come about.

Merely to prepare or advocate a revolution and leave to the imagination what will transpire after the denouement will gain nothing.

The workers are robbed of the products of their toil under capitalism, and we are advocating the abolition of capitalism, and a system of society wherein the workers will receive the full products of their labor.

What Is New Society?

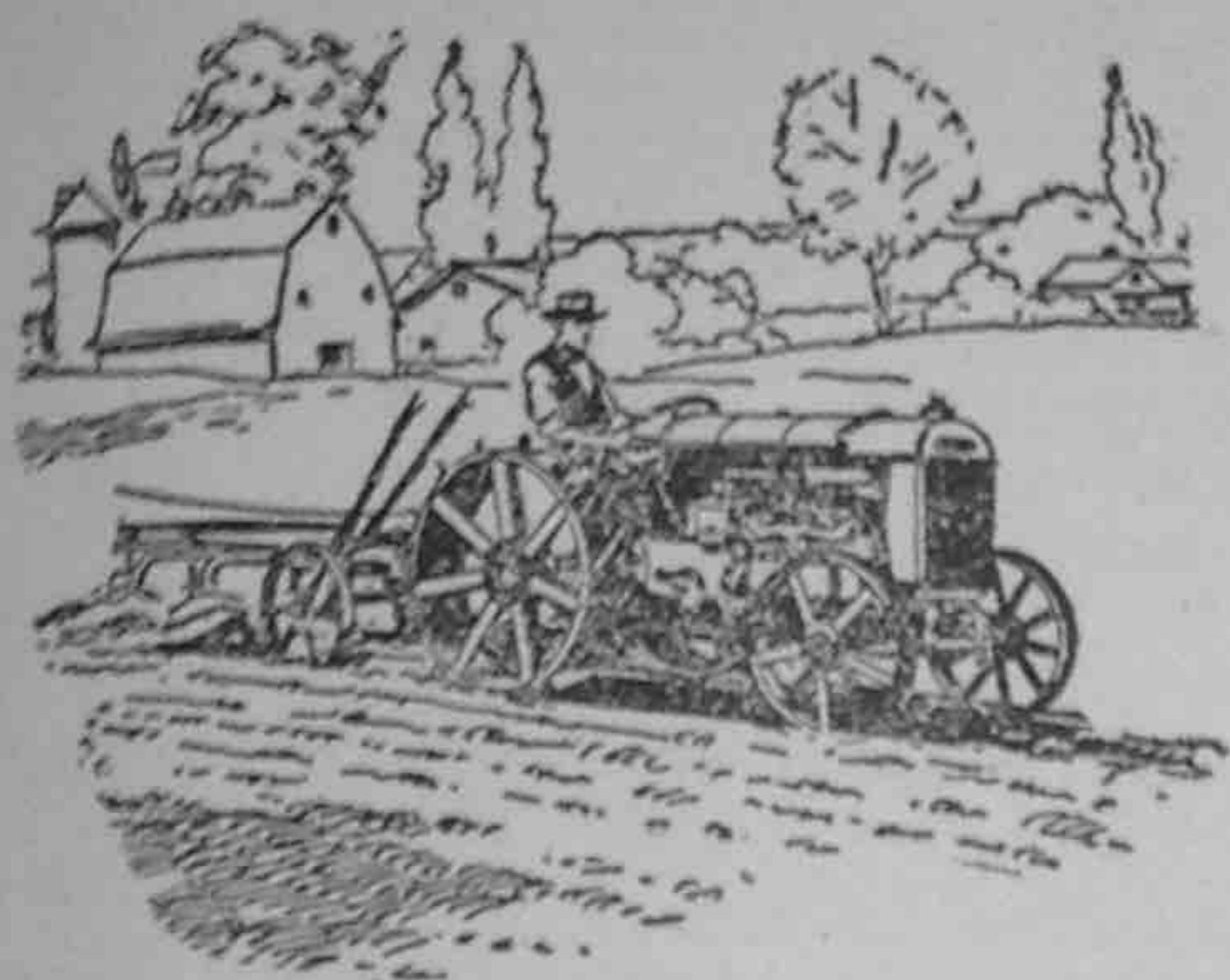
But what is this new society, and how will it function?

To say that the workers will receive the full product of their labor in answer to the foregoing question is no answer at all, because the communists and political salvationists give the same answer, and in Russia the workers got very much less than their full product. Nor will such vagaries as "World Revolution," "Social General Strikes," or "Transition Periods" answer at all. Rather, they confuse more than enlighten, and lead the mind of the average worker into the realms of mysticism and doubt from which nothing but stagnation can result. This condition might be desirable from the standpoint of "proletarian dictators" or effeminate saviors of the husky proletariat, but for the I. W. W. with their industrial philosophy, rank and file dictation, etc.,—it has no place.

Now in my opinion the I. W. W. have the soundest position in regard to these matters; but they have not as yet developed to the fullest extent the possibilities of that philosophy. Believing this, I am attempting to add a little discussion to the general problem by these articles on the city, in the course of which I can, in passing, pay a little attention to the general problems of revolutionary philosophy.

In this age and country we have in plain view before our mind's eye, cities (nearly a thousand of 8,000 or more population), in which there are more people than in the whole of the vast area that comprises this country. The total space of these towns combined could be easily included in less than half the size of Rhode Island. Nowadays cities are distinctly distributing areas while the rural districts are distinctly producing areas.

Machine development has enslaved the rural districts to the cities in more ways than one, i. e. by the system of financial control and by the fact that in production and development of the natural resources machinery is absolutely essential. In America the dependance of the basic industries on machinery is more pronounced than in any other country. As the finished machine is the product of the cities, in which places the assembling and technical process can only take place, the producing areas are economically subordinate to the cities.



Role of Chemistry

The development of agriculture, mining, oil production and various other sources of raw materials is also becoming more and more dependent on chemistry, a science which directs its activities from cities. The relation of chemistry to production is a subject in itself and so important is it to agriculture, for instance, that successful production is becoming impossible without the aid of that science. Intensive development of the land which is sure to follow increase of population will make chemistry an absolute necessity in the near future.

No doubt some readers will ask, "Well, what about this distinction of production and distribution areas which you are making; is it not more a question of organizing the workers everywhere regardless of where he is and then doing away with capitalism?" Yes; that is part of the question, but not all of it. For the question of organizing the workers in the cities is a somewhat different problem than with those in the rural sections. The progress of the I. W. W. to date shows this plain enough, and that we have made little if any progress amongst the city workers cannot be denied.

A Horrible Example

The multitudinous activities that occupy the time of Chicago's three million people (including a good proportion who do nothing at all and seem to thrive at it), is subject enough for an army of investigators. We know of the endless array of merchants that infest every street; factories everywhere; offices piled up into the skies; endless streams of people going everywhere and nowhere; children, without a possible computation as to numbers, jamming some streets to a point of impassibility;—everywhere and in everything a cramming and a snarling congestion of humanity and goods.

In a city of three million like Chicago, the I. W. W. has practically no members. I could pick out a dozen small communities in the northwest, in any one of which the active dues-paying members would

easily outnumber those in Chicago. The same is true of any large city in the East. This condition is not of chance nature. There is a cause for it, and whatever the cause, it is one that certainly needs close study and an adjustment of, not the city conditions to our organization, but of the I. W. W. to the city.

Industrial Chicago

The total output of Chicago's factories in 1914 exceeded that of any state in the country with the exception of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts, and, of course, Illinois. Since that time the output has advanced over 20 percent; and while the manufactured products of the four states mentioned have also increased, it is certain that because of its economic advantage as a distribution center, combined with a centralization of population, Chicago's measure of gained production in manufactured commodities is perhaps greater than the states mentioned, with the exception of New York.

Chief in the industries of this city are meat and food packing, clothing, agricultural implements, iron and steel, flour and milling, printing and publishing, electrical appliances and lumber.

In meat and its food by-products Chicago distributes more than any other center.

The volume in which these products are handled in the so-called Central Market (Chicago), is so tremendous as to tax the carrying capacity of the railroads that enter it from every direction. Chicago is the super-market of the entire West and certain areas East of that city. As a domestic distributing center it has no equal. An array of figures could be no more impressive than to say that millions of people in the central and western states are supplied with products of numerous varieties by only three of the largest mail order houses in Chicago. Other of lesser calibre distribute proportionately.

The wholesalers of Chicago: groceries, men's clothing, electric appliances, etc., dominate the whole West. Even within itself such a city is a market of tremendous proportions. Three million people require vast supplies on which to barter and trade—besides living. And Chicago has within its limits such an accumulation of goods—in the warehouses, stores and factories—that it is impossible to even estimate. Perhaps one could never very easily visualize in its entirety the tremendous industrial activities that pervade Chicago today. In ten or twenty years what will it be?

Multiplying such an industrial bee hive by numerous other centers, let us ask ourselves the question: What particular force, or movement, or philosophy, could supplant capitalism and maintain the necessary equilibrium in distribution that must be maintained in these centers?



Brockton Shoe Workers Revolt

BROCKTON, Mass., is the scene of a revolt of 20,000 shoe workers. The factories are shut down. A strike is on against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and with offices in Boston. Behind this union stands the bosses' association.

There have been repeated revolts against this organization, throughout the shoe industry of the country. Many other shoe centers have known bitter conflicts and cessation of operations due to the same causes before this. The Brooklyn 1911 strike of 10,000 workers, under I. W. W. leadership, was also a revolt against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The employers' association boasted that it raised a \$1,000,000 fund to beat that strike. There have been many other strikes since then, against the same union and against the same kind of backing.

Well Done, Shoe Workers!

The reason for this repeated occurrence speaks well for the shoe workers. It proves conclusively that they will not be submissive slaves and that the spirit of revolt within them never dies. They know from actual experience that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is not a labor organization, but an auxiliary of the boot and shoe employers' association. It is a strikebreaking, scab-herding agency for the latter, that's all. This has been shown in every shoe center where it has been resisted by the workers and supported by the boot and shoe employers' associations.

The officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union do not care at all about the working conditions, wages or hours. In return for the use of the union stamp and the members forced into their organization by the agreement made with employers, they unionize plants at the prevailing conditions and bind all the workers therein to arbitration of all differences that may arise. In the event of a strike or other disputes they undertake to furnish strikebreakers and scabs to fill the places of all who go out. The employers, finding this arrangement to their advantage, collect dues and influence the election of officials favorable to their interests. They have been known to express their preference for certain candidates, through press statements and other ways more direct. They actually run "the union." As already shown, they have been known to raise enormous strikebreaking funds through their various associations in order to keep the A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union on the backs of a working class that refuses to be bled by it. These strikes have been known to last many months. The boot and shoe workers have always, be it said to their credit, fought this labor leech to the limit, at a great expense and cost to the employers' association. They have thus prevented its more extensive growth.

Form Own Union

The Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union has been formed by the revolters. This is an independent union. I. W. W. speakers from Boston have addressed the strike meetings and been well received. The message of class-conscious industrial unionism has made a good impression. One of their bulletins, telling the story of the revolt, reads as follows:

To Our Fellow Workers:—

We are representing 20,000 striking shoe workers in the Brockton, Mass., District, and this strike directly or indirectly affects 200,000 people.

This district, until the time of the strike one month ago, was completely in the control of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, a strictly non-strike organization which compelled us to submit all differences to the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration.

This board consists of three members appointed by the governor, the make up of which follows:

Chairman Fisher—Lawyer, and Ex-Senator (politically dead).

Mr. Wasgat—Ex-Shoe Manufacturer.

Labor Representative Samuel Ross—Retired Organizer of the Textile Workers; a feeble old man 73 years old, whose physical condition (because of advanced age) prevents him from having any weight or influence with the other members of the State Board.

At the last Convention of the Massachusetts State Branch of the A. F. of L., held at Springfield, Mass., action was taken, requesting Gov. Cox to remove Mr. Ross, the present labor representative of the State Board, but in spite of that fact at the expiration of his term, he was re-appointed for three years.

The contract which compels us to submit all matters and contentions relating to conditions of labor and wage is made with the manufacturers with but one stipulation: that every employe, shall be a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; adjustments of conditions, labor, or wages, are not taken into consideration at time of granting use of a union label stamp.

After Chairman Fisher of the Massachusetts State Board had given to the press of Boston the statement to the effect that New England was due for 10 percent reduction in wages, the manufacturers of Brockton in 1921, taking advantage of that clause in their contract made application to the State Board for a 20 percent reduction in wages.

The result of that request was that the State Board handed down a 10 percent reduction, in blanket form covering the entire industry in the Brockton District, admitting that inequalities existed and stating that "adjustments would follow in a reasonable time." Bearing that in mind several lo-



calls applied for readjustments of inequalities.

After a series of decisions, with practically no change, the last decision affecting one of the poorly paid locals, (the Dressers and Packers) composed mostly of girls and women whose wage was \$17.50 a week, and whose minimum wage was \$11.00, a 20 percent raise was requested, and they received an increase granting them 85 cents a week raise.

At a mass meeting called to consider the award, the girls became incensed at the small amount granted them, and a little girl stood up and made a motion to strike, which was immediately seconded by unanimous acclamation of the entire membership of 900.

The General Office of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union revoked the Dressers and Packers Charter the following day.

Within a week, mass meetings of all locals were called and twelve of the thirteen locals voted to strike, because of the absolute conviction that justice could be had in no other way.

The result in the revoking of the Charters of four more locals, before the General Office called a halt, realizing that revoking of Charters could no longer scare us into submission.

We were in poor shape financially, because the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Constitution made us turn over two-thirds of all dues, and the remaining third barely covered the administration expenses of the locals.

As individual members, we were in exactly the same position, because of the fact that the previous nine months were the dullest period in ten years, along with the semi-annual spring stock raising period, which left every one in very poor financial condition to start a strike.

We have formed our own union, namely THE BROCKTON DISTRICT SHOE WORKERS UNION, a real solid progressive union, and are presenting the following demands:

1. Recognition of our Union.
2. Restoration of the old wage list.
3. We demand a quicker and more just adjudication of disputes, through a local board of arbitration.
4. We reserve the right to strike.

The manufacturers maintain they will never reopen until we consent to become members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, their organization.

The workers stand firm for their right to maintain their own organization, but must begin at the bottom with no treasury whatever. All the powers of the old organization, combined with that of the manufacturers and their money power, are arrayed against us.

Our lines are firmly established and we are done for all time with the old organization.

Thanking you for whatever you can do to help us we remain yours fraternally,

Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union,
Eagle Hall, Ward Street,
Brockton, Mass.

