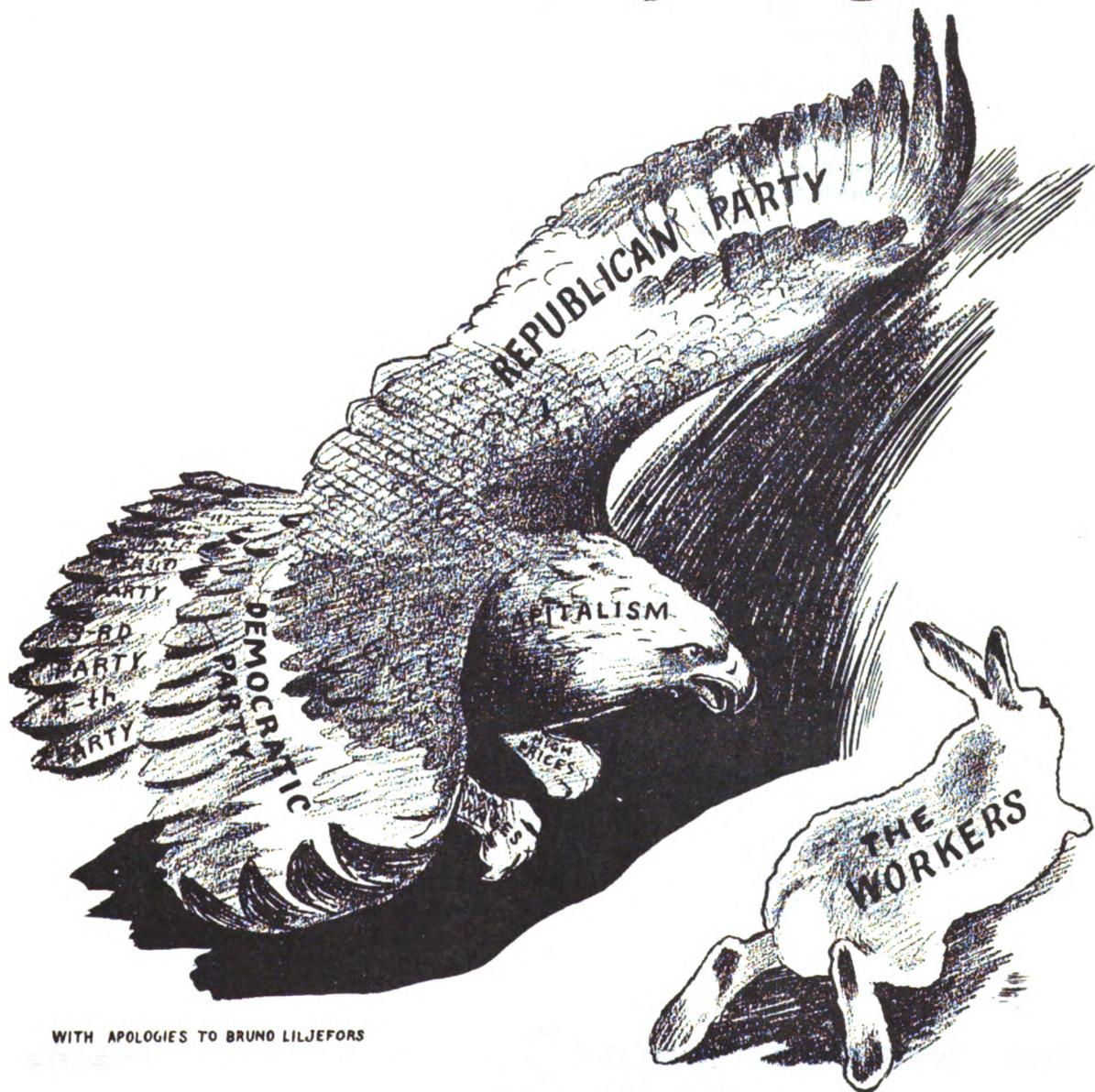


The
One Big Union
 Monthly



WITH APOLOGIES TO BRUNO LILJEFORS

EAGLE AND HARE

==== TWENTY FIVE CENTS ====



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

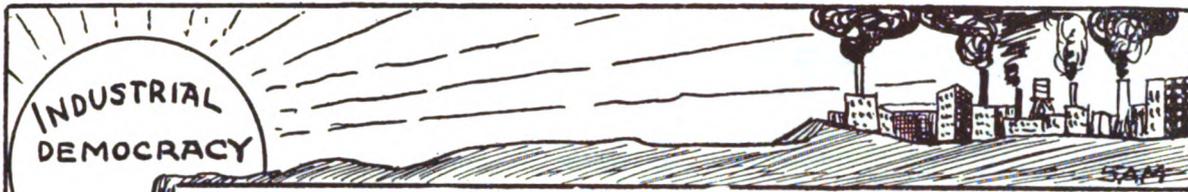
These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one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

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

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

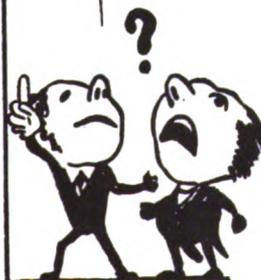
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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ECONOMIC DIRECT ACTION AND THE EARTHQUAKES

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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Trying Out Economic Direct Action in Italy

Elsewhere in this issue there is an article under the title "Red Italy," written by Fellow Worker G. Cannata. Everybody should read it with care. When you have read it you will know *why* the workers of Italy are taking over the industries.

The writer piles up the facts in the case in such a manner that we really understand that capitalism in Italy has about come to an end both industrially and politically.

The events in Italy are not a little disconcerting to the doctrinaire communists who in their imagined superior wisdom have ordained that the workers must *first* put their respective communist parties in power, in order that they might "smash the state," before any taking over of the industries takes place. They are reluctant to approve of any revolution which does not first of all shake the plum tree of political jobs into their lap.

The Italian workers, though having expressed their sympathy with Soviet Russia and the program of the Third International, as outlined largely by the Russians, have chosen their own way of solving the social problem. That their efforts, so far, almost entirely agree with the I. W. W. program is, no doubt, more than blind chance. They, like we, are following the line of least resistance in determining their course, much as water and electricity and other forces of nature do. The Italian workers are choosing for their field of revolutionary activity the sphere where the workers are strongest, that is in the shop, disregarding doctrine which would steer them up against the machine guns that guard the govern-

ment buildings and public places, at least for the present.

This is what the last I. W. W. convention termed *Economic Direct Action*.

There are two messages of world importance which the Italian Industrial Revolution has already at this stage flashed to the workers of the world. They are

(1) That the job organization, the industrial union, is the organ by means of which the people shall take possession of the industries.

(2) That the revolution should be made bloodless, if possible.

These two messages are inspiring and are these very days being indelibly engraved in the minds of hundreds of millions of people who read the news. It can not fail to have a tremendous influence on the world's workers. It will no doubt speed up the work of industrial organization throughout the world as nothing else can do, and the beautiful gospel of bloodless revolution is bound to enthuse even those big masses who have held back from carrying out the program of the political revolutionists.

We greet this first stage of the Italian revolution as the beginning of a new era in revolutionary working class activities, as a new type of revolution. This Italian type, centering in industrial occupation, will probably be the one adopted in all countries of any considerable industrial development. The other type the Russian, whose central fact is the political revolution, is more apt to be resorted to in countries of about the same stage of industrial development as

Russia. The industrial character of the revolution is apt to be the more pronounced, the more complex the industrial structure of a country is.

However, there is no reason why we or any other country should slavishly follow Italy's example, any more than there is reason for us to copy Russia in detail. The solution will differ in different countries.

We wish to call special attention to one sentence in Cannata's article, which seems un particularly timely. To wit: "*In fact it may be said that the sole bone of contention between the Syndicalists and Communist Anarchists on one hand and Maximalist Socialists on the other is the insistence on the part of the former that the Socialist Party, with its heterogeneous leadership, held in unnatural unity through the vision of coming power, shall not extend its hegemony over the workers into the revolutionary period by the organization of politically dominated soviets, as has happened in Russia under a different set of conditions.*"

This indicates that the Italian proletariat, in shaking off the rider that has hitherto driven the spurs in its sides, is going to take care that it does not saddle upon its back a new set of rulers who would like

to get into power over the workers under the cloak of "proletarian dictatorship."

The article indicates that the workers are taking steps to take over the present political functions of society through their economic organization and establish proletarian self-government rather than a dictatorship. Whether these "political" organs will be the "camere del lavoro" or some new organ growing out of the present situation, that remains to be seen.

We are not oversanguine in our hope that the Italian workers will be able to carry out the industrial occupation to a successful finish without the shedding of blood in the process. We dare hardly believe that the Italian capitalist class and the Italian government will be able to control themselves and allow the change to take place without attacking the workers.

But if they do make such an attack, the workers will be able to wash their hands of resulting events, as they have in good faith offered the world to make the change without shedding blood.

All hail to our Italian Fellow Workers in revolution!

Long live "The Fourth Italy," the Italy of Industrial Communism!

Political Schemes in Industry

By An Industrial Engineer

During the last five years the world has been flooded with two classes of propaganda, one advanced by the capitalistic powers in an effort to maintain the present, or rather to reclaim a previous status quo, and on the other side one even more intense advanced by radical parties and labor unions in an effort to do away with the present system altogether. The first specie of propaganda necessitates no comment, as the world is in a state of flux, and that which concerns itself with maintaining what already is, is dealing with a dead carcass. So that which is of primary importance is that propaganda which is for the purpose of burying the carcass of present systems, and substituting a living mechanism.

Who are "the Workers"

There are many programmes of a supposedly radical nature running from the

Plum plan to comunization. These are infinite in their variations, but their variations are mostly as to how the change shall come about. Their appeal is made to a rather indefinite character, namely "the worker." Their appeal is made on the grounds of robbery, corruption, and the unethical practices of the present system. Their appeal is made for a change in control to place the worker as the dominant factor and right these ethical wrongs. The kernel of the more radical schemes is the expropriation of the present owners of industry and property. Therefore all this propaganda busies itself with methods of intriguing the worker as an individual into methods of expropriation and idealistic conceptions of a workers' state.

"Workers of the world unite!" has come to have as great a political slogan value as "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" had dur-

ing the French revolution. It is a fine phrase, but the question is "Unite for what?" The unity so far achieved bears no relationship to work. Not that the slogan should not be used; it has its value in an advertising nation. Wilson's "He kept us out of war" gained for him sufficient adherents to re-elect him, and to enable him to put us into war. Slogans of the past have either been exhortations or expressions of liberality with spiritual ideas, while slogans of more recent date have gained power for their originators by their proclamation of great material generosity. "All power to the Soviets!" and "Land to the peasants!" undoubtedly are the greatest gifts that have ever been made, but like all gifts they carry with them no obligation either in use or abuse. "Labor creates all wealth." That human effort produces all is only too obvious. "To the worker belongs the product of his toil." Once again the expression of an ethical right!

Who is "the worker" to whom all this propaganda is addressed? In industry today, whether in a steel plant or a hospital (for we are going to call all essential work industries, direct or indirect) the divisions of functional service are four in number. These are (1) manual: consisting of unskilled and skilled labor, mechanic and expert mechanic; (2) clerical: consisting of clerks, accountants, auditors, who in the future should be industrial statisticians; (3) supervisory: consisting of foremen, superintendents, and managers, who in the future should be functional supervisors, and not job bosses; and (4) technical: consisting of draughtsmen, inspectors and technicians. This is paralleled in a hospital by elevator operators, ambulance drivers, record clerks, nurses and internes, superintendents, laboratory workers, bacteriologists and consulting experts. In an industrial state the concept of "the worker" must include all of these divisions. Treating the worker apart from his industrial function is appealing to a **political** entity. We all cease to be workers when we are off the job. Today "all those who work for wages" is the definition of "worker"; whereas **industrially it should be "all those essential to production."** The advertising man and salesman work for wages, but they perform no function in the producing or distributing of any material. Any scheme proposed as a solution for the present unrest which does not contain within its plan for the operation of industry specifications for increasing the producing power and eliminating all extraneous occupations is a political scheme and doomed

to but a brief existence. Any scheme which contemplates the maintenance of present foreign trade is nothing short of political imperialism under another name.

To the economist and theorist the abolition of capitalism is the crucial point. Dealing only with financial wealth and its distribution these people seek their remedy only by making distribution equitable. But the very mechanism of material production and distribution has been built by the capitalistic regime, and its waste of materials and energy surpasses the sum total of its production so that no matter who comes into possession of the present industrial system the result will differ little from the operation of today.

Shylock says "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live." Take from the capitalist his means, or in other words his system, and the capitalist will undoubtedly be relieved of his life as such. But those who take over his means, or system, fall heir to the same methods and inefficiencies, and inevitably to much the same life as they had lived before.

NO CHANGE OR REVOLUTION HOWEVER GREAT FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW CAN FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE THE STANDARD OF LIVING UNLESS IT CARRIES WITH IT A CHANGE IN THE BASIC TECHNIQUE.

Shortcomings of the Guild System

The guild system of the workers of Great Britain proposes that industry shall be operated by a number of industrial guilds, each guild to be composed of the trade unions engaged in one industry and to be responsible for its product, the health of its workers, and the maintenance of its material equipment. During operation the workers in a guild are paid a national basic, or minimum wage. Their goods are sold in the open market to individuals or other guilds. Cost and maintenance are subtracted from the proceeds, and the surplus is distributed pro rata among the workers in the guild. Although the guildsmen call the guilds industrial, a perspective of one of them shows that they are rather a heterogeneous collection of several industries and associated trades. For instance they have garment, fur, shoe and artificial flower factories in one guild called the clothing guild. Another guild is comprised of what is known in Great Britain as the engineering trades, including ship building, locomotive building, machine building of all kinds and all repair machinists. The conception of a guildsman is of a guild parliament sitting in England, wherein representatives of all **free governing dom-**

inions of the British Empire are represented, maintaining the present position of Great Britain as the world's industrial middleman. Canada and Australia are treated as subjective industrial entities, to be directed by the industrial policies of the guilds of Great Britain. Of course India and other colonies, not being self governing, would have no representation. The producers would be represented by the industrial guild to which they belong, the consumers by a political state parliament which is the supreme national executive body. It will be seen that while the guilds will appropriate the means of production and distribution from their present owners, they are still imperialistic in that they would attempt to maintain the political organization of the British Empire, thereby retarding the industrial development of other countries, and causing the exploitation of other workers. Within the guild itself, while admitting that employment could be made more regular, and housing and sanitary conditions could be much improved, the basis of production remains a capitalistic one in that they are producing for sale in the open market, subject to price fluctuations. Though the surplus profit returns to the workers the productivity varies so enormously in different industries that in spite of a basic wage, incomes would vary tremendously, creating a new capitalist class. They would use the same monetary system, and the same banking system, the same internal fiscal policy of the state in that taxes would be levied on the guilds by parliament, and the guilds would act as tax collectors to their individual members. They can employ their technicians and managers, etc. on any agreement which the individual guild cares to make. Any process or invention is submitted to the guild and purchased by them if found desirable. Thus the guild is not a complete complement of industrial workers and is not obligated to accept any improvement.

The British textile guild would go on importing raw cotton and manufacturing it into goods and in turn exporting it abroad. The same treatment would be accorded silk and wool. Today Great Britain has 46 per cent of the world's cotton producing spindles, whereas her consuming capacity is less than 18 per cent. She is entirely dependent for the large percentage of her cotton upon United States. Great Britain is some three thousand five hundred miles from our cotton growing region, and the industrial question naturally arises "Are the other industrial countries going to continue to pay tribute to either the British worker

or the British capitalist to manufacture their cotton goods for them?"