The Only Way Out

AT SYDNEY, Nova Scotia, 13,000 miners are out in sympathy with steel workers on strike against the Dominion Steel and Iron Company, the most powerful incorporation of its kind in Canada.

John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers has denounced the sympathetic strike as unauthorized and a violation of agreement. He has ordered the miners to return to work, but at this writing, they have defied him, saying that they are autonomous and declaring that there is no lightning behind the Lewis thunder.

This incident is typical of the A. F. of L. It insists on lining up with powerful corporations against sympathetic working class action. It also mobs those of its own adherents who try to reform it from within, as was done with the Fosterites at the Scranton convention of the anthracite miners. Under the circumstances, the only thing left for labor to do is to revolt. This it has done among the shoe workers at Brockton, Mass. This it appears to be doing among the coal miners of Nova Scotia! Where will it happen next?

Revolt is in the A. F. of L. system. It is inevitable! Labor has no other way out!

PITTSBURGH

By JAMES OPPENHEIM

OVER his face his gray hair drifting hides his Labor-glory in smoke,
Strange thru his breath the soot is sifting, his feet are buried in coal and coke.
By night hands twisted and lured in fires, by day hands blackened with grime and oil,
He toil at the foundries and never tires, and ever and ever his lot is toil.

He speeds his soul till his body wrestles with terrible tonnage and terrible time,
Out thru the yards and over the trestles the flat-cars clank and the engines chime,
His mills thru windows seem eaten with fire, high cranes travel, his ingots roll,
And billet and wheel and whistle and wire shriek with the speeding up of his soul.

Lanterns with reds and greens a-glisten wave the way and the head-light glares,
The back-bent laborers glance and listen and out thru the night the tail-light flares—
Deep in the mills like a tipping cradle the huge converter turns on its wheel
And sizzling spills in the ten-ton ladle a golden water of molten steel.

Yet screwed with toil his low face searches shadow-edged fires and whited pits,
Gripping his levers his body lurches, grappling his irons he prods and hits,
And deaf with the roll and clangor and rattle with its sharp escaping staccato of steam,
And blind with flame and worn with battle, into his tonnage he turns his dream.

The world he had build rises around us, our wonder cities and weaving rails,
Over his wires a marvel has found us, a glory rides in our wheeled mails,
For the Earth grows small with strong Steel woven, and they come together who
plotted apart——

But he who has wrought this thing in his oven knows only toil and the tired heart.

Hell!

By JULIUS IMP.

JUST what is meant by this word, "HELL"?
They say sometimes, "It's cold as hell";
Sometimes they say, "It's hot as hell";
When it rains hard, "It's hell," they cry;
It's also "hell" when it is dry.

They "hate like hell" to see it snow;
It's "a hell of a wind," when it starts to blow;
Now, "how in hell," can any one tell
Just "what in hell" they mean by "hell"?

"This married life is hell," they say;
When Dad comes home late, there is "hell to pay";
It's "hell," when the kid you have to tote;
When he starts to yell, it's a "hell of a note."

"It's hell," when the doctor sends his bills
For a "hell of a lot" of trips and pills;
When you get to "hell," you will know quite well
Just what is meant by this word, "hell."

"Hell, yes," "hell, no," and "oh, hell," too;
"The hell you don't," and "the hell you do";
And "what in hell," and "the hell it is";
"To hell with you," and "to hell with this."

Now, "how in the hell," and "oh, hell, where?"
And "what in the hell do you think I care?"
But "the hell of it is," "it is sure as hell,"
That nobody knows "what in hell" is H-E-L-L-!

Twenty

Three Men in a Fetid Den

By DENNY CROWLEY

THREE men there are, their hands are clean
And their lips are free from guile;
They share a cell in a prison Hell
Where the breath of God is vile.

Eight paces long, eight paces wide,
Is their stone and iron tomb,
And twenty men pace its narrow race,
And sleep in this foulsome room.

Full twenty men, with bunks for more,
Crowd this rigid space;
A sink and a bench and a thing whose stench
Pollutes the air of the place.

Open and shameless the "thing" is there
With only a whitewashed rim;
Never a lid the polluter hid,
Its presence is ghastly grim.

At times a trickle of water flows,
When the garden claims it not;
But the yard outside is the prison's pride
And the sun out there is hot.

What matters it that sun and air
And life are things unknown,
Where twenty men in the fetid den
Squirm on their slabs of stone.

Orange County Jail, Santa Ana, Calif.,
May, 1923.



Steel Strikers Listening to a Speaker.

How to Strike

By VERN SMITH

PART II.

The Strike of the Partially Organized

THE second sort of strike, the one in an industry where there is little organization, cannot usually be entirely a surprise attack, though this element can be preserved to some degree. If there is to be a considerable walkout, there must be widespread publicity. The organization of this publicity, the arrangements of the strike, and the final calling of the strike have to be undertaken principally by the organization that exists and that is determined to strike.

It is extremely important to strike at the strategical moment, and at the psychological moment. The strategical moment is that period of time when the employer is expanding his business, when the market is good, when the stocks of product are low, and when the boss has orders to fill, especially if he has, as exists in construction work, contracts that must be carried out by a certain time, to avoid a penalty. All this should be ascertained by reports to a central strike committee or board of statistics, or educational bureau, maintained by the organization. All members of the I. W. W., in whatever industry they are occupied, should be on the alert as to conditions in the industry. The workers can tell, by the way the work goes, how the boss is faring. The attempt to introduce night work, to put in overtime, to speed up in any way, is one indication of a good market, but a better one is the attempt to increase the crew.

There are in libraries, and lying around

in offices of corporations, trade journals. Every industry has special magazines, issued to aid the capitalists of that industry, and much information of use to workers can be gleaned from these publications. Workers should form the habit of reading those which pertain to their industry, to see how the capitalist feels, and find out what he knows. Disregard anti-labor propaganda found in them, and watch production statistics, and market reports. Sometimes these are false, designed to profit some clique or group of capitalists within the industry, who may happen to control the publication. But these can be checked up with the practical experience of the workers, and with the daily market reports and shipments recorded in the newspapers. The United States Census of Manufactures is a mine of information about the conditions of industries at the times the census was taken.

There should be full discussion of the situation, and the membership should spread through articles in the organization papers, through discussion at the noon hour, and in the bunk houses, information amongst the unorganized as to the approaching favorable strike conditions. If the conditions are not favorable, this sort of strike should not be undertaken; instead it would be better to concentrate on organization propaganda.

Every Man Has His Part

This spreading of information and general agitation along the lines already mentioned, can be best done by man to man, personal conversation. The educated men

on the job should talk to the uneducated. Leaflets have to be printed by the organization committees and publicity committees and distributed on the job. Delegates (organizers) when lining up men should use their discretion, as to how much publicity to give themselves. In general only one delegate at a time should step into the foreground, in any one job. Then if the boss fires him, another should come forward. Meetings should be arranged, at which speeches are made on the importance of a strike, the chances of winning, and the need of organization. In calling a meeting, the advertisement will have to depend on circumstances. Written notices posted on doors and announcements made in the cook houses will do in some cases. The meetings even in this case should not be announced as strike meetings, but should be to introduce a speaker, or to discuss general conditions.

In other cases, any such publicity would result in the meeting not being held, and the only way is for some one to go where the men are congregated, and start talking.

At the earliest opportunity, local strike committees, elected from general meetings, not just by the union membership, should be functioning, sending in demands to the union headquarters, delegates too, if possible, and suggesting dates for the strike. Everybody should be watching to kill any attempts made to provoke the strike before the general strike committee issues the word, as a preliminary walk-out only weakens the forces.

Demands and Strike Call

The exact date for issuing the strike call should be set by an executive committee of the general strike committee. This general strike committee should be elected from the various branches of the organization, but should seat delegates from the general, non-membership committees. Every attempt must be made to avoid the appearance that the organization is dictating to the non-members, still, the calling and direction of the strike must be centralized. This does not mean that the general strike committee need necessarily be at the union headquarters, either.

The closer the committees are to the jobs, the better.

The strike demands should if possible include some revolutionary ones, such as, "Release of Class War Prisoners," "Workers' Control of Industry," etc. These may not be won, but the strike is a demonstration in their favor, and helps to get people used to them. In each industry on strike, demands of immediate practical value should be included. It is not necessary to make these later demands universal. A considerable amount of local autonomy must be allowed, even within a single industry. Harvest workers in Kansas might demand five meals a day, whereas cow-milkers in California might prefer two meals, if they came at the right time, and want some other demand instead.

The general strike committee will include some of the bosses' stool-pigeons, naturally, and no attempt need be made to keep its meetings secret. But for the actual setting of the strike date, an executive committee of two or three men can be elected, and there is a fair chance that this committee can act secretly. The general decision as to the date of strike can be arrived at by the general strike committee, which can announce that the strike will take place, "this summer," "this fall," etc., and can issue proclamations containing strike demands, and a call to be ready for the strike call. This method worked very well in the I. W. W. General Strike of 1923, except that the small executive committee (the Strike Committee of the North-west Branches) was itself too large, and had too much to do, attempting to attend to many details that should have been cared for by a general strike committee of wider scope.

Relations Between Committees

Delegates to the general strike committee should be paid, if at all, by the branches and local strike committees sending them to strike headquarters, and should meet, decide on the strike demands, except for those to be added by local branches, elect an executive committee, a publicity committee, and a finance committee, to sit continually and

be under pay, but none of them to consist of more than three members. There must be authority given the executive committee to appoint temporary picket captains to coordinate the work of the local picket captains. The general strike committee should then adjourn, with all the members informed that the committee meets again, with the same delegates or others, immediately after the strike date is announced, sessions to start as soon as a given number, say ten, are present.

The local strike committees, formed on the job, will probably be fired off the job soon after they start functioning. They should give way to others formed on the job, if the strike is still far in the future. But if the preliminary calls are out, the local committees should not disband, but adjourn to the nearest town, preserve a permanent post office address, and keep in touch with their former associates on the job, and also with the executive committee of the general strike committee.

Strike committees of the branches of the organization function permanently at the address of the branch.

Getting Out The Call

The capitalist press can be used to some degree in spreading the strike call, but it is highly unreliable. The best way is to print thousands of strike notices and to have members ready at central points, probably at the branches of the organization, ready to carry packs of them from camp to camp, or from plant to plant.

The packages must not be sent out far in advance of the actual date for which the strike is called, as some stool-pigeons will surely secure notices, and the effect of the surprise be lost. The mails will be found to be unreliable, and the telegraph service is, of course, both undependable and public. Nevertheless, after the strike is on, both mail and telegraph can be used to get the strike call into isolated districts. Mail or express is the cheapest way of circulating the strike call, and after the matter is no longer secret, can be used to supplement other means.

The strike call should appear at the psychological moment. This is that time when the propaganda for a strike has reached its climax. Usually it is ushered in by several sections of prospective strikers who break out of control. Some superintendent precipitates the conflict by discharging a whole camp or a whole plant; some gun-man kills a speaker; some peculiarly asinine and irritating order comes from the office of the capitalists, and a spontaneous revolt takes place. If this outbreak is not too early, the executive committee of the general strike committee should seize the occasion, and declare the strike, giving as much publicity as possible to the provocation. There will surely be incidents that show the tension is great and these are signs for the strike call.

It will be observed that throughout this discussion, it is assumed that the strike will cover several plants, a whole industry or several industries. There really is not much use going to all the trouble of agitating a strike on a smaller scale, unless under very exceptional circumstances. Smaller strikes are useful as protests against some immediate injustice and do not usually have to be very much prepared for. They have not much chance of winning unless the demands are very limited. However, the principal requirements are a strikers' meeting, a strike committee to draw up demands, present them at once to the meeting which should adopt them, amended if necessary, then present them at once to the management, and bring the answer back to the same meeting. Speeches of a general propaganda nature can go on while the committee is hunting up the super. Speed is the main requirement.

The third great class of strikes is the spontaneous walk-out. These are the most hopeful sort, in one way, because they show that grievances are felt, though perhaps not understood. They are always a surprise to the boss, and possess that advantage.

They are absolutely certain to fail, unless outside organizations, or some embryonic organization in their midst, steps up, takes control, formulates demands, and gets mass meetings and committees at work. But that is the subject matter for the next article.

Labor Goes Into Banking

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, Jr.

THE latest subject of interest in the labor world is banking. Labor is turning banker. Labor banking is being embarked upon with all the zeal and ardor of a new crusade. The enthusiasm instilled seems marvelously re-creative; in fact revolutionary. And so we approach the subject with interest; nay, with inspiration. Here, at last, is a means to labor's emancipation, fraught with immense practical possibilities. But, after one look, we come away disappointed. For labor banking is similar to capitalist banking. It is essentially exploitative and but a modification of capitalism, due to its labor prefix—that's all. No wonder capitalist bankers do not oppose it. No wonder they become its practical heads, and provide seats for its representatives on the boards of directors of huge trust companies. "Birds of a feather, etc.

The theory of labor banking is very simple, in fact more simple than sound, from a labor standpoint. It consists in the belief that labor, through its individual and collective savings can gain control of credit and thereby dictate financial, i. e., capitalist policy. The history of the co-operative credit union movement of Europe, with its 7 billions of annual turn-over, ought to dispel such a belief. Stupendous as this amount is, it cuts almost no figure at all in European finance. The controllers of credit in Europe, same as here, are the big industrial financiers.

The reason is not far to seek. Credit is based not so much on savings as upon the reserves of profits and commodities withheld from labor at the point of production, or in process of exchange.

Credit is in many respects tangible. But it cannot function without commodities and profits such as labor alone produces on the land and in industry. Consequently, it follows that if labor wishes to gain control of credit it must seek such control in the control of production primarily. It must get at the sources of wealth-production, land and machinery, without which exchange and credit are both impossible. In so far as labor-banking hides this fact from the workers it is injurious rather than beneficial. It is then on a par with the capitalist bank thrift campaigns which cause the workers to believe that proletarian salvation is to be found in stomach-robbing savings.

It is in pursuit of this erroneous theory of financial control that labor banks accumulate deposits—for what end? Why, the same end as the capitalist banks, namely, reinvestment at a profit, or interest. These deposits are used—to free labor?—Nay, but to exploit it, to the end already stated. Witness the strike against the open shop in the West Virginia and Kentucky coal mines financed by the Locomotive Engineer's bank and owned by the company headed by its president, Warren S. Stone, trust company associate of Schwab, Du Pont and other giant industrial financiers.

Twenty-four

There we behold the essential oneness of all banking, whether labor or capitalist, fully demonstrated. We also see the theory of financial control in the interests of labor knocked into a cocked hat. Labor banks, whether so intended or not, instead of becoming a means to aid labor in times of strikes, have become a means to make laborers instead of capitalists the exploiters of the working class.

The world of labor should free itself from the banking delusion. Instead of aiding in the work of construction, like a quicksand, it draws labor on to its own destruction.

Chain Factories

An illustrated booklet of the General Electric Co., manufacturers of electrical apparatus and supplies, suggests another problem in industrial union organization, namely, the chain factories.

The G. E. B., according to this booklet, has its main works at Schenectady, N. Y., where its employers number 25,000. Then are pictured in succession, the plant at Lynn, Mass., with 12,000 employees; Pittsfield, Mass., 8,000; Erie, Pa., 5,000; Fort Wayne, Ind., 5,500; New Kensington, Pa., Bloomfield, N. J., and Maspeth, L. I., 3,500; Edison Lamp Works at 12 different points, number not given; and the National Lamp Works, home office, Cleveland, O., 11,500.

Here's a huge corporation with plants and 75,000 employees in 25 cities and 9 states. It is in itself a complete manufacturing and assembling unit, awaiting labor organization as such. When the I. W. W. tackles successfully the problems in unionism presented by the G. E. B., it will prevail in every respect. Until then it will prove only partly successful.

A. S., Jr.

What's a Home Guard

A HOME guard is supposed to be a worker who stays in one locality and has a home and family there to guard against the alleged injurious results of labor unionism, strikes, etc. He is supposed to be the opposite of the migratory worker, who is said to be "foot-loose" and more rebellious on that account.

We say supposed, as most of the alleged differences between the homeguard and migratory are mere supposition. The home guard is not the coward he is generally supposed to be. Nor is the migratory the revolutionist he is supposed to be.

There are armies of both home guards and migratories among the reactionaries. Their conversion to a better view of life is the task of all the workers, regardless of distinctions, alleged or otherwise.

WOBBLES

THE WORDS OF GREAT MEN TINTINABULATED

Jazz Band Led by Bill Akers.

President Harding, starting on His Excellencies' Alaskan vacation, announced on his piccolo:

"Yes! We have no political prisoners!"

While Mr. Weyerhauser, with one eye on a recent bulletin from the Northwest, twangs on the harp:

"Yes! We have no strike in the woods!"

The State of California booms monotonously on the brass drum:

"Yes! We have no syndicalists here!"

Fatty Arbuckle, gracefully tripping across a Chicago theatre, plays on the Jews' harp:

"Yes! We have no wraps on the stage!"

Wall Street financiers form synchronizing quartets and warble:

"Yes! We have no bottoms in our buckets!"

Henry Ford contributes to the melody by an enthusiastic rattle of the can:

"Yes! We have no desire to be president!"

Andy Furuseth contributes a doleful ring on the cowbells:

"Yes! We have no Sailors' Union now!"

Attorney General Daugherty beats trippingly on the snare drum:

"Yes! We have no son in a hospital!"

Judge Gary, just back from Europe, tickles the ivories with:

"Yes! We have no eight-hour shifts!"

Herbert Hoover, on eve of his departure to address the United States Chamber of Commerce, draws this from his bass viol:

"Yes! We have no individualist society!"

French Cabinet, after jumping on benches to call each other liars, rasp this on their violins:

"Yes! We have no German money to pay!"

Wm. Z. Foster, while reading telegram announcing that the A. F. of L. lost another 800,000 members, pipes this on his cornet:

"Yes! We have no militant labor movement!"

Wm J. Burns, on his Wall Street office steps, tortures this on his trombone:

"Yes! We have no bombing plots on file!"

Imperial Wooze, while announcing to Klepto Klon Klave that the price of Klassy Kleagles Kling sheets are to double, sounds this on the saxophone:

"Yes! We have no wet ones in our wardrobe!"

A Wobbly, found most everywhere, mentions this on his mouth organ:

"Yes! We have no damn use for parasites!"



Economic Interpretation of Theology

Little Sissiepus, in Sunday school, when asked, "Who made you?" answered "Capital made me!" To which the teacher correctingly replied, "No; God made you!" "No, he didn't," persisted Little Sissiepus, "God made the fellow who just went down stairs. Capital made me; for my father says 'Capital makes everything'; and let me tell you, I'm something!"

Prize Joke of the Season

The W. I. I. U. quoting De Leon AGAINST the S. L. P.

Second Best Winner

"The farmers are in rebellion. This rebellion is assuming various forms. First a mass DESERTION of the farmer from the land."—THE JULY LIBERATOR.

"Raising the dead by modern science" has nothing on raising prison bars by direct economic action.

"LEAVINGS" IS RIGHT

Well, the farmers are leaving the farms for the city, the city worker is leaving the factory for a change of jobs, the migratory worker is leaving Hobohemia for the harvest, the Negro is leaving the South for the North, the coal barons are leaving coal in storage for more profits, the—hold up! Wait! Let's take a breath and find out where we are at before we go any further. Ah, yes! this appears to be a system of leavings, especially for the workers. That's all that they appear to get out of it.

FOSTER AT SCRANTON

Of all sad words from tongue or pen,

The saddest are these:
Kicked out again!

Nobody ever puts camphor balls on politics. That's one reason why they're so full of holes.

Interview with the Hoboes

By JIM SEYMOUR.

MUSIC AND THE REVOLUTION.

WE were hungry. He had a handful of coffee and I had a couple of rolls, and with that we had made a fifty-fifty supper and were lying on our blankets, puffing our pipes and talking. Rather, I should say, he was talking. An Italian passing along the railroad track and singing had furnished him with a new topic.

"Verdi," he breathed. "A wonderful people, the Italians; and Verdi is the most wonderful of them all. I use the present tense because it is correct. The report that Verdi is dead is false. Verdi will never die. That fellow's voice is a little harsh—driving mules, I suppose—but Verdi's entrancing melody covers that slight defect. Verdi's melody is omnipotent. To one at all musically inclined it is excruciating. It grasps his physical being and tears it to shreds, then pulverizes the shreds and casts the dust into the great infinite. What is left of him he neither knows nor cares; he is simply a tiny part of the cosmos and Verdi is all the rest of it. True enough, this moonlight filtering through the eucalypti is beautiful, and there is an inspiring beauty in the majestic sweep of a powerful locomotive rounding a curve, but I tell you, old-timer, if you want beauty that you can see and feel and hear and taste and smell; if you want beauty that will make you forget your empty stomach, bum your way into a performance of a Verdian opera. Don't tackle the big social-display outfits, but select a tramp Italian company; its half-starved singers and musicians are genuine artists, filled with the divine fire of the great master who controls their surging emotions and does not permit them to

neglect him in the interests of slimy commercialism." He paused, and I asked his opinion of American music.

"American music!" he exploded, with a sarcasm that stung like a yellowjacket. "It is savagery; nothing more. It is the challenging bellow of the bull ape. It is the spirit of the caveman who pranced as they walloped a hollow log with their battle-clubs. It is the smacking of the bloody chops of our forbears as they 'mumbled the bones of the slain'."

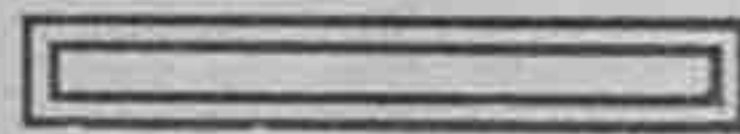
"Do you think," I asked, "that a people that likes such music can ever inaugurate a society of better things?"

"Such a society presupposes intelligence enough to want it; yet while I doubt if the man to whom ragtime appeals can ever be improved intellectually; conditions may nevertheless bring him to the psychological moment; it will then only be necessary for the understanding ones to apply the ragtime judiciously and the gorilla will break loose. And in that day you and I will eat, for the beast likes us."

"Well," I replied, "I'm not particularly anxious for trouble, but I'm ready for anything if it means eats. When do you think the circus will start?"

"'Of that day and that hour knoweth no man.' **Quién sabe** just when our anthropoid friend will sink his fangs into the throat of his heretofore tolerated neighbor? Nobody. But we all know that he is pounding his chest right now."

Shortly thereafter I dropped asleep, my last consciousness being of his intensely musical whistling. And I recall that his whistling was not Verdi. It was de l'Isle.



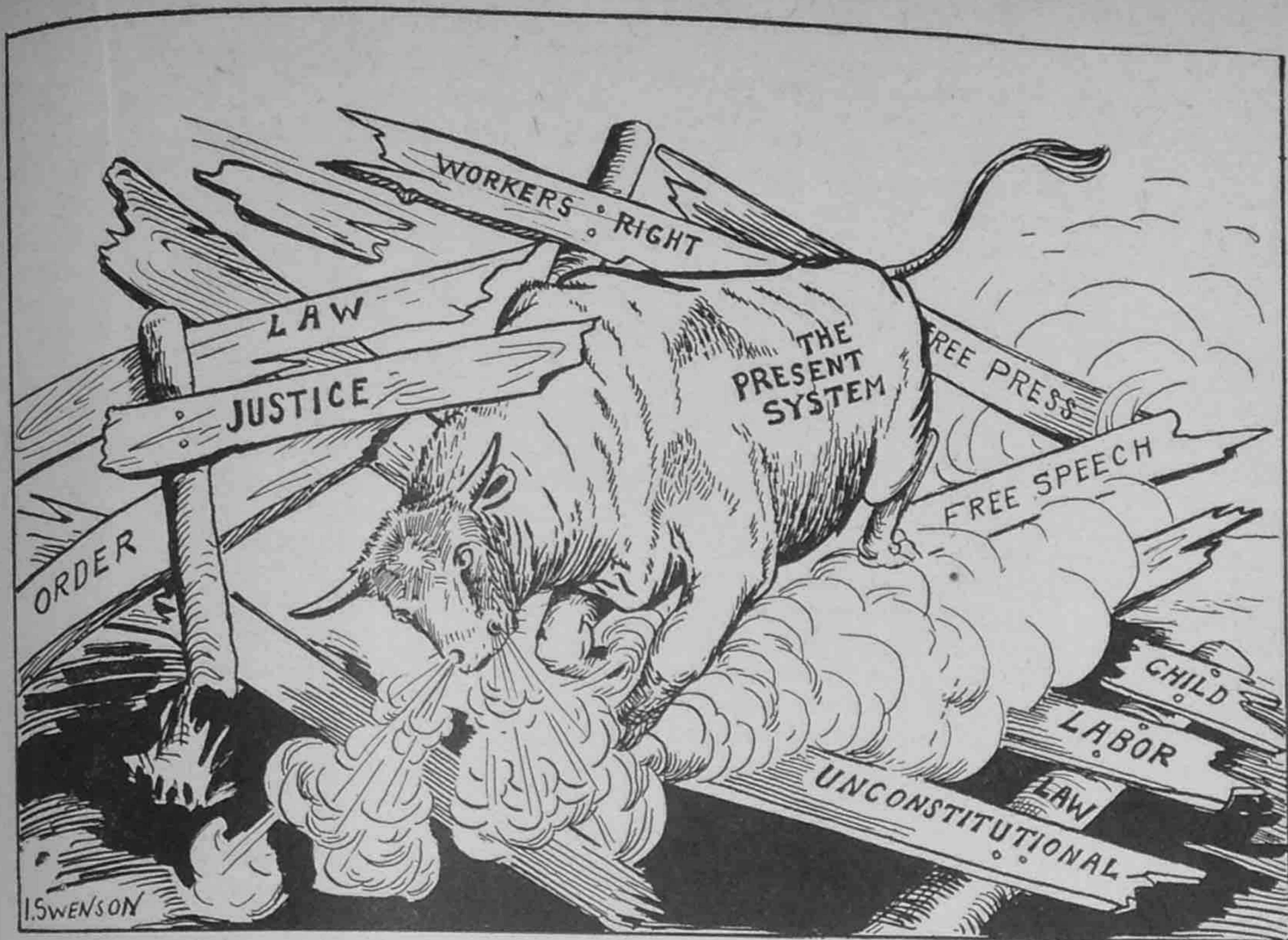
The Disgrace at Scranton

THE claim of the Fosterites that the A. F. of L. can not be revolutionized from within because the revolutionists withdraw from it, is not in accord with facts. The reason why the A. F. of L. cannot be revolutionized from within is because the revolutionists are kicked out of it, not only metaphorically, but physically as well.

Witness the disgraceful treatment accorded to the Fosterites at the recent Scranton convention of the United Mine Workers. There John Lewis showed himself to be the strong arm man of the operators, as he created the atmosphere that led to the beating up of the Fosterian disciples. And yet his whole conduct is characteristic of the A. F. of L., when dealing with borers from within.

But what can one who is informed expect? This conduct is not only typical of the A. F. of L., it is also logical. The A. F. of L., via the trade agreement and contract, and especially the check-off, is under obligations to corporations and associations for the enrollment and control of its membership. Without capitalists' support, the A. F. of L., and particularly its "backbone," the U. M. W., would not last long. The capitalists make the A. F. of L.

Nevertheless, despite the evidence to the contrary, now so apparent to all, the Fosterites will continue to contend that boring from within is a failure because the revolutionists withdraw from the A. F. of L. Men convinced against their will, etc.



Civil Liberties in Los Angeles

By UPTON SINCLAIR

THE editor of the "Industrial Pioneer" has asked me to write briefly explaining what has happened here in Southern California as a result of the raid on civil liberties by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. I assume that this story of the harbor strike and of our arrest in connection with it will be fully told by other writers, and I will merely say a few words about the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been the outgrowth of these adventures.

Talk American

It is something which I have been urging upon the rebel workers for the last twenty years, that they should talk American, and should make use of American forms of social protest. The class struggle is no new thing in America; it has been going on since the very beginning of the country, and there are among our old-time heroes a number of figures who are quite as useful to the rebel workers of today as Karl Marx and Liebknecht and Kropotkin. The orthodox hundred percenter of the present day has no remotest idea how really radical were the utterances of these ancestors, who are mentioned in every history book used in our schools. And there are a great many Americans who would be shocked by a quo-

tation from some European "red," but who would stand by the opinions of Sam Adams, and Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson, and John Brown, and Wendell Phillips, and Abraham Lincoln.

Dual Unions

Not all Americans are able to agree about the remedies for our present economic problems. For example, I am not able to agree with the I. W. W.; I think that dual unions are a mistake; and also I think that workers' organizations which repudiate political action are like a man who should tie up one leg and insist on hopping instead of running. But, completely as I differ from the I. W. W. program, I am willing to stand by the principle that the I. W. W. shall have a right to argue their claims; I am willing to take my chance of being able to answer the arguments of all my opponents, and do not need to prove my case by throwing the other fellow into jail. I call this the real hundred percent Americanism; and I am doing what I can to organize Americans upon the principle that we shall settle our problems by free and open discussion, and by respecting the rights of all men to freedom of speech, of press, and of assemblage. We have found it possible to interest a great many Americans in this pro-

gram—people who would not classify themselves as radicals, or back any radical program.