The production factors in the fabrication of raw cotton into finished goods are relatively similar in United States and Great Britain. As both the transportation of cotton and its manufacture are dependent upon power, and as Great Britain is dependent upon coal as her source of power, it is evident that, as power from coal costs three and one-half times more in Great Britain than it does here, industrially it costs more to produce cotton cloth in Great Britain than it does here. This is not financial cost, but what the engineer calls production cost. Let us see what the respective coal production costs amount to in the two countries.

Coal as a Factor in Production

In Great Britain there are 1,200,000 coal miners producing only 226 tons per man per year. In United States we have approximately 760,000 coal miners producing 794 tons per man per year. It is self-evident that, barring a period of transition to a new order, Great Britain cannot afford to support 1,200,000 men for mining coal for the purpose of maintaining foreign trade. Neither could any other country pay their upkeep. The coal mines of both Great Britain and this country are demanding attention. In both countries similar schemes have come to light. Neither nationalization, coal guild, nor communization deal with ton hour production per man, nor do they take into consideration the present methods of using coal, which utilizes only one-sixteenth of its value. To technically utilize coal necessitates not only a change in the methods of coal mining, but also affects all transportation and present power plants. It would mean the creation of new industries, and the elimination, wholly or in part, of old ones. This is illustrated very aptly in the United States where 34 per cent of the freight load of our railroads is coal. The elimination of all coal transportation is not only scientifically possible, but technically inevitable. Here arises the prospect of a well to do railroad guild and a prosperous coal guild being confronted with the fact that the rest of industry will not tolerate a lowering of its standard of living by maintaining a railroad guild one hundred per cent overmanned, and a coal guild five hundred per cent overmanned.

Functional Ownership as Bad as Private Property

Today the peasants of France are preventing France from entering a new period of industrial progression. The peasants of

Russia provide for themselves, but do little more than that. These are examples of groups of workers who persist in a method of production which, although they prefer it, is nevertheless the result of that deadliest of industrial diseases, stagnation. The medieval guilds and the pueblo communes all achieved craftsmanship, equitable distribution of food, clothing and shelter, and equitable working participation, and died because they persisted in holding the proprietary rights of function inviolate. From time immemorable when any group has achieved craftsmanship and tolerable living conditions the group has always attempted by enforcing numerous regulations to prohibit any change or improvement in the functional sequence to which they have become accustomed in their trade. They have sought by all means in their power to make functional ownership as great a vested interest as entailed property. They have striven to pass their craft on from father to son, even practicing this today in India and China, where the same method is being taught to apprentices as was taught four hundred years ago. Private property is dangerous because it prohibits complete utilization of material resources. Functional ownership is even more dangerous in as much as it prohibits any improvement either in the use of material resources or human effort.

Political history records that men are voted into positions, but it does not record men ever voting themselves out of positions. Any group of men which forms itself into a body to control the processes of an industry does not vote in a new process whereby they would automatically be voting the major part of the group out of that industry. The coal miners of Great Britain, although they are insisting upon nationalization, and although it is admitted that under the present regime they cannot achieve any fundamental change in the methods of **coal mining** and **coal use**, still are demanding something which, under the present system or a future one, would amount to nothing more than a slightly higher standard of living for themselves as individuals. It is inconceivable that miners organized into a militant body would democratically vote into existence another system of coal mining and coal use whereby nine-tenths of their present organization would have to be given employment in other industries.

The Limitations of Labor's Vision

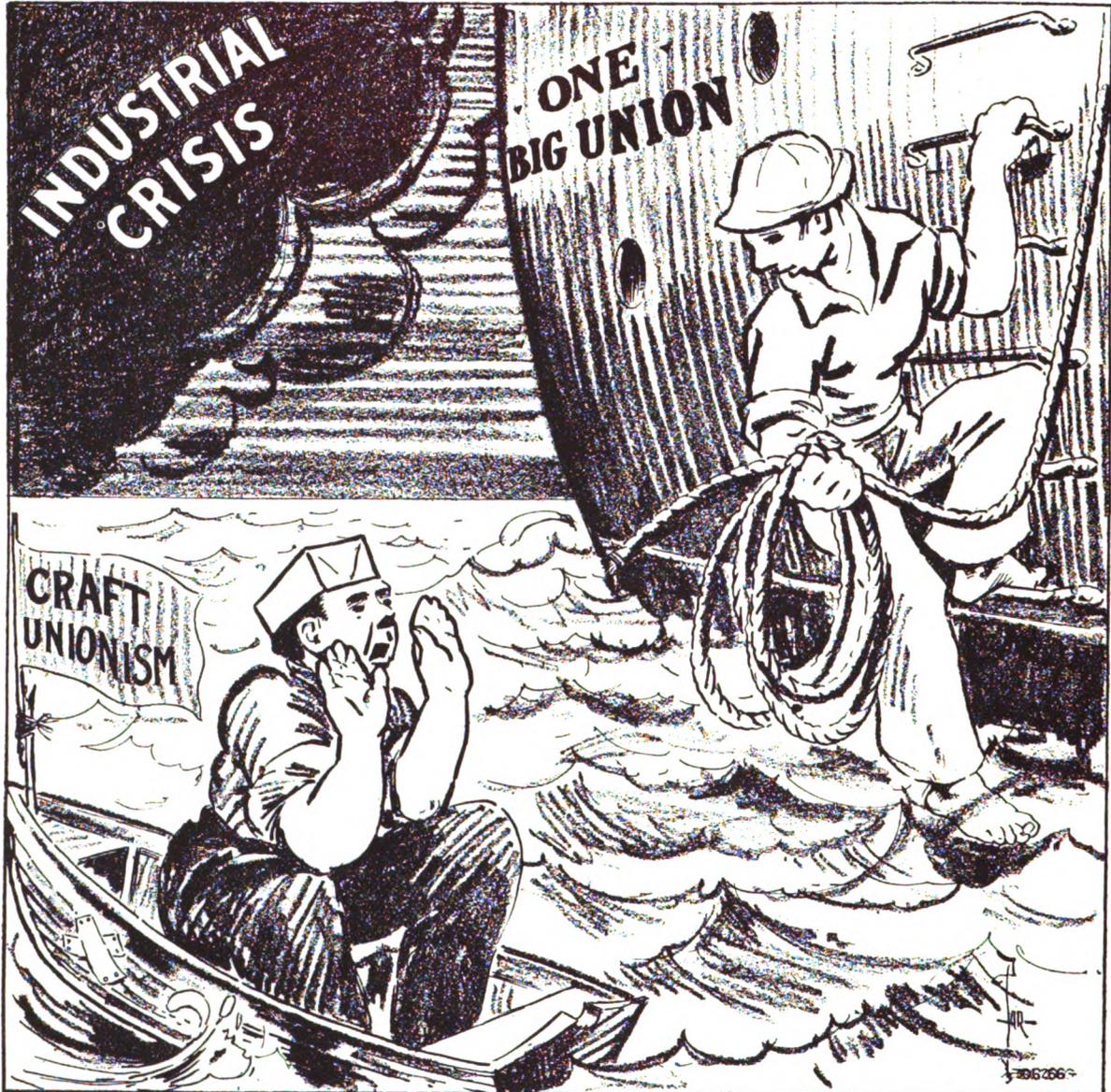
Today the world over all programmes for a new order content themselves with the advocating of a mere shift of control.

All of them preserve the present industrial entities. All of them propose to maintain the present lines of trade. The majority of labor organizations are not capable of operating industry. There are a few that are capable of operating it as well as the capitalist, but that is not sufficient. **There are none that can operate and co-ordinate the present producing mechanism with the needed accompaniment of a change of technique.** A reply is often made to the statement of this condition, to wit, 'The workers will acquire the knowledge and the organization after they come into power.' In Russia, where 92 per cent of the population are peasants, and where there is only a young industrial development, a dislocation of industry, while serious in itself, does not bring starvation to any large percentage of the people. In United States to attempt to acquire an operating knowledge of an industry and an organization after the change would be preparing for a birth while the autopsy was already being carried on. The interdependence of industry with industry is such that the absence of a producing organization capable of directing and operating industry would bring about nothing short of chaos and dissolution. We have no such organization, not even the proper nucleus of one, and yet the propaganda for change goes on. The organizations of the present enlist either those who profess a belief or the worker as an individual. There exists no industrial organization wherein members function in a similar capacity to that in which they work. This is best illustrated by the man who, when asked at a meeting what group he represented, said that he was a socialist, and from whom was finally dragged the information that he was a stevedore, and represented the stevedores as such. A Steinmetz may join any one of a number of labor organizations as an individual, but there is no organization of workers which he could join in his industrial capacity of research technologist of the equipment division of the power industry.

The glass blowers some years ago possessed a very strong union and were very highly paid. They attempted to maintain their union and the old form of glass blowing in the face of a new industrial process. The process won, and the process will always win eventually. Today it throws men out of jobs, but in the future every improved process will raise the standard of living and increase mens' leisure. Today there is not a single industry which cannot be revolutionized by processes already

proven. Technical science has traveled so far ahead of the industrial order that if only that which is already known were ap-

plied its effects would be farther reaching and more fundamental than any political change could dream of accomplishing.



THE WISE GUY

Wobbly: "Better come aboard—it's going to blow."

Wm. Shears: "Nuttin' doin'! You guys are too damn radical!"

International Affiliations

The referendum arranged by the General Executive Board on the question of International Affiliations has aroused great interest. It is the question of politics diving up again in the organization, though in a different form from 1908. We have in this issue six articles dealing directly with this question, namely "As to the Third International" by George Hardy; "Where Are We Going?" by George Andreytchine; "We Oppose Political Affiliation," editorial in "The Industrial Worker"; "Where Do We Belong?" by E. W. Latchem; "Some Present Time Controversies" by D. S. Dietz; and "Solving the Social Problem Through Economic Direct Action" by John Sandgren.

A similar discussion is being carried on in our weekly press. As there are 90 days in all allowed for the referendum the chances are that the question will be quite thoroughly discussed. And it is well that this discussion takes place. Of late we have allowed things to drift pretty much, as far as living up to the I. W. W. program is concerned. A new element, strange to the I. W. W. has been washed into our camp by the tidal wave of the world revolution. This element, only recently belonging to a political party, carries with it its own dogms and doctrines which are coming in conflict with the I. W. W. preamble and the position taken by the organization on the principal questions. A conflict and clash was unavoidable seeing that the new element seems unable to assimilate the I. W. W. program.

Let us have a thorough discussion of the question and then vote on it and settle it for good. As it is now the progress of the organization is pretty well blocked by the controversy, being that the new element seeks by all might to turn our activities into new channels as outlined by the Third International, while the old element desires to steer the same course as before, aiming at an Industrial International such as proposed by the Russian Unions, The Scandinavian and Dutch Syndicalists and the Syn-

dicalists of the Latin countries, as indicated by another article in this issue.

It is either one way or the other. We cannot straddle the fence and have one foot in each camp. That makes growth and progress impossible.

The vote will clarify the situation, dispel all uncertainty and unite all the sincere forces for common action. For this reason every member should immediately pay up his dues and vote on the question at issue. Ask your delegate or secretary for a ballot.

The text of the three propositions will be found on another page.

The first question calls for endorsement of the Third International.

The second question calls for rejection of the program of the Third International and would place us in an eventual Industrial International.

The third question calls for endorsement of the Third International with reservations.

Which shall it be? Study the questions thoroughly and then help decide the fate of the I. W. W. The sooner the membership is united again, the better.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS EVERY MEMBER SHOULD VOTE

As announced in our previous issue, the General Executive Board has submitted the question of international affiliation to a special referendum.

The following three motions are submitted:

Ask your secretary or delegate for a ballot.

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

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

2. Moved by Brown, Seconded by Sullivan, That we do not endorse the Third Interna-

tional officially, and that we notify the Third International that our position makes it impossible to endorse same as it outlined in the Zinovieff appeal to the I. W. W., and that we are in favor of an Economic Industrial International. Motion carried. For: Brown, Lessig, Sullivan, Nordquist. Against: Fisher, McClellan, Mashlykin.

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

The appeal in question will be found in the September issue of this magazine. Everybody should read it before casting his vote in this referendum. Copies of this issue can still be had at 25 cents.

In this connection the General Secretary-Treasurer wishes to make the following announcement:

VOTE FOR ONE ONLY.

In order to have no mistake in counting the ballots and to have a clear understanding of the desire of our members it will be necessary to have every one vote on the endorsement of the Third International, but vote **only one yes and two no**. Discuss and consider well before voting.

P O L I T I C S

We have been gathering data of the slushfunds of the Cox and Harding campaigns, finding that the maximum estimate of the Harding fund is 30 million dollars and that Cox is supposed to draw subsidies from England, being that he stands for the League of Nations. We believe everything that the Cox people say about the Harding people and vice versa. To do anything else would be to call them liars, just as they are calling one another. The party that gets elected would probably resent such an imputation as soon as they got the power.

We have also gathered a nice lot of clippings about the Lowden faction and the Thompson faction in Illinois, intending to use them together with the Cox-Harding material and hammer it all together as a true picture of 100 per cent Americanism. For surely these people all claim to be 100 percenters. Being accused of being a lot of foreigners we thought it might be well to assist in the Americanization program so strenuously urged by these people by giving publicity to what they say of one another. The example set by these high-tone people in high position surely ought to be worth following by us "foreign scrubs in overalls."

But then we came to think of the fact that the I. W. W. program demands that we abstain from endorsing any political party, let alone all of them, so we gave it up. At the same time we came to remember that I. W. W. tradition speaks of "political parties" but says **nothing of independent candidates**, so we allowed "Dust" to deal with the political parties in a cartoon on our front page while we ourselves hastened to endorse the independent presidential candidacy of Quasimodo von Belvedere, whose nomination speech will be found in this issue.

THE I. W. W.

A STATEMENT OF ITS PRINCIPLES, TACTICS AND METHODS.

This is a new, large 4 page leaflet. It is just the thing to give to strangers. It saves you a lot of talking. The two first editions lasted only 2 weeks. The third edition containing the new numbers of the unions, is now ready. Every I. W. W. man should always carry some with him. \$1.50 a hundred. \$12.00 per thousand. Send all orders and remittances to: **George Hardy, Gen. Sec'y-Treas., 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

Woman Suffrage

Editor One Big Union Monthly;
Dear Fellow Workers:

The passage of the 19th Amendment to the constitution giving suffrage to women has closed an epoch in our political history. Perhaps I should not be writing of this particular reform for readers as far advanced as those of the O. B. U. Monthly were it not for the fact that in a recent conversation with a member of your organization he referred slightly to woman suffrage as a minor reform. I will admit that it is of less consequence than it would have been a decade ago; that it comes at an hour when all people who have thought along politico-economic lines at all are coming to realize the vastly greater power of economic organization. However, it is not an achievement that should be dismissed lightly. It had its pioneers—women and men not afraid to launch out into a new and untried and immensely unpopular movement. It has had its workers, unpopular up to the present hour, some of whom will carry over into new fields of endeavor the stigma and hostility gained in their labors for this unpopular measure. That this was not a popular reform is evidenced by the strategy that it took to put it over—perhaps it has taken energy that might better have been spent in other fields, however, it was necessary for the adult citizenship of this land to have full and equal suffrage before they could be convinced that it was but a small part of the whole.

Earnest souls have died with the full conviction that if only the female half of the world had the ballot our difficulties would be quickly solved—a few women have themselves been the victims of this delusion. In the next few months we will be deluged with references to the long, and successful struggle that has just been achieved—even now some belated champions of the suffrage system are preparing their peorations. Let them beware! Methinks that in the rank of intelligent, earnest, women who have sacrificed for this measure are not a few who can see, out of the tail of their eye, the vastly more effective method of the Belgian men in their struggle for the ballot. The contrast between the slow, tedious, expensive, heart-breaking methods of the past three quarters of a century with its toll of human energy and talent and its staggering and never to be computed financial expense and the three short days of the folded arms of the Belgian workmen is too glaring long to remain unnoticed.

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Hoffman was a delegate of the A. W. O. in their drive at that time and was no nearer New Haven than a thousand miles, but nevertheless on the strength of the uncorroborated testimony of this Negro, who is probably trying to escape a jail sentence for boot-legging or some similar offense, Hoffman was bound over to the grand jury under \$2,500.00. McNamara says that he does not believe in case of an indictment that a conviction can be secured in this case.

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tional officially, and that we notify the Third International that our position makes it impossible to endorse same as it outlined in the Zinovieff appeal to the I. W. W., and that we are in favor of an Economic Industrial International. Motion carried. For: Brown, Lessig, Sullivan, Nordquist. Against: Fisher, McClellan, Mashlykin.

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

The appeal in question will be found in the September issue of this magazine. Everybody should read it before casting his vote in this referendum. Copies of this issue can still be had at 25 cents.

In this connection the General Secretary-Treasurer wishes to make the following announcement:

VOTE FOR ONE ONLY.

In order to have no mistake in counting the ballots and to have a clear understanding of the desire of our members it will be necessary to have every one vote on the endorsement of the Third International, but vote **only one yes and two no**. Discuss and consider well before voting.

P O L I T I C S

We have been gathering data of the slushfunds of the Cox and Harding campaigns, finding that the maximum estimate of the Harding fund is 30 million dollars and that Cox is supposed to draw subsidies from England, being that he stands for the League of Nations. We believe everything that the Cox people say about the Harding people and vice versa. To do anything else would be to call them liars, just as they are calling one another. The party that gets elected would probably resent such an imputation as soon as they got the power.

We have also gathered a nice lot of clippings about the Lowden faction and the Thompson faction in Illinois, intending to use them together with the Cox-Harding material and hammer it all together as a true picture of 100 per cent Americanism. For surely these people all claim to be 100 percenters. Being accused of being a lot of foreigners we thought it might be well to assist in the Americanization program so strenuously urged by these people by giving publicity to what they say of one another. The example set by these high-tone people in high position surely ought to be worth following by us "foreign scrubs in overalls."

But then we came to think of the fact that the I. W. W. program demands that we abstain from endorsing any political party, let alone all of them, so we gave it up. At the same time we came to remember that I. W. W. tradition speaks of "political parties" **but says nothing of independent candidates**, so we allowed "Dust" to deal with the political parties in a cartoon on our front page while we ourselves hastened to endorse the independent presidential candidacy of Quasimodo von Belvedere, whose nomination speech will be found in this issue.

THE I. W. W.

A STATEMENT OF ITS PRINCIPLES, TACTICS AND METHODS.

This is a new, large 4 page leaflet. It is just the thing to give to strangers. It saves you a lot of talking. The two first editions lasted only 2 weeks. The third edition containing the new numbers of the unions, is now ready. Every I. W. W. man should always carry some with him. \$1.50 a hundred. \$12.00 per thousand. Send all orders and remittances to: **George Hardy, Gen. Sec'y-Treas., 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

Woman Suffrage

Editor One Big Union Monthly;
Dear Fellow Workers:

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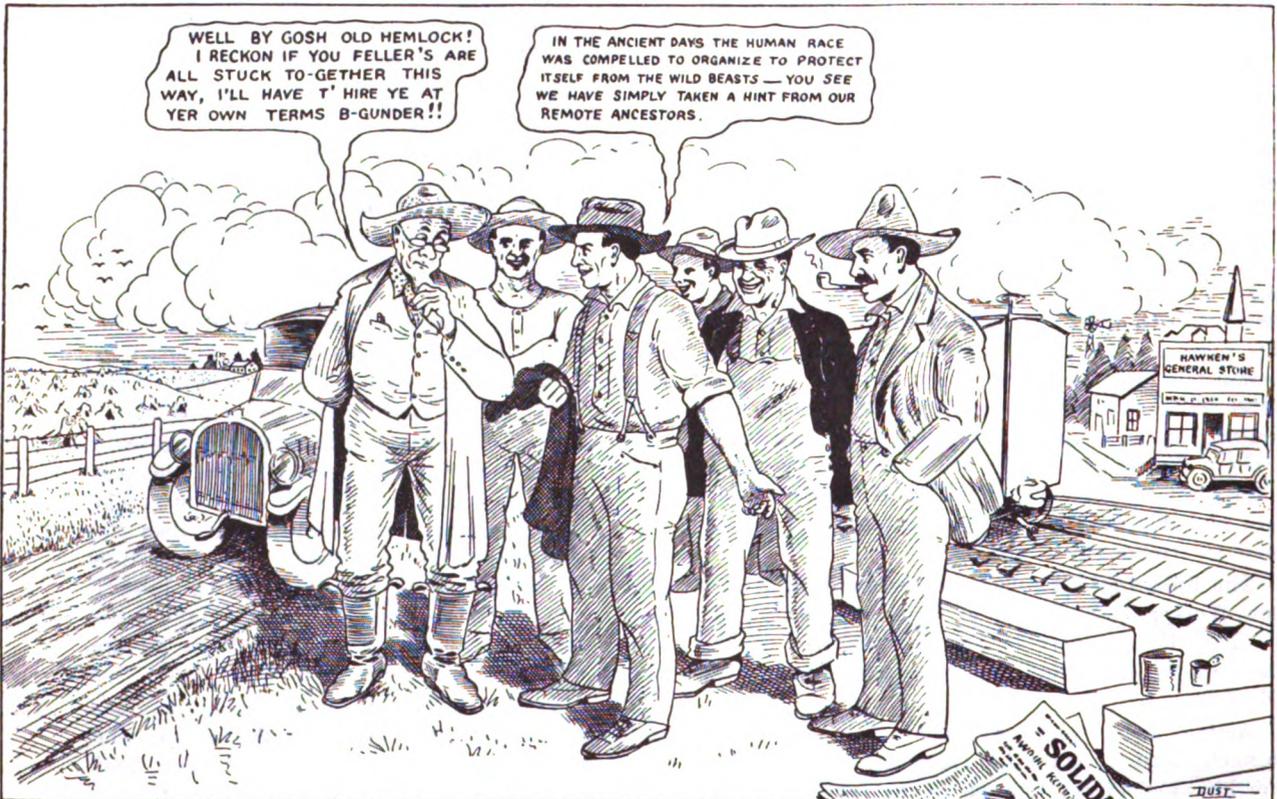
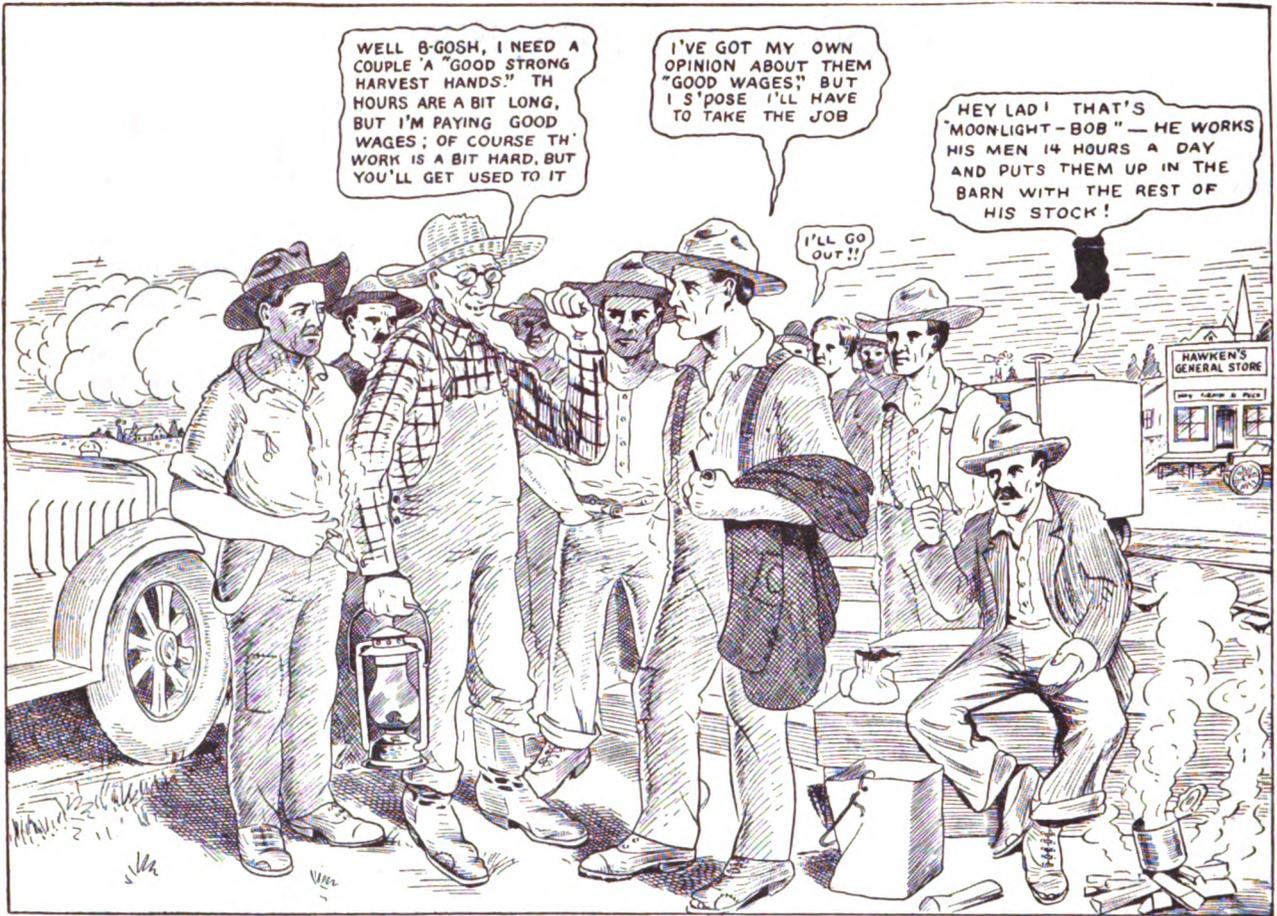
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With "400" Through The Harvest Fields

BY JACK GAVEEL

The battle with the capitalist class is primarily a struggle with the ignorance of the workers. The workers themselves by their apathy and indifference give their exploiters the power to rob and crush them. If it was not for this ignorance among the workers the capitalist class would have to surrender this very minute.

To possess an I. W. W. card is not sufficient. We can look back over the pages of History and in studying the great accomplishments of the Human Race we find that every step made in the direction of a greater Freedom from the Tyranny of Nature and man was only possible because it was the fruit of struggle, the struggle between the new and the old.

The good things of life do not drop out of the clouds as the result of a wish or a prayer but come to us only as the inevitable gain of determined and intelligent effort.

Do not let us forget that the I. W. W. is not an organization based on mutual admiration or admiration of its principles. Nor is it an organization, membership in which will ensure to the member, as if by some sort of magic, better conditions of life. These things have to be fought for and taken by power. The I. W. W. is an organization which finds its explanation in the Class Struggle. With capitalist blood suckers and pirates in palaces and exploited, crushed and bleeding working class victims in the slums there can be no peace. A struggle, at first blind and unconscious of the bigger issues involved, gradually develops into the conscious and determined class struggle of the Revolutionary Proletariat to rid the working class and the world at large of the pest and curse of Capitalism. The only way that this can and will be done is by the workers taking possession of the means of production and distribution. When the workshops of the world shall have been taken away from the greedy clutch of the ravenous and blood-thirsty vultures who have stolen them, production for profit will cease and production for use will take its place.

It is therefore a fight to the bloody finish and under the present social arrangement the revolutionary members of the working class have no time for anything else. Furthermore, this fight of the workers to eliminate the capitalists as a class and also for the more immediate issues, such as shorter hours and higher wages, I say this struggle must be waged by the workers themselves as they alone stand to gain, and gain immensely, by a successful issue.

Fellow workers: Do not be simply "Card Men". So are the members of the A. F. of L. And where do you find them? Down in the mud grovelling and snivelling at their masters' feet, glad of every chance to lick their boots. And do you know what made your organization, the I. W. W., what it is today? What is there in the O. B. U. that it should

strike terror in the hearts of the American Capitalists? What disquieting fascination does it hold over the exploiters of the working class that they should curse it and cowardly misrepresent it? Has it not been the alertness and awakensness of its fighting members, their determination to fight like tigers instead of laying down like lambs, yes to fight under all circumstances.

Your mind is on a "stake". In spite of all your revolutionary utterings in the Union Hall, the minute you set foot on your master's sacred job your vision of the One Big Fighting Union of all the workers goes up in smoke. Do you not know that the source of all Revolutions is to be found in Human Industry and not in a hall?

And you talk after this to the unorganized and to the new members in the organization and tell them that the possession of a card alone will not change conditions or give Liberty from Slavery but that these can only come as the clearly bought laurels of a battle in which each member in the organization exerts himself to the utmost, giving to the great Cause of Industrial Democracy the best that is in him.

Have you forgotten the picture of the Worker behind the bars. What has become of your promises to him? What of your significant statement; "We are out here for you." Is this worker, looking at you thru iron bars out of fever eyes, sunken back in an emaciated face, so soon to be forgotten and left to his terrible doom and all for the sake of a STAKE.

And what is a stake that it should make you a despicable contemptible wage slave yet once more, that it should cause you to forsake and trample in the dust your sacred principles as if they had been so much cheap thrash and rubbish cut out of some capitalist newspaper. Has not each winter always found you again homeless, penniless and shivering with the thin blood that comes from starvation?

Do you know that if you are ever to become free, if ever the cold, bony claws of dark and gaunt death are to be torn from your children's throats, SOMEBODY has got to make a beginning. And on whom does this duty rest more than on YOU the members of the I. W. W.?

Life is a gamble. Nothing, especially great issues, is ever accomplished without taking a chance. The man who, knowing this, still stands off to one side is a cur.

Do not be a Card Man. Be a fighter.

The plain is exhaling fire. Not a breeze stirs. Tired and sore muscles are forced into submission. Men and horses are stupified by the terrible heat. They stumble and move on in a trance. Strong lungs gasp, bold hearts falter. Not even a drink of cool water to wash the fire out of burning tissues.

Who are these men? What do they think? Are they thinking of lands and homes in far climes long

since forgotten? Are they thinking of next winter when the frozen breath of the North will tear their rags to shreds and chill their hearts? Do they know that the creators of all wealth are slaves, that the growers of bread starve? Are their thoughts with the Organization they belong to? Do they dwell on a plan of campaign in the fight for the workers' control of the wheat fields?

Or haven't they got any thoughts. Can it be that the crushing weight of slavery and degradation has made brutes out of them? Have they ceased to think? Are they nothing but automatons moving at the crack of the whip?

Gone are the sacred oaths, the solemn promises, the lofty aspirations and the inspiring ideals. They have only one thought. It consumes their brain and in its feverish heat all former resolutions, nay, even the vision of the One Big Union of all the workers are dissolved in a vague and formless mist. Yes they are out to make a STAKE.

This realization comes like the thrust of a knife held in the hand of a traitor. It is maddening, stunning, exasperating. How battle the already unbearable heat any longer? Where find new strength to conquer the gnawing pain of dry joints, aching bones and cramping muscles? Come, welcome stupor induced by the heat, come and sink your poison fangs into me. Saturate my tortured mind with your opium, which I know brings about deep sleep. Enfold me and make me forget.

So it is not a battle with the capitalists but with ignorant, indifferent and slavish workers. No hold on it is a battle with both. This idea is the only one which emerges out of the seething mass of crazy mentality which pounds and throbs in the brain. What must be done? There is no answer, no solution. An inspiring and hopeful class war against capitalist exploiters and despoilers has become a dull, hopeless and exasperating revolt against the ignorance and the slavishness of the workers. The bottom has been knocked out of the firmest convictions. The most ardent expectations have been shattered. It is a nightmare. The battle is over. All past efforts to no avail. Slavery has conquered. Black night and despair sit on the throne.