Of course the "Times" has been quick to advance the theory that anyone who backs civil liberties must be a secret agent of the I. W. W. They have called the American Civil Liberties "the defense branch of the I. W. W."—this on the authority of a non-existent "Agent Townsend of the Department of Justice." Probably from that point of view I am unwise to write an account of our activities for an I. W. W. publication. But I fearlessly advance the thesis, in spite of all the menaces of the "Times," that I regard I. W. W.'s as human beings, and as part of the "people" whose civil rights are protected by the Constitution. And we are going on quoting that Constitution in Southern California, especially the first amendment, which specifies that:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

Jefferson's Statement

Also we shall quote from the Constitution of the State of California, Article 1, Section 9: "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments of all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press." And Section 10: "The people shall have the right to freely assemble together to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances."

Also we quote a decision of the United States Supreme Court, ratifying the statement written by Thomas Jefferson, and passed by the Legislature of Virginia; Reynolds vs. United States, 98 U. S. 163:

"To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his power into the field of opinion, or to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own. It is time enough for the rightful purpose of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order."

So much for the law. We go on to give our hundred percent business men a little taste of the radicalism of some eminent Americans; for example, George Washington:

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master; never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action."

And then Thomas Jefferson, who wrote during the Revolutionary War a prophecy of America a hundred and fifty years later:

"The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

What Lincoln Said

Finally, we are quoting Abraham Lincoln, two sentences for which in the State of California today he would be arrested for criminal syndicalism by the first policeman he met, and sent to San Quentin to work in the jute mill for the next twenty-eight years:

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

Our American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California branch, has fifteen volunteer committees, all of which have pledged themselves to real work.

I will give you the list of them, because there is no better way to make clear the nature of our job, which ought to be the job of true Americans in all other parts of the country. First, a committee on membership, to see to it that we get two thousand members and ten thousand names of people interested in our literature. Next, the committee on finance, to raise the six or eight thousand dollars a year which our program will require. Next, the literature committee, which will attend to the preparation of leaflets and pamphlets, and devise plans to get them into the hands of the public. Next, the speakers' committee, whose chairman is John C. Packard, an attorney of Los Angeles. This committee is going to compile a list of people who can speak and will speak on civil liberties, and make arrangements to get them before clubs and churches and other organizations which will hear them; also, to arrange for an open forum. Then the committee on jail conditions, whose chairman is the Reverend Clinton J. Taft, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Los Angeles. The Ministerial Union of Los Angeles at its last monthly meeting, voted to appoint a committee to investigate jail conditions.

Next, a committee on bail. We have on this committee one tireless friend of the oppressed, who didn't wait for a committee to be organized. From the beginning of the wholesale arrests of the strikers she and a little group of friends have been busy

This Man
got 20 years
for condemning
slavery



raising bail. I am referring to Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz, of Altadena. Next, the press committee, whose chairman is Mrs. Reuben Borough, wife of a tireless and devoted newspaper reporter, who has been busy day by day writing the stories of our movement which have been published in the Los Angeles "Record." Next, the students' committee, to work among the colleges and universities. One of our mass meetings was a meeting for students.

Next, the lawyers' committee, whose chairman is John Beardsley, attorney of Los Angeles. Not merely are we going to get a few lawyers to work in the cause of civil liberties; we are going to get them together, and teach them what civil liberty means. And the same thing with the doctors' committee, whose chairman is Dr. T. Percival Gerson, president of the Severance Club of Los Angeles. We are going to educate the doctors, and also to have their help when political prisoners are ill. Next, the club committee. There are powerful clubs in this community, some of whose active members, especially the women, are really concerned about the late collapse of the Constitution.

Next, the church committee whose chairman is the Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam, pastor of the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, and recent candidate for the school board. Next, the teachers' committee. The teachers had a ticket for members of the school board, and the reactionary press diligently lied about them, and they have still much teaching of the public to do. Next, the labor committee. We are going to try to get all the labor unions, the conservatives as well as the radicals. We don't think there are many workingmen who will refuse to support civil rights, if the issue is fairly presented to them. And finally, the visiting committee. This is a wonderful invention which we discovered in the course of our crisis. It produces a tremendous impression upon public officials who are violating the law, if you come to them with a large

group of distinguished citizens, professional men, and ladies clad in the latest spring fashions. We are going right on calling, and have selected an excellent chairman for the purpose; the Reverend Doremus Scudder, who was until recently executive secretary of the Federation of Churches of Greater Boston, and has come out here to Southern California to make his home, after being director of Red Cross work in Siberia for several years. Dr. Scudder knows how to talk to these people; he tried it out the other day on the Y. M. C. A. directors. Some fifteen of them were summoned in solemn conclave when the terrible news leaked out that a clerk in the office had made a mistake and rented the Y. M. C. A. auditorium to our Civil Liberties Union for an organization meeting! The Y. M. C. A. secretaries came to us humbly, begging us to let them off from this frightful peril. We asked for a session with the directors, and got it. We finally agreed to go to another hall; but I assure you that our educational work is going to include the Y. M. C. A., and we shall bring some of those directors around to real Christianity and Americanism before we get through.

There were hundreds of men thrown into jail—most of them for "vagrancy," though they have families and homes. They were beaten and tortured, and held under most atrocious conditions; and the Y. M. C. A. would not permit us to hold a meeting to tell the public about it! "I was hungry, and ye fed me not; sick in prison, and ye visited me not!"

We are going to try to change some of these things; and we hope that when the next strike comes at the harbor, the I. W. W. will help us by being as orderly and as wise as they were during the last strike. You may be interested to know that Police Captain Plummer told my brother-in-law, Hunter Kimbrough, that he had no fault to find with the way the wobblies had handled the strike—they had kept order excellently!

Practical Internationalism

THE I. W. W. is nothing, if not practical. It believes in internationalism; and stands ready to assist any part of the world's working class as occasion requires. This is shown in a recent issue of Industrial Solidarity, wherein its readers are called on to support the German seamen's strike. According to despatches from Emden, Germany: The Deutscher Schiffartsbund (a marine transport workers' union of Germany) is on strike. In a communication sent to branches of Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W., the workers in this industry in Germany ask for support, especially to have the news of the strike spread on all German ships. The statement of the Deutscher Schiffartsbund is to the effect that the strike was a spontaneous one, originating in the great need of the German seafarers, and that the above mentioned union had taken over the work of organizing the strike, as other organization had failed to do so.

The chief demands are for an increase of wages,

the enforcement of certain parts of the labor laws, and for the hiring of workers through a union hall. The German Marine transport workers may rely on I. W. W. assistance in spreading the strike.

Refuse to Handle These Ships

POSTAL CABLE from London to I. W. W. says six thousand English dock workers are on strike. Ask fellow workers to refuse to handle English Merchant ships. Strike in England being run by Rank and File. Yours for Industrial Solidarity.

(Signed) STORROCK

Secretary London Strike Committee, Black Road and Cannoning Town, London.

New Russian Policy Success'

DR. LOUIS LEVINE, well-known for his studies in American syndicalism and Montana taxation, is recently back from Russia. He predicts the success of the new economic policy of the Russian government. He is of the opinion that while in the past there was a tendency to magnify the Russian experiment, there now is a tendency to belittle it—both of which tendencies he regarded as unfortunate. Russia's first venture in public ownership, in 1919, he said, was an attempt to socialize everything. Whether it failed or not, he declared, depends on the tests one applies.

"Taking into account," he pursued, "the results of war, blockade, and previous destruction, there is no doubt that it broke under the strain. But political-mindedness was one of the main causes of the

collapse. Socialized industry needs technicians, not politicians. Neither were the consumers educated to co-operate in the new system. The Russians, too, were working under a delusion as to the efficiency of centralized management. They overdid centralization.

"But the new track on which Russia has started, called the new economic policy, is fundamentally public ownership of key industries—but public ownership not primarily for use but for profit. It is state capitalism. In the last two years it has shown that there is no efficiency that capitalism has developed which will not work under this system. From the point of view of the worker, notwithstanding it leaves much to be desired. It does not protect the workers entirely from exploitation and abuse."

The New Idealism

WHAT the members of the working class need is a new idealism. They need faith in their own indefinite possibilities. They are intended to be more than the mere drawers of water and hewers of wood for the profits of others. They are destined, did they but realize it, to be the controllers of their own fate and the builders of a new race of supermen.

The working class, to attain the new idealism, must first recognize the worth of its own members. Though life is impos-

sible without their labors, though no railroad can run, nor any other economic function be performed without their time, attention, skill and ability, the workers regard themselves as the dross instead of the true metals of life. It is time to end such self-depreciation and to awaken to a consciousness of the real greatness of the working class.

The times need men, not alone of brains and brawn, but of self-respect and ideals.

Tony the Immigrant

By PASQUALE RUSSO

The Class Struggle in Italy

EVERY day in 1910 the class struggle in Italy was growing more bitter. The Dynasty of Savoy was trembling before the advancing proletariat whose victories threatened to end the inhuman and barbaric rule of the capitalist class.

Agitators were everywhere North and South, preaching Socialistic doctrines. In substance these agitators said to the working class: "By adopting the fundamental principles of Socialism you may abolish poverty, starvation, misery and usher in an era of justice for all who toil."

That these teachings were effective was evidenced in the number of adherents gained and the clash of the classes so frequent and violent that the rulers decided to put a stop to it. However, they realized that to do this openly would be folly, nay, suicidal. The rulers were conscious of the fact that the workers were well organized and action on the part of the government that thwarted their plans would mark the beginning of civil war in Italy. In fact, the class struggle had developed to such a point that the rule of the capitalist class was threatened and there was a real danger of them being overthrown and supplanted.

Capitalists Not Fatalists

Capitalists are not by any means fatalists, and in order to avert this calamity they assembled in conclave for the purpose of forestalling the advance of workingmen's opinion and activities.

These meetings were held in camera and attended by the great money lords with their retainers from all parts of Italy. Prominent among the attendants were the professional butchers, commonly called Generals, and with them the Bishops, ready to bless any action that would abort or defeat the workers' hope.

The principal subject discussed at the meetings was the method to crush the labor movement. The most efficient means, they concluded, of crushing the laborers was by a war. This they knew would arouse the workers to a defense of nationalism, distract their attention from the immediate problems and transfer it to the saving of the country.

It was decided that an invasion of Turkey was to be the first move in this direction. The necessary ardor for the undertaking was to be engendered through the agency of the newspapers which exercised a powerful influence over the working class.

Immediately the newspapers began a campaign of well directed calumnies about some atrocities which at that time were alleged to have been committed by the Turks. The truth or falsity of the reports were unverifiable owing to the inaccessibility of Turkey. A robbery or street fight in Turkey was magnified by the newspapers into a

premeditated offense against the liberties of the Italian people. The newspapers implied each day that Turkey was a barbarous nation and that it was Italy's duty as mistress of civilization to give Turkey lessons in Latin-Roman culture.

Italy, posing as the guardian of small nations, was ready, for the glory of Italian imperialism, to slaughter, rape and destroy another people whose only crime was that they were born in another land.

The War

This propaganda against Turkey met with success and in one year from its inception the directors found it advisable to openly declare war on Turkey. Some fifteen years previously the Italian nation had been quite severely trounced by Menelik, the Abyssinian Emperor, and in defeat the Italian workers had been the chief sufferers. But the great mass of mankind have short memories, much credulity, and when the war was proposed it was received with avidity and enthusiasm. A few weeks later the workers laid down their tools, marched away accoutred for war. Here, the Church, capitalistic institution that it is, played its part by encouraging the workers in their war on the infidel Turks.

The only unified opposition to the Turkish-Italian War was made by the membership of the Socialist Party. They were the chief promoters of the general strike which took place in Rome and several other Italian cities. All these strikes were lost and this was evidence of the powerful hold that the war propaganda had on the great mass of the people.

At this time Benito Mussolini, who so recently has attained notoriety as the father of Fascismo, was editor of the Socialist daily paper *Avanti*, and through the medium of its columns he valiantly denounced the war and its promoters. Since then Mussolini has changed front and is now the agent of the capitalized Italian brigandage practiced on the working class.

One of the chief causes of the failure of the general strike, mentioned previously, was the defection of many of the revolutionary leaders who joined with the war propagandists. Most notable among these was the labor fakir and renegade Socialist, Enrico Ferri. For a mess of pottage, this Judas of the Italian Socialist Party sold himself to the enemies of the workers, the capitalist class.

Another factor that defeated the general strike and furthered the war on Turkey, was the glib promises of the ruling class. They promised a speedy ending of the war, an era of prosperity immediately thereafter; so much so, said they, that no one would have the desire to emigrate.

The war lasted something over one year, the capitalist class of Italy being victorious. In winning the war two objects had been attained, one the de-

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feat of Turkey, the other the defeat of labor. Labor, as usual, lost everything, including most of the liberties it had previously enjoyed.

Emigration

This loss of freedom, unemployment and other miseries growing out of war caused the workers to look toward emigration for relief. Constantly, in all Southern European countries, American industrial barons maintain agents who go among the laborers and try to induce them to emigrate to America. The trap is laid by attractive advertisements appealing to maids, cooks, all kinds of domestic servants and skilled artisans, setting forth the possibilities of good wages, comfortable homes with an abundance of freedom, in the Western World. Consequently, thousands of European workers fall into the trap annually.

Tony, the son of a village blacksmith, came into possession of some of this alluring advertising literature and in a short while his heart was aflame with hope. He ran to his mother, telling her, with bated breath, about the great land of opportunities overseas. His mother, more experienced and wiser, told him quite frankly that the advertisements for the most part were misleading and were a misrepresentation of the actual conditions in America. She pointed out to him that while she herself had never been to America, she was confident that where there is a capitalist class there is to be found tyranny, also.

Longs for Liberty

Tony, little heeding, insisted by saying: "Mother, I want to go to 'the Land of the Free'." In due course the mother capitulated, the boy had his way, and preparations for the journey went forward apace.

The mother, by dint of much economy, had during her life, saved something over 100 liras. Tony's journey to America would cost at least 250 liras. In order to obtain the required amount, the mother sold a cow and several pieces of furniture.

In the morning of the day previous to Tony's leave, he attended mass, kissed the hand of the village curate and hastened home to spend the remaining few hours with his mother.

During the evening many friends called, bidding him goodby and wishing him good luck on his voyage. Early the next morning, with a bag full of chestnuts, salame and cheese, Tony set off down the road toward the seaport town. Two days later Tony was aboard the ship that was to carry him from Naples to the "Land of the Free."