And yet, born from black despair and misery, the incarnation of the slavery and degradation of millions of workers, there arises on the highest hill-tops towards the East and Russia a vision. It is REVOLUTION, swathed in the fires of the rising Sun. With the Sun it rises out of black night and despair and as it mounts ever higher and higher its flood of flashing light sets the world on fire. Listen, already millions of feet can be heard tramping. The fires in the workshops of the world have become cold. The earth is shaking with the roar of workers' voices, giving utterance to long pent up emotions. And ever the conflagration spreads, fed on the rotteness and corruption of a cankerous and decaying civilization. Oceans and mountain chains no longer form any barriers. The whole world is in birth. The workers are taking possession of the earth. Armies and navies are marshalled on both

sides and the planet shakes with the thunder of their feet. Work has ceased. Food supplies are being confiscated. The revolution is on. Passions are unleashed and given free play. Blood is shed. Heroes become immortal. Death stalks abroad. But what about that? Revolution has entered and claimed the world. It leads the march to Freedom. Its blazing torch is an inspiration to the oppressed of the earth. In the red conflagration lies the settlement of all old debts, because in one fell swoop it levels off all inequalities, injustices and wrongs.

Anybody who has been out in the fields with the boys of "400" this summer knows that the sentiment for the O. B. U. is sweeping the country. Never did workers join the I. W. W. so readily. Just mentioning the O. B. U. seemed to act contagiously on the mind of workers who so far had kept aloof. A. W. I. U. 400 delegates were to be found in all the small towns pretty near thru the Dakotas. And what struck one in particular was the big number of these delegates. One to every three members I should say. (That there are stirring times ahead and days of power to the I. W. W. so soon as each one of its members appoints himself a delegate, of this there can be no doubt.) A skirmish line had been thrown out, running thru all the leading gateways into the harvest country, a veritable ring of steel. Delegations of I. W. W. delegates met all incoming trains at the depot to interview new arrivals. Generally the speaker who first addressed the scissorbill succeeded in transferring a red card to his pocket. If however, the first attempt was unsuccessful reserve forces would rush to the attack and the game would go on in this fashion till even Mr. Block's solid ivory ball could not stand the onslaught any longer and split under the terrific blows delivered by the sledgehammer of education. True a few scissors managed to break thru the iron ring and found their way to the hotels. However, here they never stopped very long, because after a few very vital questions put to the hotel proprietor and some stray hay seeds the answer would invariably come: "Yep, this burg is solid I. W. W." After that these hopeless characters could be seen making a bee line back to the depot, to catch the first train out. They no doubt would have liked to make the nearest water tank to catch a freight which would have saved them fare. But even this bliss was denied them as they knew that, before boarding a side door Pullman, the I. W. W. conductor would challenge them for a red ticket. Even the enjoyment of a nice shady and well provisioned jungle was denied these hapless creatures.

I remember a brakie coming up to the three of us, all wobblers, at Glenwood, Minn., when we were waiting to make a rambler down the line to Fairmount, N. D. This shag was one of the crew on the train we were going to make. His first question when he got within speaking distance of us was: "If we were going to make her"? Upon an affirmative answer he challenged us for a red card. After we produced the goods, came the reply: "Pile on".

The same shag later on came up to our car further down the line and notified us that there was a "Scissor" on the train, inquiring at the same time if there was an organizer "in the Bunch". Taking his good advise to heart we went down, located Mr. Block in his place of concealment and enrolled another member in the ranks of the I. W. W.

Incidents such as the above, showing the growing sympathy of the railway workers with the principles of the O. B. U., were a daily occurrence this summer. What will happen when 520 (600) and 110 (400) are lined up 100% solid in the One Big Union is not hard to foresee. I can see before my mind's eye the fields deserted, the fires cold, the separators asleep, the horses standing idly in their stables and the wheat rotting in the fields. And beyond in the background the rails covered with rust, the ties rotting, the stillness of the fields unmarred by the hoarse bellow of the whistle. Boxcars are deserted on sidings. No smoke trail is to be seen anywhere across the horizon, and the scabs that would vain come to take the places of the striking Agricultural workers have to stay back in their slums and rat holes because thru the Solidarity of the railroad workers neither passenger nor freight trains are operating.

Very instructive to listen to were some of the conversations carried on between the boys of 400 and the farmers. A freight train would stop in the yards of a small town. A farmer, instinctively sensing you might say the presence of a bunch of pesky go-about in some box car, would come along sniffing the air with apprehension of at last securing the so long desired and prayed for valuable labor power. Finally he would locate the peskies. After the usual exchange of the customary greetings would come the question: "You boys looking for work." Next would come an inquiry on the part of the boys regarding conditions such as hours, wages, docking, etc. There was also the question of "If all going to and from the job should be done on the boss's time or on the workers' time" I may mention here that this question was broached in the jungles at Leeds, N. D., during a business meeting of the 400 members present there and it was unanimously voted upon to work ten hours from collar to collar, this meaning that in a workday of ten hours all going to and from the job shall be done on the Farmer's time.

But to come back to the subject. After an inquiry about conditions if it was found that the farmer did not want to obey the law of 400 in regard to hours and wages no amount of talk or persuasion by John could induce the 400 boys to stay in that part of the country. The train would pull out and leave the desperate farmer standing on the siding by the elevator. And not only one trainload of harvest stiffs would behave in this maddening manner. Load after load would pull out if the conditions offered were not up to the grade required. And every load that pulled by, without evincing the least inclination to go to work, would leave the desperate farmer still more desperate.

If anything will break the proverbial obstinacy of the rustic and set him thinking it is methods such as the above. This is an education which will soften the hardest skull. True, long before we had the A. W. I. U. 400 there were efforts on the part of harvest workers to better their conditions by refusing to sell their labor power below a certain wage. However, these early efforts were only sporadic and the work of individuals rather than the activity of an organization. Today it is different. The farmers are faced with an Organization of harvest workers that means business. This is the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400 (now No. 110) of the I. W. W., which rallies to its banner all workers working in the wheat fields of North America. Engineers, separator men, firemen, water wagon haulers, grain haulers, grainary men, spike pitchers, bundle pitchers, bundle teamsters, all come under its head. If one member of that organization, which this summer includes the bulk of the men working in the harvest fields, makes a demand for eighty cents an hour and ten hours a day the whole Organization makes it. What the outcome is going to be is not difficult to foresee. We might just as well lay our prejudices aside right now and acknowledge facts. This is what the ex-capitalists of Russia had to do and this will also have to be done by the Capitalists of the U. S. Yes before long the workers who are enriching the farmer by their creative toil and enabling him to send his offspring to college will be a factor to reckon with. These men are no longer to be considered as dogs fit only to sleep with the pigs. They are going to demand the right to live like men, and also a bigger share of the wealth they produce and finally all of it, i. e. the harvest fields of America with their productive Machinery.

You laugh. So did at one time the Czar of all the Russians. So did all the other tyrants who crushed the people in the dust till that same people rose up and wiped clean the slate with the blood of said tyrants. Russia today. America tomorrow.

At one small town where we stopped to switch cars an old farmer came up to interview the "millionaires of the road." When asked by the wobblers why, if he wanted men, he did not pay the wages asked for, he started to complain of the H. C. of L. Thereupon a keen wobbly told him that if on account of the H. C. of L. he could not pay the wages demanded it seemed funny that he had not the least objection to writing out a cheque for a few hundred dollars to a lightning rod or weather cock agent. Shocking especially was much discussed, it being pointed out that the farmer sits on the binder doing nothing while the hired men do the shocking. As this plainly shows that shocking is extremely unpleasant and hard work and as furthermore the workers have enabled the farmer to sit on his binder and take it easy, if the farmer wants any shocking done he had better come thru with the same wages that he pays for threshing.

And so it went on. There was talk about the commercial clubs and the bankers, the Non-Partisan

League and the I. W. W. Especially was it shown that if the farmers had a right and found it a good thing to organize, so had the workers. Weren't the bankers organized to set the wage scale in the harvest fields? If not, how was it then that all farmers seemed to have entered into a conspiracy this summer to pay only sixty or seventy cents an hour, and this in spite of the fact that their grain was rotting in the fields for lack of help? There was surely no sense in this from the farmers' point of view. So it could not be the farmers who were behind this. The only explanation left was the bankers. Yes that was it. The farmers owed the bankers much money. If the farmers paid their hired help too much it would mean so much in the pockets of the workers and so much out of the coffers of the bankers. So the farmers must not pay their hands too much. To this the bankers saw by threatening to foreclose on those who owed them and by refusing the use of their money to others.

And how could such a One Big Union of capitalist Exploiters and leeches be met otherwise than by the One Big Union of the workers. Certainly this One Big Union of the Workers could swing the bankers into line by causing the wheat to rot in the fields. And sooner than see this happen the bankers would come over to the terms of the I. W. W.

Yes much education has been handed out, great enthusiasm shown, many new members lined up and the Organization perfected. And still "400" is not perfect by any means yet. We who claim to be an organization for the purpose of eventually controlling the Agricultural Industry of North America, must start our constructive work at home, i. e. right on the job. We cannot expect the workingclass to ever develop the power and the intelligence to run the Industries of the world without first paying attention to such elementary principles as shorter hours and higher wages. The workers' political power, that is, their power to make their voice heard in the affairs of society and the world, can only then be developed when they belong to an organization which knows how to shorten hours and increase wages. As hours are shortened, wages increased and better food, better clothes and better dwellings are to be had, while also a greater opportunity for education is afforded. As a result the workers will begin to make themselves felt as an economic power. At the same time they will develop a sense of power, which will slowly permeate society.

So, first of all, it is a question of organizing to shorten hours and raise wages. But even this requires different tactics from the ones which the A. W. I. U. has been following so far. Space is becoming limited and I will therefore only point out as briefly as I can some of the most salient points.

At present too much of the energy spent by "400" in the harvest fields depends on blind chance for success. There is first of all the question of the labor market. The harvest starts and workers flock blindly without any plan all over the country. The result is that in some parts there are no workers

to do the work at all while in other parts the country is flooded. When the Government can get out maps showing the location of good crops and bad crops of a big acreage and a small one, cannot we do the same thing. We have got to have some plan so that we will know where to send not only our own men but also the unorganized. Otherwise where they have a bumper crop and a big acreage there will be no men at all while a country that has been burned or hailed out is liable to be flooded. Anybody can see that with a panic on as the result of a swamped labor market there is not the least chance to make job conditions or line up men in the I. W. W. Therefore the I. W. W. ought to have information bureaus posted on the condition of the crops all over the country, which will guide the actions of the workers going out in the wheat fields.

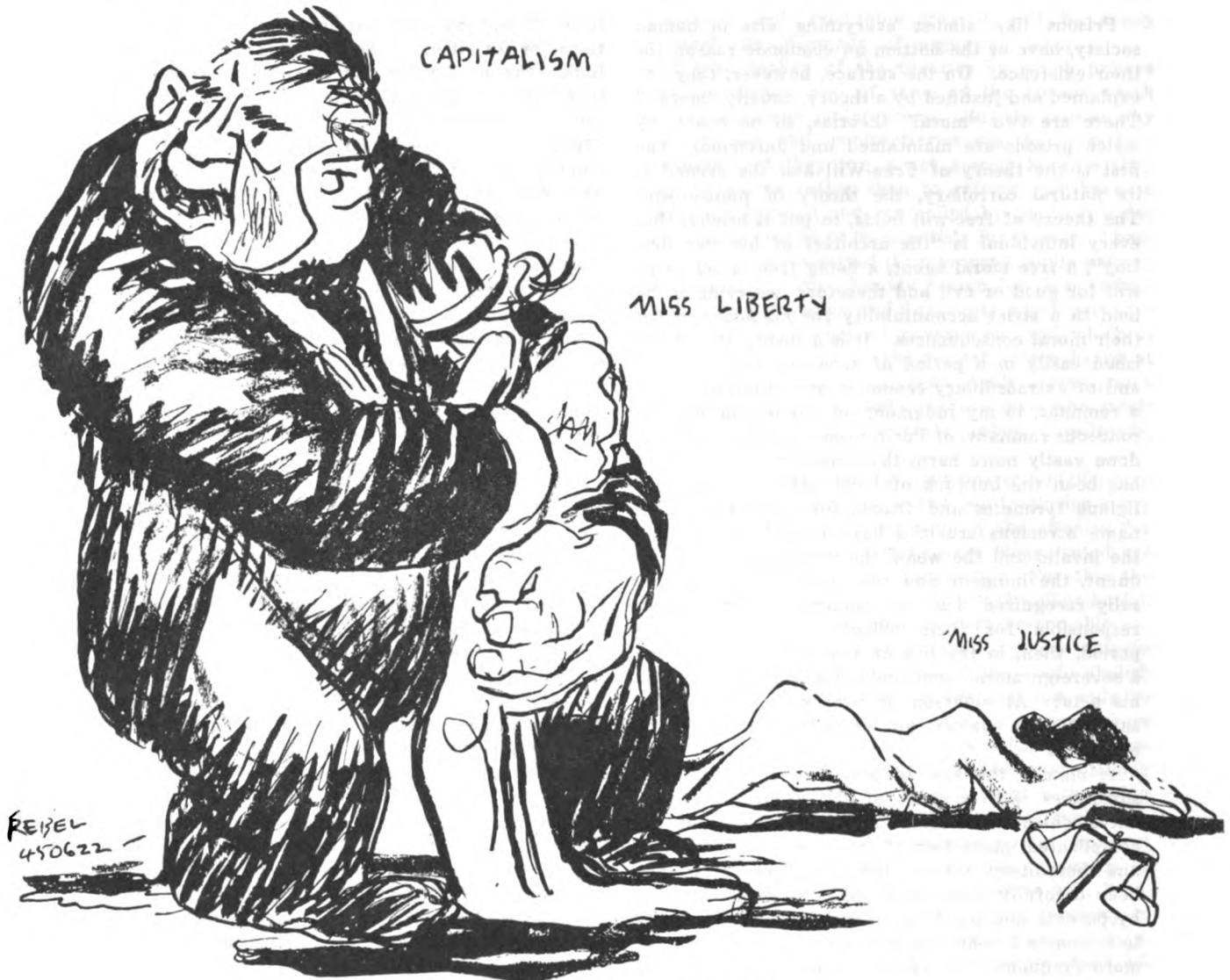
There is the question of the delegates, too. Some localities have a surplus, others have none at all. What is the matter with, if in any locality delegates are needed, sending word to the above mentioned Information Bureaus. These can then see to it that the demand is supplied. Each locality after the required amount of delegates has been furnished can then report back to the bureau so that at all times we know just where we stand on this question.

Another thing we should have, is some educational system. Let "400" start classes to instruct its delegates in the I. W. W. theory so that they in turn will know how to explain the principles of the I. W. W. to the men to be lined up and especially to the new members. Lack of grasp of the I. W. W. philosophy is often the cause of new members dropping out.

Another way of education is to send the soapboxer thru the fields while the harvest is on. Although speaking alone will not build up the O. B. U., yet, in conjunction with a determined and great drive, it is an ally not to be ignored.

Finally, there is the question of the job committee. We can and must have it in the fields, the same as revolutionary workers are going to have it in the shops. When a number of I. W. W.'s go to work on a job threshing, that job should be organized right away. Let a committee of two or three be elected. Its first duty should be to examine the cards of all men on the job. Another of its duties will consist in seeing to it that all unorganized workers are lined up. The first day on the job the engine might shut down for a couple of hours. Of course the workers will pull in at six o'clock anyway. Ten hours to them means ten hours from barn to barn, no matter how many hours they actually work. Anyway, the committee should interview the farmer the same night after coming home, to find out if any docking has been done.

Some of these questions should be discussed at the next convention. Let us quit fighting over technicalities in our laws and by-laws. Let us initiate a move to perfect the Organization so that it will get the goods. And above all, we do not be card men, but be fighters.



THE FATAL EMBRACE

Principles and Prisons

Prepared Address by Brent Dow Allinson

It is a serious matter to speak before a meeting of Industrial Workers of the World on any subject at any time, but to be scheduled to speak on "Principles and Prisons" without any warning being given or any agreement made when one has only just graduated from the penitentiary—literally thrown out upon an arid and heartless world—with the prison simplicity still obviously clinging to him, is reason enough for anxiety if not for actual panic of soul. What, under Heaven, is to be said on the subject of principles and prisons when the very terms themselves are mutually exclusive and antithetical? Surely nobody with any principles would ever get to prison and nobody in prison can possibly have any principle!

I had no sooner said this to myself, however,

than I realized that I was wrong—pitifully wrong. Like President Wilson I was ignoring facts, in the fever of my (suppressed) desire to escape the clutches of "Big Bill"! The world has been turned upside down and inside out—or rather outside in—the last couple of years and the interesting result has followed that a considerable proportion of the men of principle are on the inside, especially in America. There are some people who think that this is the most successful and convenient way to Americanize our heterogeneous population. I have been on the inside for a considerable period of time, however, and I do not agree with them. In fact I think they should go there first—especially Judges and Liberals—before they talk about Americanizing anybody.

Prisons, like almost everything else in human society, have at the bottom an economic reason for their existence. On the surface, however, they are explained and justified by a theory, usually "moral." There are two "moral" theories, to be exact, by which prisons are maintained and defended. The first is the theory of Free-Will and the second is its natural corollary, the theory of punishment. The theory of free-will holds, to put it briefly, that every individual is "the architect of his own destiny", a free moral agent, a being free to act as he will for good or evil and therefore deserving to be held to a strict accountability for his acts and for their moral consequences. It is a theory that flourished easily in a period of economic individualism and of extraordinary economic opportunities. It is a remnant, in my judgment an unscientific and erroneous remnant, of Puritanism—a theory that has done vastly more harm than good in the world. It has been the bulwark of legal barbarities and religious tyrannies and frauds for centuries; in its name atrocious cruelties have been inflicted upon the invalid and the weak, the young and the delinquent, the indigent and the insane. It is universally recognized that very young children are not responsible for their behaviour. At just what period, then, in the life of a man does he become a sovereign moral agent individually responsible for his acts? At eighteen or twenty-one? Who can say? It is a matter, not of years, but purely of education.

A man is the sum of his experiences touched, sometimes, with a spark of aspiration—of experiences which themselves are the products of the complicated interaction of environmental influences and hereditary traits. His education may have been carefully supervised and consciously directed by parents and teachers, in which case he is likely to become a law-abiding and useful citizen—but far more frequently his education is a matter of accident rather than design, or it is neglected altogether. How, in such an event, can an individual be blamed for "going wrong"? Yet he is in fact not only blamed for it by citizens and judges but he is sent to prison with others of his kind to "pay a debt to society." The debt, in fact, is more probably upon the other side.

An astonishingly small percentage of human conduct is deliberative or rational or in any true sense dictated by ideas—so small, indeed, that a man who attempts to act upon principle or rational theory, in war time particularly, is almost sure to be regarded as a fit subject for an asylum or a penitentiary. And of that small percentage of conduct in which reason appears to operate to select a given course among a number of possible alternatives, the choice which is made is determined in advance by the temperament and education, i. e. the instincts and accumulated personal experiences of the individual agent. In a word, when men choose deliberately they do so under what might be called a compulsion of inevitable choice, and when they do not choose rationally or deliberately they are the crea-

tures of undisciplined instincts and untrained emotions, or of their instinctive and emotional prejudices, to be studied and commiserated with and taught rather than condemned. This, I believe, was the true meaning of Jesus Christ when he said: "Judge not, that ye be not judged!" He was condemning the moralistic attitude and the Theory of Free-Will. Certainly the obsession that men are willful saints or sinners—free moral agents acting in some kind of a social vacuum for good or evil, as they will,—is an uncritical, unscientific, Puritanical barbarism verging on a monstrosity!

The second theory by which prisons and penitentiaries and our whole machinery of injustice is maintained is the theory of punishment. But it we deliver into the hands of professional torturers men and women who are convicted, often by handpicked juries, not necessarily of crime in the moral sense, but of some violation of law, regardless of whether the act for which they have been convicted be evil or not, and equally regardless of whether the individual be responsible or not and of whether the punishment will do him any good or not. It is simply a case of revenge—that is the only way it can be explained—revenge taken by the agents of society upon the offending individual. Now punishment may, on rare occasions, be useful in the correction of a naughty child, provided always that the child understands why it is being punished. But does anyone who knows aught of life really believe for a moment today that the infliction of pain by one adult human being upon another awakens in the latter anything but hatred and rebellion, achieves anything but malignance and contumacy and spiritual debasement all around? If there be anyone who does, I invite him to go to prison and see for himself. He will find, as I have found, that the theory of punishment is a rank and stupid fallacy that fails miserably to do what it is intended to do. Jails and prisons and penitentiaries do not reform. They do not make useful citizens out of bad ones; they breed crime. They corrupt and embitter and degrade, both officers and inmates; they intensify the selfishness and ignorance which they are designed, or believed to be designed, to reform. They are, I am convinced, worse than useless as they exist today. In the words of Lester F. Ward, one of the greatest thinkers America ever produced—"Just as men imagine that they would commit crime but for certain Governmental restraints, so they think they would do wrong but for religious restraints when in fact they would do just the same as now, if neither existed."

The men who direct and supervise the establishments in which we confine our offenders are with few exceptions, totally unfit for the responsibility. They are generally without scientific training of any kind and are without interest in the men over which they have virtually power of life and death, save an economic interest in their exploitation or something worse—a sadistic interest in their torture. They are often much inferior intellectually and morally to their slaves. Generally speaking,

prisoners in our penitentiaries have nothing but contempt for their masters and wardens; how could it be otherwise? The penitentiary at Leavenworth is a palace of corruption and human degeneracy which costs the tax-payers of the United States something more than a million dollars every year to maintain. It is an institution so designed and so administered that, I firmly believe, a course in it would make a sneak-thief of St. Peter and a confidence-man or worse of the Angel Gabriel!

There is no attempt at study or scientific classification of the prisoners there, no psychiatric or correctional medical work of any kind. A prisoner who seeks to maintain his dignity by refusing to become a "stool-pigeon" (this is called "refusal to co-operate with the authorities") may virtually abandon hope of winning a parole because the granting of parole is in the hands of the local officials—the Warden, the Doctor, and often the Chief Clerk, composing the Parole Board, together with one official from the Department of Justice in Washington. Recently a rule has been introduced to the effect that a prisoner may not even appear before the parole board if he has been reported for any infraction of rule within six months prior to the meeting of the board. Inasmuch as a guard can report—and can be instructed to report—a prisoner at any time, for the most trivial offense such, for instance, as standing out of place in line, any prisoner can be disbarred from parole indefinitely, if the local officials desire it. This neat arrangement, together with the small number of men who have been paroled in the last few years and the known corruption in the enforcement of the Parole Law, is the reason why a bill has been introduced in Congress providing for the automatic parole of first offenders at the expiration of one-third of their sentences.

The treatment of the political prisoners whom the war has sent to the penitentiary is the same as that of the ordinary "criminal" save that, on the whole, he gets distinctly the worst of it. Vilified by the controlled newspapers and being in a tiny minority, without the gang protection and means of communication with the outside world that habitués of the underworld possess, he is exposed to the unscrupulous intrigues of stool-pigeons and provocateurs and victimized by his own naivete and ignorance of the ways of the underworld and of prisons which, in their psychology and atmosphere, at least, are a part of it. The political prisoner is regarded as either a freak fit for an asylum or some sort of a camouflaged crook—"criminals at heart and nuts" the Deputy Warden at Leavenworth calls them—who doesn't "fit in." Most of them, to their credit be it said, do not try to "fit in", in the sense of playing the degraded prison game. It is a deep scandal and disgrace that prisoners of this type should be sent to the penitentiaries by a nation which regards itself as enlightened and liberal. I feel convinced that if political prisoners as a class are to be recognized in America and dealt with in a

dignified and creditable way it will be solely through the demands of organized labor.

I have spoken of the theories by which prisons are maintained and of some of the abuses which accompany their maintenance. But the reason why our prisons and penitentiaries are the miserable failures that they are is not merely because they aim to punish rather than to reform, nor because they are directed and controlled by politicians for politicians instead of by scientists for society. These evils might be corrected if an aroused public opinion demanded it. The ultimate reason for their failure lies in the corruption and dishonesty which pervades our entire machinery of government and which is expressed strikingly in the remark, often heard at Leavenworth, that a man who steals a mail-pouch is sent to the penitentiary while a man who steals and loots a railroad or a whole system of railroads, is sent to the Senate!

I am informed not only that nearly 500,000 men and women leave our jails and penitentiaries every year but that over 80 per cent of the offenses for which these men and women were incarcerated are offenses against private property. For this the gross and shocking inequalities in the distribution of wealth are, undeniably, largely responsible.

It is easy enough to say with the more extreme Communists, for instance, that if one would abolish crime and criminals and prisons one has only to abolish private property—but to say so is no more relevant to the solution of our practical and pressing problem than to say, for instance, that "Money is the root of all evil" and rest content with saying so. Both statements are true enough in their way. Private property is, however, one of the oldest of human institutions and while private ownership of essentially public services and resources will, I believe, be rapidly extinguished, private property in some form, probably in many forms, will remain. And therefore it is reasonable to suppose that offenses against private property, as well as other offenses, will continue. Thus it is that, whether one is a capitalist or a "prowling terrier", an individualist or a communist, one must face as a citizen the challenge which prisons make and endeavor to find a solution for the accusing fact and prevalence of crime—a fact which is a constant menace to the success of organized society and government, and to the success of popular government in particular.

What the solution may be I shall, perhaps, attempt to outline at another time. But in approaching this perennial and often baffling problem nothing seems to me so important as to hold steadily to the conviction, tested and sustained by observation and actual experience, that men and women are seldom, if ever, to blame for being what they are, that they act nine times out of ten and perhaps ten times out of ten, in the only way they know how to act, and that punishing them will never alter their characters or their conduct for the better. Muscle cannot do the work of mind and not until the mind of the offender is reached and quickened with transformed desire will the man be changed

As To The Third International

By George Hardy

Much discussion is now going on throughout the organization on the "Third International." This is only natural since the world's working class movement is gradually swinging to the left, and revolutions are occurring that give an impetus to thought which must inevitably result in some action.

There is no mistaking where the I. W. W. stands in the world's movement, but there is a doubt in the minds of some as to what is the best policy to pursue in the field of revolutionary activity. So intense is this feeling that one is bound to feel that a swing to the side of either extremity would be disastrous, that is: to refuse to endorse the 3rd International, or to agree wholesale to Zinovieff's "appeal to the I. W. W." It is one thing to sit behind a red army and tell others what to do, and to face a condition without power and do the things advocated by those powerful.

The I. W. W. is with our Russian comrades in the fight for their Communist Republic and the spirit of the I. W. W. spells the proletarian dictatorship. Our whole history is one of intense struggle and our death records of the last year shows our members are on the firing line. So we are forced, while assaying our critics, to come to conclusions which takes us outside of our everyday struggle as a revolutionary unit in America.

What is it we are asked to do by those who seem to disagree with us? "Indorse parliamentary action for revolutionary purposes," say those seeking to turn us into a channel we left in 1908. To this we answer: "Are you trying to make the I. W. W. fit you for reasons obvious in all movements? If not, why are you outside the I. W. W., criticizing us when the I. W. W. has in its program all the elements of an Industrial Communistic Republic?"

The I. W. W. will remain scientific and reserve the right to use its own tactics according to conditions prevailing at a given time. Our membership can vote for revolutionary candidates for bourgeois parliaments if they want, and do vote at times, when they feel it necessary, but we do not want to become infested with political office seekers, and therefore we reject the appeal of Zinovieff and our American critics to participate in elections as an organization. Further, we are satisfied, if our Russian Fellow Workers were asking us today to do something they might write a different document. Zinovieff's appeal was written in January, 1920.

It is the armed force part of Zinovieff's appeal that makes it impossible for us to endorse it. We refuse to stick our head above the trenches while a barrage is on. Lenine can be counted as one of the greatest tacticians and was naturally called a "compromiser with capital" when he showed a ten-

dency to pay interest on old debts. It was no compromise, it was a tactical manoeuvre in the field of **Political Science** and the old politicians of the ruling class knew it, and that is why it was not adopted. It was an attempt to stop the hostilities until the Russian Proletarians could dig themselves in. We also reserve the right to develop our own tactics in the field of action.

A great deal of misunderstanding arises out of the various conceptions as to what constitutes the State. The State is nothing but the necessary machinery to keep in subjection the working class, and the corollary is: to maintain the supremacy of the ruling class—the present economic masters. We cannot, as the world's events have shown, hope to penetrate bourgeois parliaments and win by any such methods—**Power, Economic Power** is the only weapon to conquer the State. We mean by power—to create a **Greater Social Force** which will overcome the power of the State and inaugurate a Proletarian State operating and controlling the forces of production and distribution thru the Industrial Units in field, factories, mines, etc.

We propose to solve this problem on the economic plane. Thru our units—called central councils—regional or community councils drawing their representation from the organs of production and distributions. By this method we always keep inside the working class organizations within the industries—we mean industry in its broadest sense—thus we gather the political expression of the workers and co-ordinate it for defensive and offensive purposes. The money spent in this way is better than putting it up for election fees to Capitalist governments and loosing. We don't think the masters will allow the advocacy of things obnoxious to them, even though it is election time—no camouflage goes with the ruling class.

There is only one course open for the I. W. W., that is to give our endorsement to the 3rd International with the above reservations. The last G. E. B. voted in favor of becoming a constituent part of the 3rd International. They reported their reason in their report to the last annual convention.

Now the new G. E. B. asks the members to decide. Let the members be awake to outside influences. Discuss this impartially. We can endorse the 3rd International, but we must do it with our future in mind and regard for our status in the world's revolutionary movement. Do not be influenced by spellbinders and hair-splitting debates. Let your decision be rendered on the basis of actual facts. The I. W. W. cannot afford to be outside the realm of the real revolutionary working class movement which has for its aim **Freedom for the Working class and No-compromise.**

Where Are We Going?

By Geo. Andreytchine

Moscow or Amsterdam? This is the question. The Russian fellow workers who sent the appeal for an International of Revolutionary Unions, ask: Between the two existing Internationals, which does the I. W. W. prefer to join? Gompers, Jouhaux, Legien, D'Aragona, Appleton—being not as much concerned about the transformation of capitalist society into a Commonwealth of Labor as in conserving the existing system of exploitation, have made their choice. They do not make any bones about their intentions—they are after the scalp of the Russian Working Class which stands today on the vanguard of the International Class War.

It is our turn (it has been as a matter of fact for the last three years) to find our place in the world labor movement. It is absurd and utopian to imagine that we can make our own "International", or to isolate ourselves like the timid philosopher in our "ivory tower" and contemplate the panorama of the heroic epic battle waged between two social gladiators—the Producers and Robbers, for the heritage of the world power and therefore natural resources and produced wealth. No, not we! The I. W. W. was born and has grown in the baptism of the bloodiest episodes of the class struggle in the United States; it has borne the brunt of the class struggle and with its countless sacrifices and tenacity has created a place of no mean significance in the history of the labor movement the world over, as the pioneers of a new form of organization, with new set of tactics and a broader and more revolutionary vision than all its predecessors in this country.