Aboard the ship were thousands of men and women who, much the same as Tony, had been innocently victimized. Most of them had grown tired of the system of exploitation in Italy and were willing to go to an alien land in the hope that it might be a paradise of liberty.

The voyage from Naples to New York were the happiest days that had ever come to Tony. All

along the trip, night and day, there was singing and dancing and general merry-making. To the passengers the day of deliverance was at hand, and in a short while they would begin a happier existence.

The voyage of fourteen days was happy, indeed, and ended dramatically by the sight of the Statue of Liberty. This was a moment of keen delight; emotion ran high, and Tony, engrossed in the spirit of the event, was heard to shout: "Hurrah for America, the 'Land of the Free!'"

Tony In America

Immediately upon landing, Tony was given a red colored card. Not being acquainted with the English language, Tony imagined it was a membership card in the Socialist Party. Later he learned in a conversation with a Sicilian, that the card was a means of identification as to destination.

Attaching the card to his coat lapel he was hustled into a large truck where, with many others, he was packed in like so many sardines. In spite of the confusion, inconvenience and excitement, Tony imagined he was in heaven. This fancy bordered on reality when a fellow countryman took him to a barroom and treated him to some American beer. Some time later he actually entered paradise by visiting a moving picture theatre.

These days of idleness, luxury and pleasure had passed all too quickly, and Tony was soon facing a serious situation. His funds were getting low and it seemed that the only way out of the dilemma was to go to work. The landlady at his lodging house, a good Christian, said to him: "My dear boy, your rent is due. If you fail to pay, out you go. You are now in America, where business is business."

Hunting a Job

The following Monday Tony began seeking a position. Just at this time in New York there were thousands of men out of employment and a corresponding scarcity of jobs. From one place to another, hour after hour, Tony sought the elusive job. Apparently, no employment was to be had. Growing weary, he found a convenient street-box, and seating himself, began turning over his experiences in his mind. It began to dawn upon him that possibly "the Land of the Free" might be a myth—and spectre-like the form of his landlady, her sharp admonition, came distinctly into his consciousness. These two past incidents seemed somehow related to one another. Suddenly, and without warning, he received a painful blow on the head. Raising his head, he looked about and became aware that he had been hit by a policeman's club. Meanwhile, the policeman said: "Move on, Dago!"

For the balance of the week Tony spent the day looking for work and evading policemen. On Saturday night, true to her word, the landlady informed him that he would have to seek lodgings elsewhere.

For the next few weeks, Tony's sleeping time

was spent in a barn. One morning, after days of hardships and sleepless nights, Tony decided to join a legion of hoboes, who, as he knew, went from place to place begging a living. In his travels as a hobo he visited many cities, and in each he sought employment. In each place he had the same difficulties and hardships. In all industries he found the same conditions, the same indignities, the same system of robbery. In a very short time Tony came to the conclusion that it was not the "Land of the Free," but a land of oppression and robbery; freedom and liberty, it was evident, had died long ago.

Tony Goes to Work

One evening, while lounging about in the corridor of a ten cent hotel, a man asked him if he wished to go to work. Smilingly, Tony answered in the affirmative. Shortly afterward Tony went to his room, but sleep was not for him; a job in sight, his troubles would end—this was happiness indeed. That night he resolved to work hard, save his money and help his dear old mother over in Italy. These pleasant thoughts ran through his mind all night, keeping him awake, and in the morning, without waiting for the alarm clock, he was ready to work and thereby make an honest living.

Leaving his house Tony went to a nearby restaurant, had some coffee and rolls, and then nervously, hastily, set forth on foot to the factory where he was to sell his labor power.

At the factory he was met by the time-keeper who plied him with questions such as "How long have you been in this country?" "Are you a member of the I. W. W.?" and many others that appeared to our inexperienced Tony as both useless and foolish. Then the time-keeper gave Tony a brass check on which was engraved the number "13." This number gave Tony a pause, and some misgivings came to him about going to work.

Thinking the matter over in his mind for a few moments he decided to refer it to "Mack," a large-husky, good natured son of Erin, and foreman of the factory. Mack was a good Catholic and never overlooked an opportunity to be in church during services. His good qualities both as man and church-goer, however, at no time deterred him from getting drunk several times a week. Mack was also rather proficient in profanity, and, like all Irishmen indulged this proclivity quite freely.

While seeking the foreman, Tony questioned the janitor regarding Mack's whereabouts. The janitor was a member of the I. W. W., rather kindly disposed towards his fellow workingmen and in a very genial manner showed him the foreman's office. A second or so later Tony stepped into the office and was greeted with a hearty "Hello." After receiving instructions, Tony removed his coat and was deeply engrossed in the work assigned him, a little later.

As Tony became adjusted and familiar with the surroundings and the daily routine of his work, his leading temperamental characteristics began to

manifest themselves. Now, our Tony was a young man with a vast amount of pride, and his pride was very sensitive indeed. On the other hand, Mack, after years of man-handling, had grown accustomed to trample on the pride of any man under his domination. At intervals, Mack would go among the employes commanding, "Hurry up, boys, hurry!" These words were offensive to Tony, and being repeated day after day, began in time to rankle in his mind. Pondering, Tony finally came to the conclusion that conditions on the job were extremely unpleasant; that he was a slave; that he produced a great amount of wealth and his remuneration in the form of wages was only a pittance.

As the lunch hour came daily, Tony's mind was given over to musings of his mother and Sunny Italy. Tony was homesick, and as the malady grew his appetite vanished. The janitor, ever alert for the organization which he held dear and noting Tony's discontent, approached saying: "Fellow worker, don't worry; worrying is to no purpose. Slow down with your work, produce less—thus only can the boss be made to understand. Organize with your fellow workers; join the I. W. W. Here is the preamble, take it home and read it carefully. Then mail to the nearest local secretary an application with a two dollar fee, and you will become a union man, conscious of your rights with a power to assist you in enforcing them." At this juncture the whistle blew and Tony resumed his labors for the afternoon.

At the end of the day Tony went to his room. Weary though he was, he read the document given him by the janitor, and a profound impression was made on him. In discussing the matter with the janitor the following day, he remarked that he was now interested in securing literature of a similar character. With this the janitor handed him a copy of the then current Industrial Solidarity, a weekly paper published by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

Getting Acquainted With the Class Struggle

Reading the paper that night, Tony became aware for the first time that the society round about him was divided into two distinct and warring economic classes. In his reading they were designated as the "working class" and the "employing class," and with no great difficulty was he able to follow the reasoning. In time Tony came to know this as the class struggle, realizing that it must go on till the economic power of the world is in the hands of the workers themselves.

The conclusions arrived at by reading the I. W. W. publications were forcibly driven home by a campaign of villification and slander then being conducted by the capitalistically-influenced newspapers. These papers almost daily referred to the I. W. W. as "an outlaw band of murderers and criminals," "an association of criminals," etc. In the meantime Tony learned that these statements were false, and

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engendered by a sordid interest against an upright and well intentioned organization.

However, each day these falsehoods were broadcasted by the newspapers and the calumnies hurled at the I. W. W., resulted in a fierce persecution of that organization by the government, local vigilantes committees and other patriotic organizations.

In numerous parts of the United States, thousands of workers were flogged and mobbed; many were killed, and all in the name of 100 percent Americanism. But probably for no less reason than to make America safe for organized capital.

Had the promoters of this campaign of slander been acquainted with Tony, they would have been both disappointed and surprised at the effect produced in his mind by their efforts. By antithesis, Tony became convinced that the only real advocate of fundamental Americanism was the I. W. W., whose membership had and was demonstrating a willingness to fight and die for the freedom of the working class.

All this happened while Tony was in Butte, Mont., but there came a day when he conceived the idea of becoming a student at Northwestern University in Chicago. Acting on this idea he gave up his position, bid the janitor goodby and made his way to Chicago.

University of Knowledge

Arriving in Chicago, Tony visited the university, gleaned some facts, and finally concluded that universities, like all other capitalistic institutions, were directed and controlled in the interest of a property owning class.

One day, while walking west on Madison street, Chicago, Tony found another university. It was somewhat to his liking, and in due course he came to the conclusion that it was quite the best university in the United States. This was evidenced by the fact that it had contributed more to the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery than all the universities and colleges combined. This university was, in truth, a university of knowledge and bore on the window this legend, "Headquarters of the I. W. W."

"Here is an opportunity," thought Tony, as he entered it, "to help crush industrial autocracy in America." After a little conference with the fellow workers in charge, Tony became a member and resolved to do what he could in furthering so worthy a cause.

In the I. W. W. he had found a real university; here was literature with something of educational value to the workers, and for them to be mindful of it would be instruction for them.

As a member of this great university, Tony traveled from city to city, from coast to coast, preaching the doctrines of Industrial Unionism and thereby arousing interest in the cause to which he had pledged himself. Often, in the course of his experience he was beaten, tarred and feathered, even

Thirty-four

jailed for opinions or some activity, but at no time did he waver or swerve from his aim of assisting in the freeing of the working class from the yoke of industrial slavery.

To Tony the crisis came in 1917. At that time the American capitalist class was very active in inducing the people of the United States to join the world slaughter of the workers then going on in Europe. The turning point came on April 6th of that year, when President Wilson answered the appeal of Wall Street with a declaration of war on the Imperial Government of Germany.

Soon after this came a second declaration of war, this time against the rights of the American people and was in the form of an Espionage law, which deprived all citizens of such freedom as they had. To review the whole of the law and its effects would lead us far from our theme, but it will suffice to say that by the means of this law the American people lost the right of free speech, free press and the right to assemble peaceably. In its train also it brought a reign of terror. Hundreds of periodicals were denied the use of the mails, many clubs and organizations were raided, forcibly disbanded, properties destroyed by organized bands of hoodlums.

The objective of most of these attacks was the I. W. W., and thousands of members of this organization paid in suffering for loyalty to the working class. For this loyalty many were injured, hundreds were jailed, and scores gave their lives.

In Jail For Freedom

During these turbulent times, Tony, one evening, was speaking on a street corner in Bisbee, Ariz. For two hours the crowd had stood and listened with respectful attention, when suddenly and without warning, Tony was savagely attacked, and a little later lay in the street bleeding from many wounds. It developed later that the slugging of Tony was the work of several patriotic American citizens. Which, of course, is quite the customary procedure in dealing with people who entertain opposite views from the capitalists.

When Tony came to consciousness the next day, he found himself in the city jail. After several days he was informed that he had been indicted—that a federal warrant was awaiting him together with 166 members of the same organization for an alleged plot against the government.

Some days later Tony was taken to Chicago where he was placed on trial. It was not before the court of justice in the ordinary meaning of that term. Rather, it was a travesty on justice, presided over by a biased judge with a hand-picked jury in attendance. The trial was concluded by sending all the indicted men to the penitentiary for periods ranging from ten to twenty years.

At the penitentiary began a new experience, this time as a political prisoner, giving up his liberty for the cause he loved so well.

Five years have come and gone, but that his spirit

A Visit to Liberty Hill

NEW YORK, metropolis of the Atlantic, has its Liberty statue.

It is not the fault of the lady on the pedestal that the Wall Street pirates and others of their ilk, who today control our halls of legislature and our courts, are making her a liar.

For many decades she was the beacon light of freedom to the oppressed of many nations who came to find liberty and justice on these shores.

Los Angeles Harbor (San Pedro) has no statue of liberty but it has Liberty Hill.

Liberty Hill today is probably the one spot in California where freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage exist.

Somehow, in spite of the criminal syndicalism law, in spite of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and other reactionary influences which control this state, their power seems to stop at the foot of Liberty Hill.

Liberty Hill rises about 200 feet above the level of Third street, several flights of crude stone steps leading up to it.

A Public-Spirited Woman

It is private property, the use of which has been granted the M. T. W. 510 of the I. W. W. by its

is not broken is evidenced by the following appeal which he makes to the working class of America:

"Fellow Workers"

"A gigantic struggle is going on in America. Especially is this true of California. In Los Angeles, San Pedro and various other localities, the workers are being persecuted for belonging to an organization opposed to the interests of organized capital.

"For this, hundreds of members of the I. W. W. are in jail, thereby losing their liberty and each subjected to inhuman and brutal treatment. They and we are in jail for you, and it is only just to us that you do something for yourselves that our great sacrifice may not be in vain.

"Organize Industrially, should be your answer to us. Let your answer be one of solidarity. Are you a scab to your class? Are you an enemy to the workers, to their cause, to yourself? If you are not, you can best do your part by becoming a member of the I. W. W.

"Fellow workers, whoever you are, black or white, Chinese or American, French or Italian, join against the common enemy of the working class: the industrial overlords who oppress you.

"Fellow Workers, do your duty, and in this way you will make America the 'Land of the Free.'

"Refrain from reading the capitalist newspapers and patronize your own publications where news that is reliable and dependable is to be found.

"All together! march against the common enemy, with the motto: 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'"

public-spirited woman owner, and thus you find on top of it hand-made wooden benches seating about 800 people, a small platform 6 by 9, and standing room for several thousand, some of which is always occupied, and often it is taxed to capacity.

Here on this hill the I. W. W. holds five meetings each week, outside of their business meetings, which are always attended by from between one and three thousand for the English meetings and by from five to eight hundred for those held in the Spanish language.

We had promised ourselves the treat of being present at one of these meetings for quite some time, and had promised the fellow workers time and again to be there, but until Saturday, the 18th, something had always happened to prevent us.

We had heard the wondrous story of the fight the boys did make; we had written about it, and had expressed our opinion that it was the most wonderful thing in our experience, but now since we have been there we'll have to say "the half has never yet been told!"

We wish that somebody with more power of description was writing this article, for we know that we shall not be able to more than half convey to you the spirit of liberty and loyalty to the class struggle which exists in San Pedro and finds its best manifestations in the meetings on Liberty Hill.

When we left Los Angeles it was cool; probably the coolest night of the summer, and we remarked as we closed the door of the Defense office: "Well, there won't be many at the meeting tonight!"

A Sea of Listeners

When we mounted the platform on Liberty Hill a sea of faces stared up at us from the benches, and most of the standing room was taken.

There has been one peculiar feature about this revival of industrial unionism in Los Angeles County—while the men were on trial in Court 19 (twenty-two), and the men who are on trial in Court 12 now (twenty-seven), naturally, did only a small portion of the wonderful work which has been done, they were always in the front part of the front trenches, even while their trials were going on.