A scientific and modern organization like the I. W. W. cannot fail to appreciate the paramount issue and absolute necessity of an organized International effort of all revolutionary organizations to work as one in their attempt to do away with capitalism, and all its gruesome consequences: wage slavery, human exploitation, degradation, ignorance, war and all the rest of its attendant horrors.

The I. W. W. first recognized the international character of the class war; the peculiar conditions in this immense country have shown plainly that in its make up the I. W. W. cannot be but a united whole of the different racial and national groups that are used as "man power" in the industrial mechanism of this classic land of modern Capitalism. Without its inspiring internationalism, this organization would have made no impression on the mind of the downtrodden foreign worker. He is proud of the frank and absolute lack of any taint of nationalism in the make up of our organization. Truly, there is no better example of a model revolutionist, devoid of any national, or racial taint, than the American I. W. W. Being a true proletarian, without a "home", without any worldly goods (save his two hands and more or less permanent jail so-

journal), having seen all the revolting cynicism and deception of capitalist morality, the I. W. W. is the incarnation of the Citizen-Producer of the future world Communist Commonwealth.

But in late years we have witnessed a sort of "chauvinism", if you please, towards our own organization, forgetting that nothing in this world is perfect, and that an organization must be flexible and easy adaptable to changing conditions in order to keep pace with the onrushing events. In other words, our simple mind has stopped growing, thinking that no one can teach us a lesson and almost contemptuously have looked upon other movements and other organizations when they try to demonstrate to us that we are wrong. We have gone so far in this direction, as to deny even the greatest lessons of proletarian efforts—sneered and laughed at tragic struggles like the steel strike, not to mention the revolutionary experiments in Hungary and Bavaria, even Russia.

Enough of this, fellow workers! We cannot be the critics of the labor movement in other countries. We must change our attitude of isolation and do something POSITIVE, constructive, rather than constantly criticize.

We must abandon the negative state of mind: it is sterile, barren and leads to inaction. Action is the result of POSITIVE and CREATIVE efforts. action must tend to demonstrate the efficiency of our tactics and practicability of our plans of revolutionary reconstruction of society.

In other words, we cannot do anything worthwhile, unless we realize that conscious Action and example are the most effective instrument of propaganda of such ideals as we have been preaching for so many years.

To act efficiently, we need the masses. A movement like ours must be a MASS movement, and not a sect of "simon pure" theoreticians, who know Marx or Bakounin by heart but cannot find their way in the perplexing problems of a revolutionary fact.

If we get the masses behind our One Big Union gun, we cannot fire the final shot (le geste finale) all alone, without the aid and solidarity, in deeds rather than words, of the workers of other lands. Russia and Hungary have admirably demonstrated this fact. It is Utopian and absurd to expect that the Italian workers can establish a Soviet Republic without the aid (material and moral) of the British, American, Balkan and German working class. They may have a perfect working mechanism and revolutionary trained proletariat, disciplined and conscious of its tremendous power and responsibility (which I doubt), but they cannot feed themselves and their families with bread, for bread is made of foreign wheat; they cannot feed the metal furnaces with iron, copper and zinc, for Jupiter, though he

was an Italian god, has by a magic, omitted Italy from the generous gifts he distributed round once upon a time, and most of all, Italy lacks the "nerve" of modern production—C O A L. The picture looks grim to you, but it is more grim to the **thinking workers of Italy**, who are between the devil and the deep sea (the deep sea being the revolution without a corresponding repercussion in other capitalist countries and the devil being the bankrupt and stupid capitalist class).

It is more absurd to believe that the I. W. W. will bring about the revolution and that it solely will direct the destinies of this immense country. We must once for ever settle this in our minds—no revolution has ever been "run" according to platforms or preambles, constitutions of parties or organizations. It is too great a force, a dynamic cataclysm and cannot be confined in the tenets of one group of workers. In other words, we need the co-operation of other powerful and responsible organizations, in order to give a semblance of a conscious effort to this volcanic eruption. The sooner this penetrates into our minds the better: it will save us much hesitation and aimless adventures. We must learn to be practical. i. e. to **see things as they are**, and not as we **wish** them to be. This lesson, given to us by a no lesser authority than Aristotle, the greatest thinker of the ages.

The situation today is not ideal. It has never been and, I venture to say, it will never be, because the elemental forces that make history are not under human control, and besides no human being is perfect anyway.

We must take things as they come. They have been coming rather fast upon the heads of the I. W. W. It must learn to leap and jump, rather than follow the path and pace it had set up for itself on the outset: It must see the Red Torch from Russia and guide its next step according to the greatest lesson in the class struggle the Proletarian Revolution, which has been in a death grapple with the monster of Capitalism in the last 3 years.

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The Third International has been destined to become the rallying post of all the labor forces scattered by the war and national hatred; at least those who have the courage to do what they preach.

It is not our fault that most of this group are **political** rather than **industrial**. The unions are always slower in their choice of weapons and propitious moments for action.

The great **Spanish Syndicalist Confederation of Labor**, which is almost an exact replica of the I. W. W. with its **sindicados unicos**, last fall joined the Third International. The Italian counterpart of the I. W. W.—**L'Unions Sindacale Italiana**, joined unanimously the same fighting organism. The **Shop-Stewards and Workers' Committees** of Great Britain also have joined and sent five delegates to the last

congress of the Third. The Bulgarian General Syndical Union, comprising over 40,000 revolutionary workers, unanimously joined the Third.

The I. W. W. has nothing else to do but follow the example of its sister organizations in Europe. No one has illusions about parliamentary action. We condemned it many years ago; we condemn it again with resolution No. 3 in the referendum now before our rank and file. We will not enter the Third International if we have to abdicate our principles and listen to dictation from outside groups or even the International itself. **We will enter the great fighting army of workers whose interest is not to dominate each other, but to overthrow capitalist domination and dictatorship.** Jealousy and mutual suspicion destroyed the great First International. Marx and Bakounin, who have otherwise done a great service to the working class, could have been restrained from the fratricidal work that brought about the death of the first revolutionary effort of the advanced guard of the proletariat of the two continents. In these critical times which we must utilize in order to bring about the downfall of capitalism, we are a little bit closer to the crisis that preceded the death of the First International.

Honest but overjealous of their past traditions and present leading position revolutionary workers in all movements (Merrheim being their leader) not excluding our own, have denounced the Third International in a criminal and stupid manner, disregarding the historic significance of that body, denying it even a right to exist altogether.

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Moreover, when the proposed Economic International is put on firm basis, we can devote all our energies to it. That will be the International of action, the Third remaining the propaganda and educational agency.

When the 4 million Russian workers, organized on industrial lines, like the I. W. W., joined the Third International this year, they set an example for all of us. Nevertheless, they issued the call for an Economic International that would unite all revolutionary bodies of the world, knowing that it will be the backbone of the building up of the Commonwealth of Producers.

If 4 million industrial unionists of Russia endorsed the Third, why not we from America? Our entrance in the Third would give us not only prestige and standing, but actual power over a militant section of the working class in the two Americas, thus creating a revolutionary alliance of action for this continent.

Fellow workers, we must either go to Moscow with the reds, or to Amsterdam with the yellows. For my part, when I joined the I. W. W. I knew it was a red blooded militant organization. Its place is in the Red Third International.

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Editorial in "Industrial Worker" of Sept. 11, 1920

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The Industrial Worker, which is owned by members of the I. W. W. of the Northwest, reiterates the declaration of the Industrial Workers of the World as to political parties or groups and declares its intention to unhesitatingly stand by that declaration as a matter of principle. It follows:

"Whereas, The primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield; and

"Whereas, Organization in any sense implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore, be it

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That declaration which is a part of the very structure of our organization, needs reaffirmation today.

The work of the I. W. W. lies upon the economic field. Its duty is to build up an organization of the workers that will grasp economic power and use it to take over the industries and administer them for the workers—"to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown". Every battle of the past and every battle of the

future for better conditions and more of the product of labor is only a means to the great end we constantly hold before the working class. That goal looms up ahead clearer now than ever before. Our propaganda and our battles as an organization have very powerfully impressed the toilers of all nations. Let us continue our task, unimpressed by the glitter of Marxian catch phrases or the utterances of politicians of so-called revolutionary countries.

We hold out to the workers of all lands the right hand of fellowship, and we note with pleasure the spread of working class propaganda and working class economic organization. But we refuse to permit the I. W. W. to become the tail of the kite of any political organization, so far as we can use our efforts to prevent it.



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Where Do We Belong?

By E. W. Latchem (A. W. I. U. No. 110)

The "Appeal of the 3rd International to the I. W. W." and "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism" both by G. Zinoviev, President of the 3rd International, both of them printed in the September issue of the One Big Union Monthly, are of interest to all, who are working for the emancipation of the world's workers from wage slavery for the reason that they show a sincere desire for closer International affiliation between the various radical groups in all countries, and should be thoroughly discussed pro and con thru our press.

A close study of the above mentioned articles fails to reveal anything that has been overlooked by the I. W. W., but it does show the need of a better understanding of International labor problems so as to avoid waste of time and energy in unnecessary criticism.

True that: "Now is no time to talk of 'building the new society within the shell of the old'." and that is the reason why the I. W. W. has been actively trying to build this new society, instead of merely talking of it, as do some pretended Socialists, who confine their activities to talk and dreams of the grand and glorious times the working class will have when "the new society" has been established, but who take no active part in the work of putting the material at hand into shape so that it can be used in the future society.

By comparing the Structure of the "Workers State" of Russia with that of the I. W. W. we find the following differences and similarities: (These comparisons are made with the soviet form as outlined in the appeal of 3rd Int.)

The I. W. W. unit is the job (or factory) branch which is composed of all members on that particular job, and is directly affiliated with the Industrial Union of that Industry and incidentally with the Industrial District Council or General District Council.

The "Workers State" unit is composed of workers in local factory, red army unit or local peasants soviet, which is directly affiliated with the local city or township soviet; but which has no direct contact with the other workers employed in the same industry.

The General Convention of the I. W. W. (which will be the Workers Legislature of the future) is composed of delegates elected from the different Industrial Unions, who represent the workers of that industry in the most effective way possible under modern Industrial conditions.

The "All Russian Congress of Soviets" is composed of delegates from the City and Provincial Soviets, who represent whatever conglomeration of workers' units that happen to be represented in that soviet. Delegates elected in this manner may be able to function properly in Russia, but if this were to be tried in any country that has highly developed

industries it would mean the disruption of the various Industries, which would be a severe blow to workers attempting to run the Industries in their own interests.

The Industrial District Council of the I. W. W. is composed of delegates from all job branches of an Industry in any City or District and enables the workers of that Industry to properly handle matters pertaining to that City or District but has no other authority. The Russian "Workers State" has no counterpart similar to this.

The General District Council of the I. W. W. is composed of delegates from all job branches of all Industries in any City or District and functions to adjust matters between the various Industries of that City or District, but can not interfere in matters concerning the management of individual industries because modern Industrial efficiency makes every part of an industry a cog of the whole machine and any local interference would derange the whole industry. This Council is similar to the City soviet of the "Workers State", but has no direct connection with the General Legislative body.

In the matter of Centralization the I. W. W. has gone the "Workers State" one better. The workers in an industry are in direct touch with each other thru one central office. This is made possible by the job branch and delegate system which functions thru city branch and district offices and makes it possible to get unity in all parts of industry when needed. All matters of importance, such as settlement of strikes, etc., is handled by the workers most concerned and officials have no authority, except that which is necessary for the proper performance of their duties.

In regard to "politics" the I. W. W. stands for "workingclass politics" but has failed to find any that is effective except that which is to be found in the Union Hall where the workers can legislate in regard to matters pertaining to their particular industry. In the face of modern Industrial development any other form of politics tends to mislead the workers.

Our experience with so-called "political actionists" both "red" and "yellow" has been that they all, with very few exceptions, want to use the workers to their own ends. In fact the I. W. W. at one time tried to be "broad enough" to take in all who pretended to be revolutionary industrial unionists, but was forced to dump the whole bunch of political actionists overboard to escape disruption from the wrangles of our "good comrades" who were continually using the I. W. W. as the "battle ground" to determine which So-So-socialist P-P-party was the most R-R-R-Revolutionary and which therefore should be entitled to election to act as executives of the master class state on the presumption that they with their wonderful "intellects" could per-

form wonders for the social revolution.

Ever since the I. W. W. rid its preamble of the "political action" clause, we have been able to make headway in organizing a Revolutionary Industrial Union which has been able to strike some mighty blows in behalf of ourselves as workers and which has caused the masterclass of this country to retaliate with the "iron heel" of the last few years. We organized and educated our fellow slaves where ever we were at, in the most effective manner possible for the betterment of working conditions under which we were forced to work. This was done with the full knowledge that it was a necessary part of the struggle which means the final overthrow and removal of Capitalism as a system of society.

While doing this we were vilified and lied about by most of our former revolutionary "friends" some of whom, were of the "safe and sane" variety and could not conceive of any intelligence among the down-trodden migratory workers of the west, and when these workers began to organize and write songs of sarcasm about the jobs and conditions under which they were forced to work and live, this bunch of so-called "educated r-r-revolutionists" were quick to side with the master class in trying to down us with slander and abuse. They made use of their knowledge of workingclass economics, not as an aid to us, but for the base purpose of coining obnoxious and vile phrases to throw at downtrodden workers who were doing all they could to better their working conditions so as to put themselves in a better position for the final struggles with an out-worn system that can only exist by keeping the masses in degradation. Of course this was all done in name of the "intelligent revolutionists" who were to have a "safe and sane" revolution.

We could go on indefinitely enumerating the "good work" in behalf of the "revolution", which has been done by our friends of the "intellectual" variety, but it is sufficient to say that in spite of the combined attacks of our "friends" and "enemies" we are still alive and actively working to attain our ends.

The I. W. W. is not only willing but glad to grasp the hands of any body of workers anywhere in the world who have similar aims and objects; but are forced to look with suspicion on all those who but yesterday were stooping lower than the lackeys of the Capitalist class to find material with which to discredit us with the masses as well as with the working class organizations all over the world.

Some of those who attacked us may have done so thru stupidity and ignorance but that is no excuse or reason for exoneration. We have not seen any evidence as yet that our "friends" have done anything but "change clothes" and until the time comes, that they show us symptoms of transformation we can not be expected to have faith in their sincerity even tho they be given the O. K. by all other labor movements.

Those who in the past have contented themselves with the "intellectual attainments" of reciting the

writings of Marx and other writers backwards and forwards, without in the least understanding them and dreaming of the "grand and glorious" society of the future and who confined their activities to vilification of those who differed with their pet "hobby", cannot expect the respect of the workers until such time as they "come down out of the skies", roll up their sleeves, and tackle everyday industrial problems as they are and not as they in their dreams imagine that they should be. This applies to politicians in all organizations mentioned in 3rd International Appeal.

It is true that the I. W. W. has made use of all methods at hand to get publicity for the rotten conditions under which the workers are forced to exist and to explain our remedy for these evils, which is to build up a strong powerful Industrial Organization as the best method whereby the workers can get better conditions now and at the same time be building the structure of the future society.

Have searched all official literature and fail to find anything to justify the following conclusions in the "Appeal of the 3rd International":

"Capitalism is breaking down, the social revolution is upon us and HISTORY WILL NOT WAIT UNTIL THE MAJORITY OF WORKERS ARE ORGANIZED 100% ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAM OF THE I. W. W. OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION. There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The war has hurled the peoples of the world into the great Cataclysm and they must plan for IMMEDIATE ACTION—not for the working out of schemes which would take years to accomplish.

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

No serious minded person, who understands the nature of Capitalism, would think it possible to organize the workers 100 per cent under capitalism as is here stated as the I. W. W. object and only lack of knowledge of I. W. W. propaganda and literature could make such conclusions possible.

The very nature of Capitalism will force it to collapse before the workers have become even 50 per cent organized into a union that is in the least aggressive for the workers interests. This weakness of Capitalism is one of the reasons why the I. W. W. has selected the industrial field as the most logical place for the waging of the class war. It is the weakest spot of capitalism and the place where the workers can use their strength to the most effect. As proof of the utter helplessness of capitalism in the face of aggressive unionism of any kind we have only to refer to the recent "outlaw" railroad strikes which disrupted some of the largest railroad terminals in the country for several months

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The "Appeal of the 3rd International to the I. W. W." and "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism" both by G. Zinoviev, President of the 3rd International, both of them printed in the September issue of the One Big Union Monthly, are of interest to all, who are working for the emancipation of the world's workers from wage slavery for the reason that they show a sincere desire for closer International affiliation between the various radical groups in all countries, and should be thoroughly discussed pro and con thru our press.

A close study of the above mentioned articles fails to reveal anything that has been overlooked by the I. W. W., but it does show the need of a better understanding of International labor problems so as to avoid waste of time and energy in unnecessary criticism.

True that: "Now is no time to talk of 'building the new society within the shell of the old.'" and that is the reason why the I. W. W. has been actively trying to build this new society, instead of merely talking of it, as do some pretended Socialists, who confine their activities to talk and dreams of the grand and glorious times the working class will have when "the new society" has been established, but who take no active part in the work of putting the material at hand into shape so that it can be used in the future society.

By comparing the Structure of the "Workers State" of Russia with that of the I. W. W. we find the following differences and similarities: (These comparisons are made with the soviet form as outlined in the appeal of 3rd Int.)

The I. W. W. unit is the job (or factory) branch which is composed of all members on that particular job, and is directly affiliated with the Industrial Union of that Industry and incidentally with the Industrial District Council or General District Council.

The "Workers State" unit is composed of workers in local factory, red army unit or local peasants soviet, which is directly affiliated with the local city or township soviet; but which has no direct contact with the other workers employed in the same industry.

The General Convention of the I. W. W. (which will be the Workers Legislature of the future) is composed of delegates elected from the different Industrial Unions, who represent the workers of that industry in the most effective way possible under modern Industrial conditions.

The "All Russian Congress of Soviets" is composed of delegates from the City and Provincial Soviets, who represent whatever conglomeration of workers' units that happen to be represented in that soviet. Delegates elected in this manner may be able to function properly in Russia, but if this were to be tried in any country that has highly developed

industries it would mean the disruption of the various Industries, which would be a severe blow to workers attempting to run the Industries in their own interests.

The Industrial District Council of the I. W. W. is composed of delegates from all job branches of an Industry in any City or District and enables the workers of that Industry to properly handle matters pertaining to that City or District but has no other authority. The Russian "Workers State" has no counterpart similar to this.

The General District Council of the I. W. W. is composed of delegates from all job branches of all Industries in any City or District and functions to adjust matters between the various Industries of that City or District, but can not interfere in matters concerning the management of individual industries because modern Industrial efficiency makes every part of an industry a cog of the whole machine and any local interference would derange the whole industry. This Council is similar to the City soviet of the "Workers State", but has no direct connection with the General Legislative body.

In the matter of Centralization the I. W. W. has gone the "Workers State" one better. The workers in an industry are in direct touch with each other thru one central office. This is made possible by the job branch and delegate system which functions thru city branch and district offices and makes it possible to get unity in all parts of industry when needed. All matters of importance, such as settlement of strikes, etc., is handled by the workers most concerned and officials have no authority, except that which is necessary for the proper performance of their duties.

In regard to "politics" the I. W. W. stands for "workingclass politics" but has failed to find any that is effective except that which is to be found in the Union Hall where the workers can legislate in regard to matters pertaining to their particular industry. In the face of modern Industrial development any other form of politics tends to mislead the workers.

Our experience with so-called "political actionists" both "red" and "yellow" has been that they all, with very few exceptions, want to use the workers to their own ends. In fact the I. W. W. at one time tried to be "broad enough" to take in all who pretended to be revolutionary industrial unionists, but was forced to dump the whole bunch of political actionists overboard to escape disruption from the wrangles of our "good comrades" who were continually using the I. W. W. as the "battle ground" to determine which So-So-socialist P-P-party was the most R-R-R-Revolutionary and which therefore should be entitled to election to act as executives of the master class state on the presumption that they with their wonderful "intellects" could per-

form wonders for the social revolution.

Ever since the I. W. W. rid its preamble of the "political action" clause, we have been able to make headway in organizing a Revolutionary Industrial Union which has been able to strike some mighty blows in behalf of ourselves as workers and which has caused the masterclass of this country to retaliate with the "iron heel" of the last few years. We organized and educated our fellow slaves where ever we were at, in the most effective manner possible for the betterment of working conditions under which we were forced to work. This was done with the full knowledge that it was a necessary part of the struggle which means the final overthrow and removal of Capitalism as a system of society.

While doing this we were vilified and lied about by most of our former revolutionary "friends" some of whom, were of the "safe and sane" variety and could not conceive of any intelligence among the down-trodden migratory workers of the west, and when these workers began to organize and write songs of sarcasm about the jobs and conditions under which they were forced to work and live, this bunch of so-called "educated r-r-revolutionists" were quick to side with the master class in trying to down us with slander and abuse. They made use of their knowledge of workingclass economics, not as an aid to us, but for the base purpose of coining obnoxious and vile phrases to throw at downtrodden workers who were doing all they could to better their working conditions so as to put themselves in a better position for the final struggles with an outworn system that can only exist by keeping the masses in degradation. Of course this was all done in name of the "intelligent revolutionists" who were to have a "safe and sane" revolution.

We could go on indefinitely enumerating the "good work" in behalf of the "revolution", which has been done by our friends of the "intellectual" variety, but it is sufficient to say that in spite of the combined attacks of our "friends" and "enemies" we are still alive and actively working to attain our ends.

The I. W. W. is not only willing but glad to grasp the hands of any body of workers anywhere in the world who have similar aims and objects; but are forced to look with suspicion on all those who but yesterday were stooping lower than the lackeys of the Capitalist class to find material with which to discredit us with the masses as well as with the working class organizations all over the world.

Some of those who attacked us may have done so thru stupidity and ignorance but that is no excuse or reason for exoneration. We have not seen any evidence as yet that our "friends" have done anything but "change clothes" and until the time comes, that they show us symptoms of transformation we can not be expected to have faith in their sincerity even tho they be given the O. K. by all other labor movements.

Those who in the past have contented themselves with the "intellectual attainments" of reciting the

writings of Marx and other writers backwards and forwards, without in the least understanding them and dreaming of the "grand and glorious" society of the future and who confined their activities to vilification of those who differed with their pet "hobby", cannot expect the respect of the workers until such time as they "come down out of the skies", roll up their sleeves, and tackle everyday industrial problems as they are and not as they in their dreams imagine that they should be. This applies to politicians in all organizations mentioned in 3rd International Appeal.

It is true that the I. W. W. has made use of all methods at hand to get publicity for the rotten conditions under which the workers are forced to exist and to explain our remedy for these evils, which is to build up a strong powerful Industrial Organization as the best method whereby the workers can get better conditions now and at the same time be building the structure of the future society.

Have searched all official literature and fail to find anything to justify the following conclusions in the "Appeal of the 3rd International":

"Capitalism is breaking down, the social revolution is upon us and HISTORY WILL NOT WAIT UNTIL THE MAJORITY OF WORKERS ARE ORGANIZED 100% ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAM OF THE I. W. W. OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION. There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The war has hurled the peoples of the world into the great Cataclysm and they must plan for IMMEDIATE ACTION—not for the working out of schemes which would take years to accomplish.

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

No serious minded person, who understands the nature of Capitalism, would think it possible to organize the workers 100 per cent under capitalism as is here stated as the I. W. W. object and only lack of knowledge of I. W. W. propaganda and literature could make such conclusions possible.

The very nature of Capitalism will force it to collapse before the workers have become even 50 per cent organized into a union that is in the least aggressive for the workers interests. This weakness of Capitalism is one of the reasons why the I. W. W. has selected the industrial field as the most logical place for the waging of the class war. It is the weakest spot of capitalism and the place where the workers can use their strength to the most effect. As proof of the utter helplessness of capitalism in the face of aggressive unionism of any kind we have only to refer to the recent "outlaw" railroad strikes which disrupted some of the largest railroad terminals in the country for several months

although only a very small per cent of the railroad workers were out on strike.

If we were to take the advice of the 3rd International and use their method to destroy capitalism, then attempt to set up the "soviet state" as outlined by them, we would find our industries disrupted so badly that a famine with all its horrors would be upon us, all because of trying to use a system of government that did not fit in with modern industrial development.

In Russia the small industrial populations are nearly all recently from the farms and can easily go back and find some way to live in a primitive manner; but imagine the calamity that would result if a large industrial population, the majority of whom had never seen a farm were to try the experiment. Hundreds of thousands of our City populations have never seen a farm and thousands

have never seen a shade tree, but spend their lives between the tenement house and factory where they are busy piling up profits for the capitalist class.

To clarify matters the following questions should be answered by the 3rd International.

IS THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE AS OUTLINED BY THE I. W. W. THE CORRECT FORM OF ORGANIZATION FOR A SOCIETY THAT IS BASED ON HIGHLY DEVELOPED AND CENTRALIZED INDUSTRY? IF NOT, WHY?

CAN MODERN HIGHLY DEVELOPED AND CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIES BE EFFICIENTLY MANAGED ACCORDING TO THE SOVIET PLAN AS OUTLINED IN THE APPEAL OF THE 3RD INTERNATIONAL? IF SO, EXPLAIN HOW?

IF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE I. W. W. WHICH WE HAVE BEEN PROPAGATING FOR 15 YEARS ARE WRONG, WE WANT TO KNOW IT.

Solving the Social Problem Through Economic Direct Action

BY JOHN SANDGREN

A resolution, numbered 43, and adopted at the 12th annual convention of the I. W. W., in the year 1920, reads as follows:

....Resolved, that we always preach and practice our only weapon—Economic Direct Action—in order to abolish the present system of exploitation.

In this connection let us quote the last two passages from our preamble, as follows:

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 the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

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

The above is a picture in words of what the I. W. W. tries to accomplish.

To make it more plain we are accompanying this article with a sketch of a chart designed to give a total view of the structure of the new society which we are building.

Industrial Communism Illustrated

The society that the I. W. W. is building is a society of Industrial Communism.

We propose that the people of the whole world should get together on industrial lines, in order to create the organs that are needed for the running of a communist society.

The organs we need are of two kinds, namely, first, organs of production and distribution, and secondly, organs of local and regional administration.

The I. W. W., having for its aim to establish industrial democracy and to anchor for all time all power within the useful layers of society and to

make social parasitism impossible, establishes a new basic unit of the social structure.

The basic unit of our new society is **The Shop or Job Branch**. Every human being of working age, no matter what his occupation, is referred to some shop or job branch, even where the occupation is not properly speaking industrial in the commonly accepted sense of the term. Our chart includes them all.

These shop and job branches are on our chart illustrated by means of the ring of radial lines, which form so to speak the rim of the wheel-like structure.

From these basic units, or basic organs, all the other organs are derived.

The spokes in the wheel, so to speak, are the Industrial Unions, which are formed by uniting all the shop and job branches of every industry or occupation, whether it be shoemaking or the teaching of sciences at the universities.

The hub of the wheel is formed by the Industrial Union Administration, Departmental Administration and the General Administration.

All these together, however, are only part of the structure of Industrial Communism. They form only the productive and distributive machine. The purpose of these organs is to produce what mankind needs and to distribute it.

The old I. W. W. chart did not go any further. It depicted only the organs of productions and distribution, for the simple reason that the need for other organs was not apparent while the organization was small and purely in an agitational stage.

As the organization developed it became apparent that we must add to it organs for local and regional administration if we wanted to cover the whole field of human activity.

We have had these organs in an embryonic shape for many years in our City Central Committees, and Councils of different kinds, but they never got beyond the experimental stage.

However, as the overthrow or the collapse of capitalism approaches and comes dangerously near, we realize the absolute necessity of new organs of local and regional administration as well.

These we have depicted on our chart as the iron tire, so to speak, which holds the wheel of production and distribution together. The two organs supplement each other and are equally necessary. And both of them are drawn from the shop, or the job branches. Through a system of industrial representation, that is, through representatives elected from the job branches, organs of administration will be formed which will replace the present organs of local and regional administration, when these no longer function, due to the fact that the whole system on which they rest has collapsed.

By drawing the productive and distributive organs as well as our administrative organs from the shop and job branches, by vesting ownership and control direct with the industrially organized masses we secure both industrial communism and industrial democracy.

This chart, which could very likely be improved upon in many different ways, depicts quite clearly how the I. W. W. proposes to solve the social problem through **Economic Direct Action**, as the 12th annual convention puts it.

No Room for a Political Party

As will be seen this plan leaves no room for a political party, city, state or national.

The City administration will consist of the City Central Council. As for state administration, as in U. S. or provincial administration such as in Canada or in Europe, the justification for them is disappearing.

The provinces in various countries may have a historical, or an ethnographic or political explanation in most cases, but the state lines on this continent are nearly all artificial boundaries.

The chief surveyor of a century ago seems to have taken a large U. S. map and a big ruler and laid out the country in squares with the exception of the places where mountains or big rivers made good physical boundary lines, without any consideration whatsoever for the natural economic boundary lines. In fact, how else could it have been done, being that the state lines were drawn up before the country was developed.

The states as political units are a nuisance like any artificial social arrangement. The nonsensical division into states is causing us to have over fifty different complete sets of regional administration without any natural basis for it, and is a tremendous expense to the American people and causes no end of confusion in our public life. It causes regions which should naturally be joined together to be split in several parts with separate administration, while it joins together pieces of regions which have

little or nothing in common. Not to speak of the absurdity of having 50 sets of different laws, courts and lawyers. It almost looks as if the whole plan was devised by the lawyers. For the usefully employed men and women of these regions are only meagerly represented.

Instead of state lines a rational form of society would draw industrial boundary lines for purposes of administration according to the economic life of the country.

Thus the Pacific Coast country up to the mountains could very well be one region, while the intermountain states formed a second region, the gulf country a third region, the prairie states a fourth, the mine and forest states of the north a fifth. The tobacco and cotton states a sixth, the coal states a seventh, the factory states of the North East an eighth region, etc.

Thus the people who have most in common would be brought together under one regional administration for common welfare.

The regional Central Council would be composed of representatives selected by the shop and job branches, thus securing complete industrial democracy even on this stage.

In the same manner the shop and job branches would select the departmental and the general administration, the latter being composed of a general executive board and a general secretary-treasurer. We may not need the treasurer in the new society, but we need him at present.

The general administration would be the central exchange both for the productive and distributive machine and the machine of local and regional administration.