No. 510 Active

Not too much praise can be given the local membership of Marine Transport Workers' I. U. 510 in San Pedro, not too much can be said for those go-getting, class-conscious delegates who came up from the East Coast, but they got part of their inspiration from the fact that the men who were on trial in jeopardy of their liberty in court five hours each day, and spending many more hours in the law library and pouring over transcripts, found time and had the energy and the spirit to make the welkin ring with their exhortations and to move about all over Los Angeles County distributing literature, expounding the gospel of industrial unionism, and lining up members right and left.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Things had been moving at a fairly good rate up until March 15, when five of our fellow workers were not only found guilty, but for the first time in the history of California, sentenced to serve their terms on both counts consecutively, thus making their sentences from two to 28 years.

This, we have positive information, was done at the direct command of the Chamber of Commerce, with the idea that it would scare the delegates as well as their prospects.

When Persecution Goes Wrong

When this became known among those of us who were on trial in Court 19 at the time, as well as the membership in general, we were filled with a Berserker rage and a determination to "show them."

Men who had been keeping on the side lines and never dreamed about taking credentials were writing letters in to their respective industrial unions for credentials and supplies, to be sent by RETURN MAIL.

Instead of quietly and unobservedly trying to get now and then a new member who might be of benefit to the organization, we went up and down the streets of Los Angeles, San Pedro, and many other towns with our papers and leaflets sticking out of our pockets and our credentials and books in our hands, and there was such an activity as the Pacific Coast has never seen before, and it has not ceased or diminished, and we have now gained such a membership and such a foothold in Los Angeles County that we can never be dislodged.

An International Audience

The audience on Liberty Hill was as attentive and inspiring as any speaker wants to face or has faced.

Hundreds of women and children, hundreds of Spaniards and Mexicans, Italians, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, colored and Japanese fellow workers, were there.

Men of the Merchant Marine, in their natty uniforms, dock workers in their overalls, and others in their Sunday best, fishermen, carpenters, clerks, cooks, waiters and waitresses, business men, lawyers, and doctors—they all were there, and listened for three hours to what us "pesky-go-about" had to say.

The peculiar thing about this meeting, and which characterized most meetings and a good portion of the whole movement here, was that out of the five wobbly speakers three of them came from the twenty-seven now on trial and one was the "man who conspired with himself," who is now out on bond pending appeal, having been convicted on May 15, in Court 19.

There was no holding back and no concealment. Industrial unionism was taught straight from the shoulder; our ultimate aim—the abolition of wage slavery—was openly proclaimed.

New converts were given their little red cards in sight of thousands and of the police.

The Chamber of Commerce was plainly charged with the foul murder of Fellow Worker Paul Borgen.

The speaking lasted for over three hours; all listened attentively; almost none left during this long meeting, and there were no interruptions except by volleys of applause.

A Singing Movement

And the singing!

When the words rang from two thousand throats "We know that every wobbly true will carry on the fight," you knew that the singers meant it. And when we finished with the song of the "Red Flag" and came to the words "With hats uncovered swear we all to fight beneath it till we fall," without any suggestion every man's hat came off, the audience rose as one man, and when you looked at their solemn determined faces, you knew that at least here in San Pedro there are thousands of men and women who, no matter what comes, no matter in what way the viciousness of the master class may manifest itself, will live and die for the workers' cause.

Well Named!

LIBERTY HILL!—it is well named, for the spirit which created it, the spirit which manifests itself on it, is spreading all over the county and farther, like wild fire.

It is a spirit not created by sentiment or emotionalism but an outcome of the greatest educational campaign ever waged anywhere among the workers.

It is a spirit which will not and cannot be quenched. It is the spirit which, before many more years have passed, will sweep away the profit system, and the sin, misery and degradation which are a part of it, and which will usher in the Workers' Co-operative Commonwealth.

Inspiration for All

If you need inspiration, if your faith in the victorious onward sweep of the advancing proletariat needs to be strengthened, if your mind and heart needs to be filled with the certainty of coming victory, come on to Liberty Hill in San Pedro.

Sinclair Case Dismissed

CALIFORNIA. The case against Sinclair, Kimbrough, Hopkins and Hardyman, arrested on May 15th for attempting to hold an open-air free speech meeting in San Pedro, have been dismissed in the Los Angeles police court.

Gee! If William Jennings Bryan would only say with HIS Creator: "Let there be light—"



Cartoons from I. W. W. Press



A Profitable Transfusion.

From Tie Vapauteen



Aesop Up-to-date.

From Industrial Solidarity

THE I. W. W. PRESS

The I. W. W. is an institution that every reader of Industrial Pioneer should get acquainted with more fully. It was the first to tell the true story of the so-called Herrin "massacre" and to expose the murder of Martin Tabert in the lumber camps of Florida. For news of the labor movement and criticism of capitalism, it can't be beat.

The I. W. W. press consists of the following 12 publications in nine different languages:

Industrialisti (Finnish), daily, subscription per year, \$4.50. Address Box 464, Duluth, Minn.

Industrial Worker, twice a week, per year, \$4. Box 1857, Seattle, Wash.

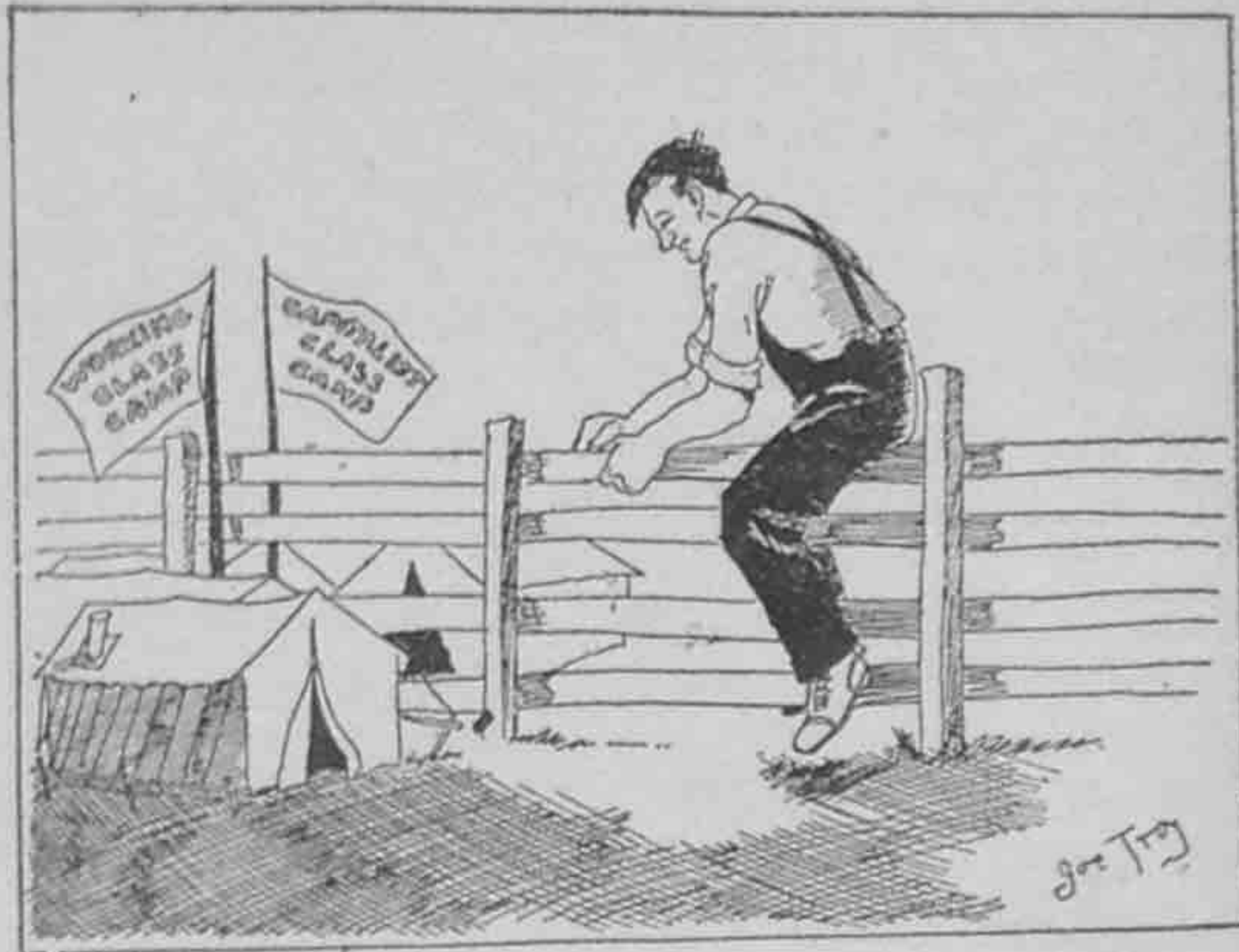
Industrial Solidarity, weekly, per year, \$2.00.

Industrial Pioneer, monthly, per year, \$2.00.

Solidaridad (Spanish), twice a month, per year, \$1.

Golos Truzenika, (Russian), twice a month, per year, \$1.50.

A Felszabadulas, (Hungarian), weekly, per year, \$2.



MUST SOON CLIMB OFF

From Industrial Worker

Il Proletario, (Italian), weekly, per year, \$2.00.

Tie Vapauteen, (Finnish), monthly, per year, \$1.75.

Rabotnicheska Mysl, (Bulgarian) monthly, per year, \$2.00.

Jedna Velka Unie, (Czecko-Slovak), monthly, per year, \$1.00.

Address all above nine publications at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Send subscriptions there.

Muncitorul, (Roumanian), weekly, per year, \$1.00. Address 13492 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.

Drop a postal for sample copies.

Harken to the Hammers

By LAWRENCE BENYON

HARKEN to the hammers, endlessly hammering,
The din of wheels, the drone of wheels, the
furnaces

Panting, where man as in a demon-palace toils
To forge the giant creatures of his brain.

He has banished the spring and the innocence of
leaves

From the blackened waste he has made; the
infected sky

Glooms with a sun aghast, and the murk of the
night

Is peopled with tall flames like spirits insane.

He strips himself to the heat, not of the jovial sun,
But of the scorch of furnaces; with naked breast
Sweating beneath the iron and belear glass, amid
The hammers' hammering and the wheels' roar.

Not with the grapes of October trodden underfoot
Spurting juices of ripeness in runnels, his vats
Brim, but with gushes flickered-over and blinding,
Unshapen spilth and blaze of molten ore.

With a finger he lifts the weight of mountain-
sides

Poised; the metal mass he shears red-hot in a
trice;

He gives to the animate iron thews of force,
A Titan's pulse, and breath of fiery draught.

Monsters mightier far than himself he creates
To swim storming seas, and to mount in miles of
air,

To deride Space and the old opposition of Time:
Their speed is like strong drink that he has
quaffed.

He has the tamed lightning to do his bidding, draws
Energies out of the veins of earth; he is armed
From all elements, woven as in a magic web;
He has stolen seeds of Death, wherewith to fight.

He holds fabled terrors of the ancient gods in his
hand—

In a handful of dust, earthquake and pestilence;
He exults to destroy, to obliterate, to be
Lord of the powers of the engulfing night.

Deafened with the hammers, inebriate with the
sound

Of the powers he has raised out of their jealous lair,
He has fever within him, he becomes dizzy,
And craves, and knows not whither he is bound.

Shall he attain god-like felicity of ease,
Supreme articulate voice of nature's striving,
Or builds he a vast prison for himself, a slave
With iron of his own strong forging crowned?

O where is now the dew-dropt radiance of morning,
That sistered with him rock and reed and rippling
stream,

When simple of heart in the sun with a free body
He accepted all the boundaries of his mind?

Full of fears he was then, shadowed with helpless
need

To propitiate Powers that threatened each footstep.
Has he escaped from those old terrors, to be prey
Of fears more terrible because less blind?

An Oliver Twist

CHICAGO, Ill.—Please give us more of the articles by Pasquale Russo. His article, "Revolutionary History of The Workers," appearing in the July issue of the Industrial Pioneer was a masterpiece.

Mr. Russo shows he has ability as a historian and he presents facts to the readers about the origin of past revolutions that cannot be found in the average history.

I have also read several of his poems and articles in, "Industrial Solidarity" and I like his style of writing very much.

I wish to congratulate you on having such able writers on your staff.

Yours sincerely,

Louis Wilhelm Rauckman.

Wages, Prosperity, Depression

A REVIEW BY PHILLIP TAFT

OUR wages is the foundation of our well-being and culture, the determining force of the health, comfort, leisure and education of the wage earner under our present industrial system, and whether we can appreciably raise the present standards depends on our ability to increase the contents of our pay envelope,—such is the keynote of the first chapter of "The Control of Wages," by Walton Hamilton and Stacy May.

The authors examine and dispose of the iron law of wages theory, i. e., that the terms of demand for labor meet the supply at a price which allows the laborer a bare subsistence. For, if perchance the rate of wages was higher the increase in reproduction would bring about an increase in the number of laborers, and beat it down. If it were lower, its inability to sustain life would remove the laborers to a brighter world and allow the rate to attain its normal level.

The Wage Fund

Another wage theory examined by the authors is the wage fund. According to this theory there exists in society a separate fund, set aside by business enterprises for the payment of wages, and an increase to any certain set of workers must be at the expense of another group; for the real wages, consisting of particular goods, cannot be substantially increased, as the goods are not available. But the authors point out that, in time, it is possible to divert the fabrication of articles from the leisure class to that of necessities. We can also consider exports. The large surplus of food products that is wasted, through being allowed to rot and the possibility that an increase in the nominal wage would add to the workers' buying power, making it possible to utilize the productive powers of the unemployed, prove the inaccuracy of the theory that wages are governed by a special fund set aside for the purpose.

Making the Consumer Pay

In analyzing the methods by which the laborers' wages can be increased, the authors warn the worker that wage raises often shift the burden on the unorganized consumer. In other words, the manufacturer can very often shift the wage increase onto the back of the consumer. The bitter opposition exhibited by the employers against any attempt at a wage increase by the workers—the expenditure of thousands of dollars through the hiring of strike-breakers and guards at relatively exorbitant wages, as in the last railroad and coal strikes, for instance—is conclusive proof of the fallacy of that theory. In order for a condition of that kind to be possible, it would necessitate the control of the entire industrial system in fewer hands than at present exists. It would not only necessitate monopoly in one industry, but the control of the entire industrial re-

sources of the country in so few hands as to eliminate idle capital, and all outsiders looking for an investment opportunity, by taking advantage of the high charges of existing organization to enter into competition with it.

The Iron Man

That the morale of the workers is not a great factor in machine production is contended by the authors. Where work has been reduced to routine, the machine sets the pace; and the laborer must accommodate his efforts to the iron man he obeys. Where quantity production prevails and the various operations have been fitted into a mechanism that moves like clockwork, the laborers' will is just as mute as the machine.

We have raised our wage standards immensely in the last century; and if the wages are still too low, in comparison with the high productivity of the laborers, it is due to the ignorance and lack of strength of the laborers, who have allowed the huge progress in invention and technique to be diverted to the extravagance and splendor of their exploiters.

The Business Cycle

One of the sources of wage increase, the authors suggest, is the elimination of the business cycle, or periodic depression—a period of industrial prosperity, followed by increased unemployment, more stringent finances, and misery and suffering generally. The so-called business cycles are primarily due to the large surplus produced by the workers and a lack of foreign markets in which to dispose of it. One of the best ways to eliminate them is to raise wages to a point where it will be possible for the workers, through their increased purchasing power, to absorb surplus production.

Increased Efficiency

The authors, though recognizing the opposition of organized labor to increased efficiency propaganda, speculate on the possibility of increased efficiency enabling the workers to augment their real wages without engendering opposition, an attempt to separate some of the rent, interest and profit from some of the groups drawing incomes from investments.

The fact that real wages, or the buying power of wages, have decreased in the last twenty years, in spite of the tremendous increase in productivity of labor, would seem to vitiate such speculation.

Wasted Resources

A source of increased industrial output—an increase devolving on labor—is the utilization of all human resources. Involuntary idleness, i. e., unemployment, which exists even in times of great industrial prosperity and becomes acute in times of industrial depression, is recognized as an inestimable waste of potential productivity by the authors. Of course, these problems touch the very roots of

Industrialist vs. Statist

SOcialists and communists insist that the powers of government must first be captured before a new era in society can be inaugurated by and for the workers. They claim that the workers must either vote or force, via a coup d'etat, men and women into office, there to legislate a new and beneficial system into existence. Those who do not share this viewpoint are condemned as lacking in fundamental wisdom.

This is but natural; nay, even logical. There is a glamor about politics that makes it both fascinating and absorbing. Politics is restless manouvering, action, excitement. In addition, history has been written and stressed from the political and biographical rather than the economic standpoint. What wonder then, that politics seem most important. What wonder then that it seems to offer the easiest road to victory, both for class and individual ambitions.

Nevertheless, behind politics are economic forces more powerful than parties in office and more domineering than great personalities at the political helm. The policies of a Bolshevik party and a Lenin, deflected by a primitive peasant development, is a modern case in point.

The socialists and communists fail to see that something more than votes and something more than the capture of state is required before the inauguration of a new era is possible. They have yet to learn in a truly practical way what they teach in a soundly theoretical manner, that social epochs are not superimposed or created from without, but slowly developed or grown from within.

The socialists and communists have yet to learn practically, though they proclaim it theoretically, that majorities and coup d'etats do not make revolutions.

Revolutions come as a result of economic

the social and industrial order, and any attempt to greatly eliminate these chronic conditions will mean radical changes in economic relationships.

The authors conclude their study with an analysis of the meaning of higher wages to the workers. If we wish to see a rise in culture, refinement, enjoyment and education, the wages must first reach levels enabling the workers to obtain and retain all of these things.

There are many things in "The Control of Wages" to agree with and few to disagree with. But in all, its reading will not hurt and may do some good.

[Publishers, Geo. H. Doran & Company, New York, N. Y.]

or industrial action or development primarily. New inventions, new modes of producing, distributing and owning wealth—or the breakdown of the old—are the factors—not votes—that primarily cause great changes. An industrial economic system grows or is destroyed by its own inherent conditions. It can neither be voted in or out of existence, unless these conditions favor such a course.

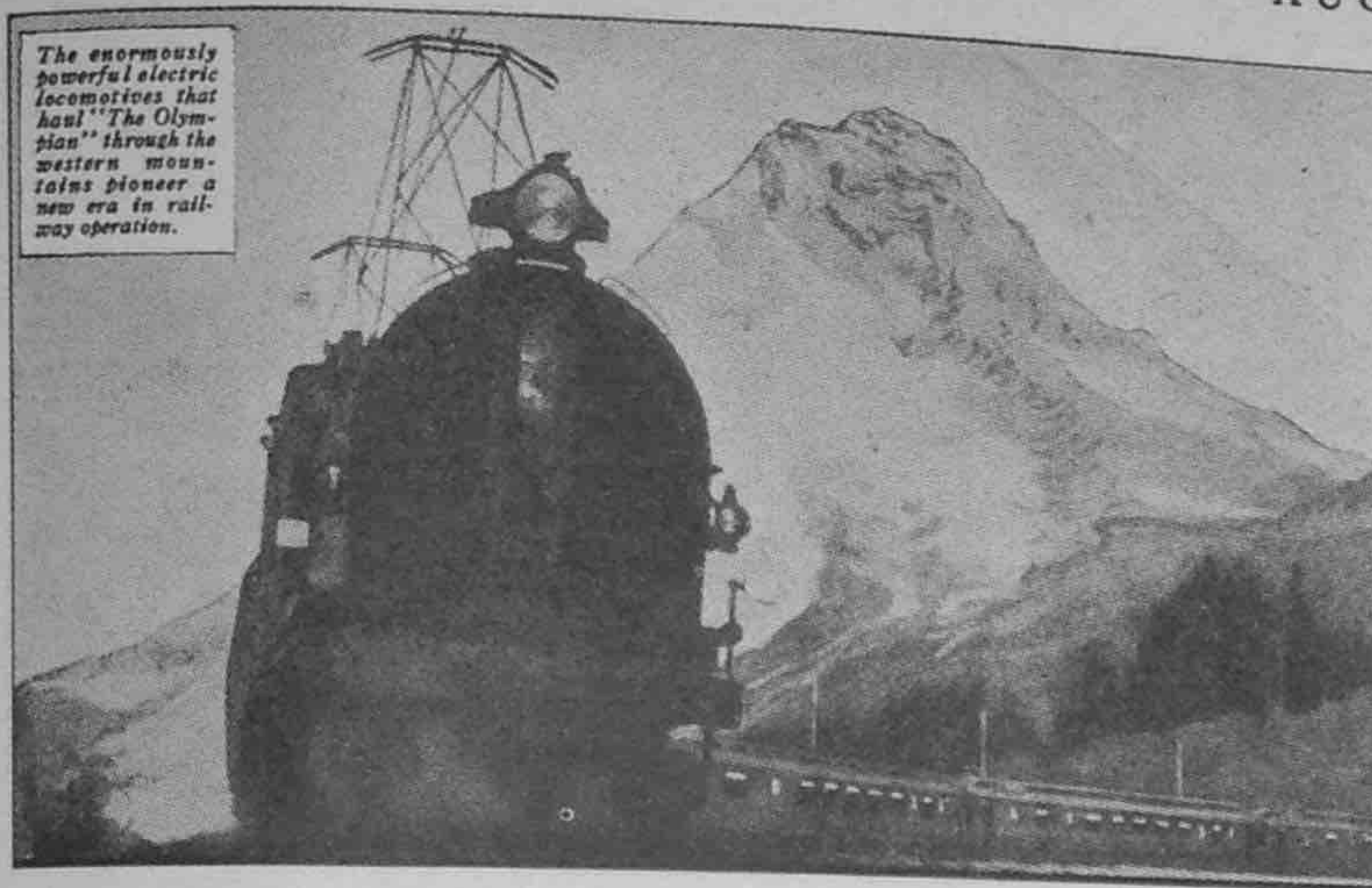
Economic figs do not grow on political thistles. Leninistic communism cannot grow on primitive Russian agriculture. Attempts to make it do so end with Bolshevism in the arms of peasant reaction and the camp of French imperialism. Nor can Marxian socialism thrive on German industrialist-capitalist property. The result is to make social democracy the ally of Stinnes and Co. and the special defender of their interests. Neither Russian Bolsheviks, nor German Republicans can change basic conditions, whether by coup d'etats or majority votes.

In this country, the conditions are equally impossible. The same socialists and communists who urge us to capture Washington also tell us that the real government of the country exists in Wall St. and that it consists primarily of the Morgan-Rockefeller alliance with their tremendous industrial and financial ownership and control. Congress talks; while the Morgan-Rockefeller group grows all-powerful.

It follows from the above that if a revolution is ever to occur in society, it must begin at the economic base, that is, within industry. With industry revolutionized, all else will be revolutionized, too. To the superficial, this proposition seems hopeless. The prospects for an industrial revolution seem dark, indeed.

Nevertheless, the industrial revolution is already here. It is already under way. It consists not only in the formation of giant combinations of capital, but also in the giant combinations of labor that is born of them. A million workers on strike in this country is but one of many indications of this industrial revolution. Such a thing was impossible 30 years ago, in the age of small production.

Accordingly, it is on the industrial field that the crucial battles of civilization are being fought and will be determined. This is evident in the many-sided efforts to suppress the industrial conflicts and its increasing intensity despite them. Also in the attempts made to divert the energy and



The enormously powerful electric locomotives that haul "The Olympian" through the western mountains pioneer a new era in railway operation.

The Revolutionist.

thought of the workers away from the determination of the real issues involved in it, via company unions and similar devices.

With industry, society rises or falls; for without industry none of the functions of society can be performed and all will be chaos and ruin. An industrially organized working class, conscious of its historic mission in society and alive to every opportunity to fulfill it, is, accordingly, the first requisite to modern revolution. Politics and political parties are of secondary importance.

Already are the workers in industry coming to grasp these most essential facts. This is shown in their persistent endeavors to make organized labor an element of social reconstruction as well as of immediate benefit. To this end they are proposing various plans requiring their managerial and technological participation, either in part or in whole. In brief, through economic organization the workers are striving to ward off social disaster and ruin—they are striving to influence social development through economic means.

The socialists and communists belittle the importance of economic action in favor of political action. They delight in shouting about "the great political victories of labor," a la the British Labor Party. But to the industrialist, the tendencies noted above are the most vital of modern happenings. They work from the inward outward, from the base upward; constitute, in fact, the rudimentary beginnings of an inherent evolution that will end ultimately in a victory for the workers.

To help these tendencies along via the

organization of more efficient forms of industrial unionism is the duty of every open-eyed open-minded member of the working class.

The Farmer is Going

THE workers in this country who are uniting on the political field with the farming class, in the hope of establishing communism in that manner, are attempting the impossible.

The farming class is going, if it has not already gone, both as an economic and political power. It is being crushed between the growing use of machinery and the imperialistic policies of the financial overlords of the country. The latter require the export of capital and the import of foodstuffs in return, as interest. The history of England, in which the farmer is eliminated, is the history being repeated in this country. Under the circumstances, why waste time with the farmer? His present activities are dying gasps; not virile growth.

Better put the working class movement on a sound economic basis, via the industrial unionism of the I. W. W.

Metal Miners 210 is actively at work in iron mines of Michigan and Minnesota, as well as New Jersey. English and Italian speakers are working in the former fields and Finns in the latter.

Talking American

ELSEWHERE in this issue readers of Industrial Pioneer will find an article by Upton Sinclair dealing with the struggle for civil liberties in Los Angeles. The article shows that Sinclair and his co-workers are worthy of both emulation and commendation. They are efficient and thorough in everything.

However, in his opening words, Upton Sinclair expresses some criticisms of the I. W. W., which though answered often before, need, for the benefit of new readers, to be answered again. The I. W. W. is gently admonished to "talk American," "use American forms of protest," cease "dual unionism" and "one leggedness." All of which is amusing, to say the least.

It reflects the fact that Upton Sinclair himself is essentially unaware of what Americanism is. Americanism is essentially industrialism. It consists in recognizing what Henry D. Lloyd recognized years ago in his book, "The Lords of Industry," wherein he said, "The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government." Frank L. McVey, in his "Modern Industrialism" says the same thing in a more positive way when he declares "The result (of American industrial development) is what might have been expected: an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a state that is puny when compared with it."

These men are talking American. They are echoing the sentiments of "the man in the street" who says, "Ah, you can't do anything against the corporations and trusts and the big fellows who have all the money."

Under the circumstances, what avails it to talk politics and unionism, when both are under a domination that renders them futile? To talk of a combination of politics and unionism in the face of American industrialism is to talk, not American, but English, a la the British Labor Party and conservative unionism. To talk "boring from within," is to talk, not American, but France, the France of which Wm. L. Foster has built up historic falsehoods; as the "boring from within" that he pictures as existing there is non-existent. In other words, to indulge in the language of Upton Sinclair is to argue from conditions that exist abroad where labor is less under capitalist domination and less in the shadow of an overtowering industrialism than in this country.

The I. W. W. is the most typical product of American industrialism and when it talks American it talks, not conventionalities, but essentials. It contends that the American working class must strike at American industrialism through industrial union organization. It must capture the basic factor in American life from within, through the thorough organization of the economic power of the workers employed therein. To this end, the American working class should concentrate all its energies, as that embraces the whole situation. To continue to promote impotent politics or fool around with a capitalist-dominated unionism is misleading and futile. It misses the bull's eye, because it never aims at it.

Further, the I. W. W. talks American in many other ways. The citation of constitutional law in defense of its civil liberties is resorted to on all occasions. It not only cites constitutional law, but the I. W. W., in its free speech fight, goes to jail to enforce it. In going to prison at Los Angeles in favor of free speech, and then quoting the constitution in his own behalf, Upton Sinclair follows a fashion set long ago by the I. W. W.

A perusal of I. W. W. literature would do Upton Sinclair good. Therein he will find that the I. W. W. traces the beginnings of the philosophy of the class struggle, not to Marx and Engels, but to Hamilton and Madison (see chapter 2, "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice"). And it joins with Marx in crediting Benjamin Franklin with being one of the first to discover the source of value when he says, for instance: "The first price that was ever paid for a commodity was the labor necessary to produce it."

"Talk American;"—! And that, too, when Upton Sinclair stutters, figuratively speaking, in a European dialect.

The discussion in Industrial Solidarity, "What's Wrong With The I. W. W., If Anything?" should prove helpful to further progress in the organization. It should result in some constructive legislation at the approaching annual convention.

A Croatian twice-a-month magazine is the latest projected addition to the I. W. W. press. It is not named yet. Our September issue will have more to say about it.

The bond assessment stamps are selling well. Have you got yours? In one, two and five dollar denominations.

The Triumph of Christian Civilization

By R. F. PETTIGREW

ONE hundred years ago a colony of English farm laborers, one hundred in number, composed of men, women and children—old and young—chartered a ship and started for Australia. They were inspired to go by the promise of free land—they and their ancestors having been tenants upon an English estate.

The ship was a sailing ship, and they loaded it with their second-hand furniture and second-hand bedding and second-hand farm implements; for that is about all the laborers who produced all the wealth at that time in England were permitted to possess. They also obtained some seed to plant, from a charitable person who was willing to await the success of the colony for the return of his investment; and, with the seeds and agricultural implements, they started from England for Australia around Cape Horn, and crossing the Atlantic and the Equator successfully, they reached out into the broad Pacific. They knew little of sailing routes and, by mistake, got off from the ordinary track of vessels and, when well out in the Pacific Ocean, their ship ran aground upon a reef which stove a hole in the bottom and placed it beyond repair.

Of course, great consternation took place among the passengers, for they never had been at sea before. Some fainted and some went nearly insane, while most of them began at once to prepare to save what they could out of the wreck—caring for those who had fainted and responding to the needs of the general welfare.

There were two young men—healthy and strong—who seemed to take no interest in matters, but busied themselves with trying to release from its lashings the only life-boat upon the ship—a very small boat because the colonists had not been able to equip their ship with the necessary life-boats.

Land was visible about ten miles south of the wreck, and as there was but little wind and the waves were not high, and as the one life-boat they had was small, they

concluded they would build a raft out of the ship and try to reach the land south of them. So, they all started to work—excepting the two young men—and constructed the raft on the leeward side of the ship and began loading all their belongings. But, when they had partially finished the loading, they found out that the raft would not carry over one-half of the colony. So they took the old and helpless and the children, and half of the most able-bodied, and proceeded to propel the raft to the land, while the others were picking up and putting in shape the rest of the material.

They landed upon the island without difficulty and found that apparently it was a complete and absolute desert, so far as they could see. They had noticed, before they left the ship, that the two young men, who had been hanging around the life-boat, had disappeared, and that the life-boat had disappeared with them. They had rendered no assistance whatever in rescuing their fellow-beings from the wreck.

They returned with the raft to the ship and loaded on their implements and the remainder of the food and, taking aboard the rest of the colony, returned to the island.

For the next day or two, they gave their attention to stripping the ship, taking such parts as they could detach to the island, and constructing temporary shelter and after all that could be moved was taken to the resting place they selected, three of their number were chosen to explore the island; others were detailed to manufacture a temporary boat in order to see if there were eatable fish in the waters surrounding the island.

* * *

Within a day or two, those who had been sent to explore the island returned and reported that they had found a body of very fertile land several miles into the interior of the island, but that this land appeared to be the only cultivable land upon the whole island, and was about three thousand acres in area, and near the center of it was a

large spring of fresh water. That the two young men, who had abandoned their fellows, were there in possession of it, and that, when they proposed to bring all the other people up to the spring of fresh water and the fertile land, the two young men said that they, having discovered it, were the owners and they should stand upon their right to retain it; and, when the committee insisted that the land should not be privately owned but should be the common property of all—as man was a land animal and fertile soil was absolutely essential to his existence—the two young men who had taken possession of all the arms on the ship, as well as the boat, first argued that they must not undertake to discourage individual initiative—that it would be ruinous to civilization not to encourage individual enterprise and that the land belonged to them by right of discovery. But, when the committee pressed the point and urged the rights of man, the two young men said: “We are in possession of all the arms and ammunition that are in the colony and, if you undertake to force possession of this land, we shall fire upon you.”

So, the colonists held a meeting and they decided that it would be a great mistake to discourage individual enterprise or to in any way throttle individual ambition, and, as they and their ancestors had always paid rent and had always had a landlord, they were imbued with the idea that it was the rights of property that were sacred and not the rights of man, and they resolved to move up on to the fertile three thousand acres and pay rent. And so they gathered together the old and the helpless and the little children and moved them first, and then they moved all of their belongings, including their supply of food and seed and implements, without any help whatever from the two young men who were busily guarding the result of their enterprise.

Of course, they immediately planted a crop and began cultivating the same, and the two young men married the two most likely young women on the island, and the two young women and their relatives esteemed it a great catch.

After the first crop was harvested, the lords of the island, by promising a little reduction in rent, put the whole laboring population at work building them a palace and they hewed, with their rough tools, the coral rock out of the barren portion of the island and built a very splendid residence for their rulers. After the palace was finished and they had manufactured as best they could, out of the wood obtained from the ship, furniture with which to stock the residence, they began to construct hovels of stone and earth for themselves, and their children, and their aged and their sick.

* * *

And so matters went on for several years and most of the two thousand acres of the land had been brought under cultivation and the population had increased and their labor had made a beautiful park out of one thousand acres which surrounded the residence of their lords, and a heavy wall had been built around the thousand acres so as to protect it from encroachment, and the population had increased both inside the wall and outside.

They desired to resume their journey to Australia and they decided to explore the island upon which they were situated. Upon further exploration, they found a deep and rugged ravine which contained some scrubby vegetation, coming down from a considerable elevation indicating volcanic origin, and in the ravine they discovered gold in great quantities and immediately began to extract it from the soil. It was placer gold and came out in nuggets big and small.

After gold was discovered, the oldest of the two colonists, who had appropriated all of the fertile land upon the island, took the title of Lord Goldfield, and the whole population turned out for a holiday on that grand occasion. They celebrated in their churches and were taught by their spiritual advisers that it was a great providence of God's which had bestowed upon them so kind and beneficent a ruler as the lord of the province; that, in fact, their lord had received his title direct from God; that it was of divine origin and was sent especially

to them by the great Ruler of the universe because of his loving care.

While they were digging the gold, some of the laborers explored the head-waters of the stream upon the banks of which the gold was found, and, among the scant vegetation which was growing between the rocks, they found a very small band of very wild goats. The goats were very thin and their hair was not of the finest quality; but immediately upon the discovery of the goats the lords of the palace had them removed to the one thousand acres which they had walled in as a park around their mansion, and great care was exercised in breeding the goats so as only to reproduce those of the highest quality in order to produce beasts of burden and to produce a sufficiently woolly coat so it could be used for making garments. And they had great success. The inferior goats were sterilized and only those allowed to reproduce who were of the very best quality, and the animals became strong and large and covered with a woolly coat, and were thus suitable for beasts of burden, and to furnish wool for cloth and milk for the children of the rich.

As a result of this achievement, the other young man took a title—the title of Lord Angora, in honor of the discovery of the goats. And again ceremonies were held and a holiday proclaimed and the population instructed in the divine origin of this title.

But, while birth control was exercised with regard to the goats, and great care taken to see that they were properly fed, the common people of the province were taught that it was wicked to interfere with the processes of nature, and as the population had brought with them the usual diseases common to the sexes in Great Britain, there were increasing numbers constantly among the inhabitants of those who were diseased and of those who were mentally defective; in fact, a very large number of dependents had grown up and the slums had appeared, and as they took no care with regard to sanitary affairs, epidemic diseases—the result of the poisoning of the population by their own filth—spread among them and reduced the population

from time to time. And the people were taught that this was a visitation by Providence to punish them for their failure to appreciate the glory and goodness of God; that they should read the Bible every day and observe Sunday and attend Church and, above all, contribute to the support of the Church and God's representative—the preacher, who had ordered a day of fasting and prayer to appease the anger of the Deity. And the preacher chanted—"God is great and God is good; He provideth our daily food; by His hand we are all fed; give us now our daily bread." And the people cried "Hallelujah, Glory to God." But God's wrath was so great that He would not hear, and the epidemic ran its full course. The preacher then told the people that the only way to prevent future epidemics was to be more devout and that God, above all things, loved a cheerful giver.

The rulers of the island, who had already had their serfs build large warehouses, were the owners, of course, of all of the gold, and the large warehouses which they had had constructed were used to store the products of the land, for many of the colonists were improvident—they would sell off what they produced so that they would not have enough to last them until the next crop doubled and trebled in number—and all of the two thousand acres was under cultivation, for they could raise three crops per year; and the ruling classes, knowing that the value of money depended upon its quantity, decided that the nuggets of gold should have a value in proportion to their weight or size and, of course, they decreed that the unit should be pounds, pence and shillings. And they manipulated the money so that, when the crop was harvested, the money was very scarce and, therefore, the prices were very low, and they would buy the products of the land and store them in these warehouses and, when the next crop was fairly in the ground and the improvident members of the community were entirely out of food, they would make the volume of money exceedingly abundant, and charge several times



Editorial



WHAT CONFRONTS US

JOHN ALFRED, organizer for Mine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 220, was arrested at the Taplin mine near Bannock, O. His offense was such as to make plutocracy tremble; namely, he wanted to speak on "I. W. W. vs The American Federation of Labor." The sheriff, without giving him a chance to be heard, arrested him and charged him with "inciting to riot, sabotage, and advocating a political revolution by violent means."

The United Mine Workers' officials and the authorities work together with the coal operators in this district; and Alfred's arrest is undoubtedly traceable to the opposition of this combination. This is a typical instance of such arrests. It justifies the statements made by Roger E. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, before the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Pa., as follows:—

"We are confronted with the unconscious but disgraceful union of the federal secret service, the employing interests, and the hierarchy of the American Federation of Labor in a common effort to kill off radical ideas and movements. There is no other English-speaking country on earth, and few others of any sort, where such alignment exists today."

Nevertheless, some persons contend that the workers should not organize in an industrial way in defiance of "this disgraceful union." And they call themselves "friends of labor." Count them in with the things that confront us, too.

EXTRAORDINARY UNIONISM

EXTRAORDINARY are the ways of the A. F. of L. unions. Here's the mine workers' union, for instance. Its official organ, The United Mine Workers' Journal, in its issue of June 1, 1923, calls on the coal operators to perform "a real service to the American public" by closing down "4,000 unnecessary coal mines that

are now open and operating spasmodically" and thereby "put 200,000 miners out of the industry."

How's that for naivete, operating in the employers' behalf? "Put 200,000 out of the industry!" Depressions put millions out of industry and yet they are very much in it. They are the reserve army of the unemployed that employers use to cut down wages and destroy unionism. That's what the United Mine Workers' journal practically asks, namely, the creation of a reserve army of unemployed that will cut wages and destroy unionism.

But what else could be expected? The A. F. of L. is not a constructive, working class organization, but a protective, capitalist bulwark. This is reflected particularly in the United Mine Workers' official opposition to the 6-hour day, the nationalization of mines, and other measures condemned by the coal operators as detrimental to their interests. Also in the official opposition to every working class element with constructive ideals. No wonder the A. F. of L. wars on them—to their honor, be it said.

ORGANIZING THE EAST

A RECENT contributor to Ind. Solidarity contends that the East lacks gumption in organizing the I. W. W. The argument looks plausible until one reads of the attempts being made in Chicago to develop organization there. And then, as Industrial Pioneer goes to press, there's the mass conference of the metal-machinery workers at Toledo, O. Consider also the work begun at Buffalo by members of the Building Construction Workers and the Marine Transport Workers acting conjointly. In Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois and central Ohio there is also some activity among the general construction workers, as there is among the iron miners of Michigan. Signs of coal miners' activity come from eastern Ohio, too. From this it looks as if the East has enough gumption, but is lacking in numbers. The Wobblies are most numerous west of Chicago.

of the people was killed. But, as the trained men with the guns were on the side of the owner of the property, the people that remained alive stopped the unequal contest, and right and might prevailed—law

and order triumphed—the congestion was relieved—the park was saved—the people agreed to continue to pay rent. Christian civilization pursued its peaceful and solemn course.

THE WAR ON EVOLUTION

THE Survey for June 15, declares, "A visitor from the West gave it as his opinion that large business interests are supporting and encouraging the fundamentalist movement within the churches because it turns its back to, and even denounces at times, movements for social reform."

There appears to be other reasons as well. Big business finds the idea of evolution dangerous, as it likes to have the workers believe there is no such thing. It reasons that, if the workers are convinced that there is no evolution they will come to regard capitalism as unchangable and so oppose its abolition or overthrow. But once they (the workers) believe that institutions are ever-changing growths, they will come to regard capitalism as but a stage in eco-

nomic development and so prepare to end it. It is for this reason that big business favors special and unalterable creation.

This latter idea is also becoming a feature of many other current discussions; discussions not at all theological. Take the treasures found in the tomb of King Tut. The newspapers describe them in a way that is intended to make readers believe "there is nothing new under the sun." The inference conveyed is, "why change capitalism then?" Of course, the evolutionists make such inferences impossible. They show that life is change,—a continuous outgrowth of what has gone before. Hence the encouragement that big capitalism is giving to all fundamentalists so-called, whether in or out of the church, in their war on evolution.



Ten New Leaflets

THE I. W. W. Educational Bureau has produced, during the last month or so, the following leaflets for free distribution:

1. RAILROAD WORKERS—YOU ARE SOLD OUT. A description of Stone's coal mine experiences. The president of a great railroad brotherhood is a capitalist and hires scabs.

2. VERMIN. A smash at the employment "shark" evil.

3. CUT DOWN THE HOURS OF WORK. Facts and figures on the evils of a long workday.

4. CONTRACT WORK. An expose of the clever tricks used by the capitalists to make every man his own slave driver.

5. GO SLOW. Which appeals to the working class to follow the example of the capitalists and give nothing for nothing.

6. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS. This leaflet, issued for 310, points out the necessities for the dirt movers to join the I. W. W.

7. SPINNERS! WEAVERS! An argu-

ment for all textile workers to unite in one big union.

8. WHAT ABOUT THE WOMAN WHO WORKS? Addressed to women, and tries to show them their interests are with the working class.

9. NEGROES, DEFEND YOURSELVES! Why the most exploited section of the American working class should be revolutionary.

10. STEEL WORKERS. A leaflet for 440, which tells the slave of Gary and Grace a few salutary truths.

All these are four-page leaflets, with the exception of the "Railroad Workers," which is two pages. They run about 2,500 word apiece on the average, and are printed in good large type. Just the thing to educate the unorganized with.

In addition to these general leaflets prepared by the Educational Bureau, there are a number of new translations. There are now pamphlets issued in Italian, Greek, Croatian and Spanish, all new matter, off the press within the last thirty days.

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 management of the 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.

“As a Man Thinketh in His Heart, So Is He.”

Slavery is as much of the mind as it is of the body. Ignorance is the greatest enemy of the advancing proletariat. Do you want to acquaint your friend or fellow man with the principles of Industrial Unionism?

For 50 cents we will send

The Industrial Pioneer

For Three Months to Any Address in the United States or Canada.

This extraordinary offer expires on August 1st. We will publish in the July and August issues the names of the five fellow workers who will have sent in each month the greatest number of 50 cent subscriptions.

REMEMBER, SEND IN SOMEBODY ELSE'S NAME, NOT YOUR OWN.

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