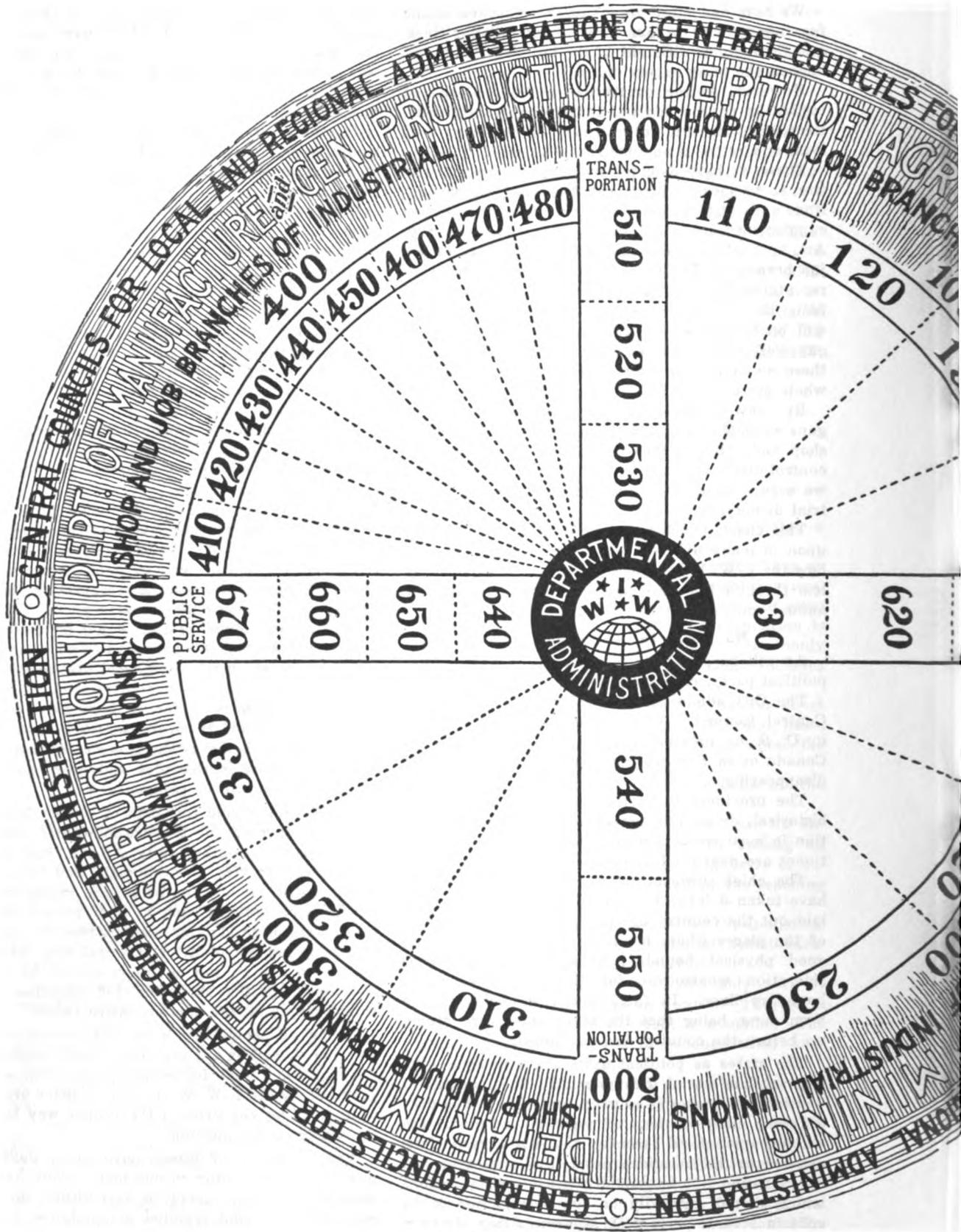
Where is there room for, or need for a political party in this plan? It covers the whole field. Every kind of human activity that is desirable and useful will find a place in this plan and every legitimate human interest will be safeguarded.

On the other hand this plan of society leaves no room, no opening for those who want to live the lives of parasites on humanity. All the "half-world", the caterers to vice, the criminals, and the professional politicians and the parasitical capitalist class will here be brought back to their proper place in the system of production and distribution, with no chance to get out of it. Nor would they have any chance to get on top as rulers except by formal election from the shop and job branches which would supply all the administrative forces.

Nearly all people with a socialist or near-socialist training as well as any practical minded worker will see and admit that Industrial Communism as thus proposed by the I. W. W. and many sister organizations in other countries is the proper way to solve the whole social question.

The Bolsheviki of Russia have partly built their new society according to our map. They have the industrial unions, except in agriculture, and they have the local and regional and national adminis-

(Continued on page 34)



(FOR KEY TO NUMBERS SEE PAGE 36)

CHART OF Industrial Communism

(Pertains to the article "Solving the Social Problem through Economic Direct Action, pages 30-36)

This chart is **Industrial Communism** reduced to its simplest form. It provides for all organs of production, distribution and administration.

For the sake of convenience we shall consider the chart as a wheel consisting of **HUB, SPOKES, RIM and TIRE.**

The **RIM**, depicted with short, radial lines close together is made up of the **Shop or Job Branches** which are the foundation of **Industrial Communism**. This is the big masses of the people organized in branches in each locality for the carrying on of production and distribution.

The **SPOKES** are the Industrial Unions and the Industrial Departments, both of them organs of production and distribution.

The **HUB** depicted with a black ring "Departmental Administration" and a center or axle, corresponding to the General Administration, here indicated with the well known I. W. W. label.

Another ring outside the Departmental ring could conveniently have been added to indicate "Industrial Union Administration," and the hub would have been more complete.

Other improvements may suggest themselves and are solicited.

Finishing off the structure of the wheel of production and distribution is the iron **TIRE**, so to speak, of Central Councils for local and regional **administration**. This tire holds the structure of production and distribution together and serves as a means of contact between all the job branches direct while at the same time organically connected with the General Administration.

As indicated on the chart both the Central Councils and the Industrial Union and Departmental and General administration are built up by means of a system of **INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATION**, in as much as all officials or servants are elected from and by the Shop and Job Branches.

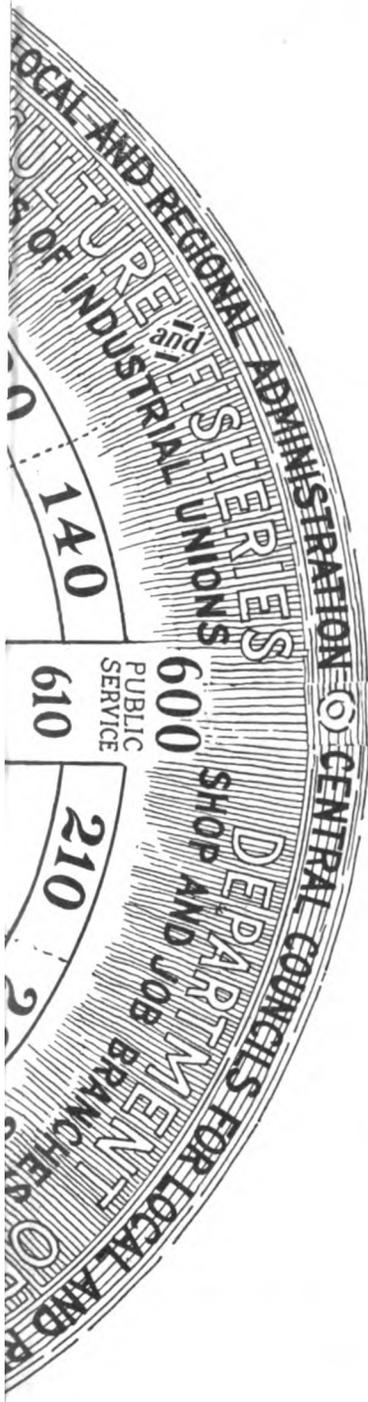
Please note that this plan leaves no room for a political party which specializes in governing and ruling other people.

All power rests with the people organized in branches of the Industrial Unions.

From production and distribution standpoint this means **INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM**.

From administration standpoint it means **INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**.

Such is the program of the I. W. W.



SOLVING THE SOCIAL PROBLEM THROUGH ECONOMIC DIRECT ACTION

(Continued from page 31)

tration in embryo. But instead of having complete democracy, they have actually the dictatorship of a party which calls itself communist. The leaders of this party, however, declare that it is their intention to maintain the rule of this party only until such time as the industrial unions can themselves take the responsibility for production and distribution and until the soviets can be recruited from the industrial union branches exclusively.

The Central administration of the All Russian Trade Union movement, which most nearly corresponds to our general administration, is now subordinated to the rule of a political party, which has general direction not only of local and regional administration but also of production and distribution, even to the single factories and places of work.

There may have been many good reasons for this sort of an arrangement, this sort of tentative state communism, in Russia, where people were so unprepared for the task of taking over the country and all responsibilities, and where the mass of the people were unable to read print. It was an almost impossible task to transmit the plan of industrial communism on the spot to a couple of hundred million people who were either utterly illiterate or else entirely strange to industrial conceptions and ideas, such as can grow into the popular mind only in a country like America.

To the same extent that the people of the various countries have in advance propagated the idea of organizing the people into shop and job branches for the purpose of taking over all public activities, to the same extent that they have already organized such shop and job branches and industrial unions and industrial departments and central councils for local and regional administration, to the same extent will they be able to take over their respective countries without calling to their aid the political parties.

The Politicians

The politicians are looking upon such teachings with dismay. If the workers are going to take possession of the factories direct, without governmental proclamations, as they seem to be doing in Italy; if the workers continue to organize their camere del lavoro, as in Italy, or their labor exchanges as in other countries, or their local sam-organizations as in Scandinavia, or their councils as in America and in England, what becomes of the political parties, the political machines and the politicians?

They will find themselves misfits and the politicians will face the necessity of earning their living by labor recognized as useful, instead of living by monopolizing the administrative jobs from top to bottom.

There is a tendency in all political parties to organize into something we would call "The Political Workers Industrial Union". This union of each

party desires the chance to govern all the rest of the people. To govern is the business of a politician.

The republican and democratic parties, the Socialist parties, the Labor parties, the Communist parties, are all "Industrial Unions" of that kind.

As far as the communists of America are concerned some of them seem to wish to have their party, much as an industrial union, incorporated into the I. W. W. plan of Industrial Communism. They want a place for their "industrial union" on the I. W. W. chart. And the chief function of the members of this union would be to fill all the more important office chairs of the new society.

This is, of course, repugnant to all friends of real democracy or self-government.

The communist parties being composed to a large extent of people outside the working class proper, of artists, literateurs and boheme, of professional men without a footing in the bourgeois world and of parliamentarians as in Sweden, Norway and other countries, hate to see the world made over in such a manner that their conspiracy to govern the world comes to naught.

Feeling and knowing that they have no prospects of getting into the office chairs by the old methods of parliamentary elections, they want the working masses to make a revolution and lift them into power as their rulers. That is what they call the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are not very anxious that the workers should give too much of their attention to building according to the I. W. W. blueprint, for these wily politicians and desperadoes realize, that if the workers build that way, they will not need the "communist" politicians.

Consequently we find that when the members of the communist parties join the I. W. W. or the syndicalist organizations of other countries, it is not so much for the purpose of building up those organizations, as for the purpose of changing their activities so they will fall in with the current of communist political activities. They do not join for the purpose of taking a bundle of our papers or magazines or books under their arm, as a rule, in order to sell them and to spread I. W. W. information. They do not join in order to fill our treasuries or build up our unions. No, they join us, apparently, mostly for the same purpose as the saloon-keeper or the doctor or grocer joins the Elks or the Eagles, that is for business.

And in the same manner as they join the I. W. W. they join the A. F. of L. and the co-operative movement or any other movement, that is for the purpose of propaganda, or in order to break them up if they do not yield to the propaganda.

And what is their propaganda?

They want us to change our program as outlined in the beginning of this article. They want us to abandon the attempt to build the new society within the shell of the old as being useless, and to gather our forces and join with other bodies that they are trying to convert, in an attempt to capture the capitalist state through "mass action".

They openly state that they mean armed insurrection.

They are an impatient element thirsting for power. They want a political revolution by force in order to get on top and tell us what to do.

But as we have outlined above, in word and in illustration, we already have made up our mind what to do. We have made up our mind to do without them. We propose to solve the whole social problem without political action, without the aid of politicians. We propose to solve it through Economic Direct Action, and we are winning the world over to our program slowly but surely. Fifteen years ago we were nothing, and now the workers of every country are taking up our program, where they have not temporarily been carried off their feet by the desperate, last-chance agitation of the left wingers from the socialist parties.

Somebody might say that our Central Councils are nothing but political institutions, as well as the general administration, in so far as it serves as center for these councils, and that we, consequently, have a political program as well as an economic, the latter being embodied in our Industrial Unions. This hairsplitting is frequently resorted to by the cornered politician, who is loth to admit that we could do without him and his politics. Such argument is insincere.

"Polis" is a Greek word which means town or city. We have it in Constantinopolis and Adrianopolis. From that "polis" is derived the word politics and political and politician. Politics means about the same as "city business," "city affairs," or in short, "public business." Political is that which has to do with public business, and a politician is one who devotes himself to public business or public affairs.

As a matter of fact the I. W. W. is trying to make public business of most human functions. It is going to make production and distribution public business, and it is going to make city and regional and national administration public business also, instead of the private business of a political party.

From that point of view a hairsplitter might say, with the benign judge up in Bellingham, Wash., that the I. W. W. is nothing but a political party.

The confusion comes from using "politics", "political" and "politician" in a double sense.

If we take these words in their original, respectable sense of "public business", then the I. W. W. is a political organization, through and through. But the word politics, political and politician have long ago lost that sense and have gotten a new meaning that we use when we repudiate politics, political action and the meddling in our work by politicians.

The degeneration of our vocabulary has kept even pace with the degeneration of public affairs and public men during the reign of capitalism.

Politicians, instead of being public spirited men with the welfare of the people at heart, are commonly known in every country as conscienceless villains who steal and take bribes and sell out the

people and their interests to the highest bidder. Politics, instead of being an honorable occupation for which honorable men compete, has become a cess-pool from which decent and self-respecting men shrink in impotent sorrow.

Politics is a cut-throat game in which only the basest participate and in which the biggest villain frequently is the victor. When the innocent working class goes into politics it quickly degenerates and falls into corrupt political machines.

The politician is after power. He wants to get that power, because it leads to everything else that he wants.

The Republican, Democrat, Farmer Labor, Socialist, and Communist politicians are all after the same thing. They all want to get possession of the government buildings in order to rule us from there. It is the same in all countries. But we do not want to be ruled. We want to "govern" ourselves.

All of them propose to "get there" by the use of the ballot except the communist politician. He proposes to get there by the use of the bullet. The Republicans and Democrats and all the other ballot politicians work their game with promises of reform within the confines of the capitalist state and a millenium in the future, perhaps, but the communist politician works his game by promising us all we ask for on the spot if we will help him into the government buildings so he can "smash the capitalist state."

This change has come over the communist politicians during the last 24 months and they are still constantly changing "attitudes", "positions", "planks" and "principles." This rapid-fire evolution from parliamentarians to insurrectionists they arrogantly call "keeping abreast of the times". We call it trimming.

We refuse to see in it anything but the fury of a handful of intellectual or quasi-intellectual leaders outside the ranks of the regular wage workers who have lost their footing and are staking all on one card, the card of political revolution.

It is to further such ends and for no other reason that some of the "communist" leaders have taken up the I. W. W. as a platform plank. Some of them are issuing literature declaring open war against us.

The I. W. W. has no use for their politics nor for the politics of any other party. We are enough to ourselves. We need no political help to solve the social problem. We will not reach our final goal one minute faster by deviating from our straight course of economic direct action.

The very presence of social organs like the ones we are building will in the final crisis be sufficient to make a desperate people turn to the solution we offer. If people keep their self control and adopt our program, no political revolution such as contemplated by the "communists," is needed. Any set of fools can make a bloody revolution, but it takes sensible men like the I. W. W. to attempt a complete economic revolution without bloodshed.

The Italian workers, in taking possession of the factories, have given wings to the expression "a bloodless revolution". The I. W. W. program makes such a revolution possible.

May every individual retain his political faith as well as his religious faith, if he wants to, but we hold that with increasing enlightenment all religious and political denominations shall disappear and every man and woman become a "politician" in the original and proper sense of the word, that is a public spirited person who seeks nothing but the common welfare.

But until that time we shall draw a sharp line of demarcation between political action and economic action. We will leave the name "politician" as a Cain's mark on the forehead of those who are now dragging men, women and children down in a sea of foul corruption and into bloody adventures. Our own activities we shall continue to characterize as Economic Direct Action, as per decision of our last

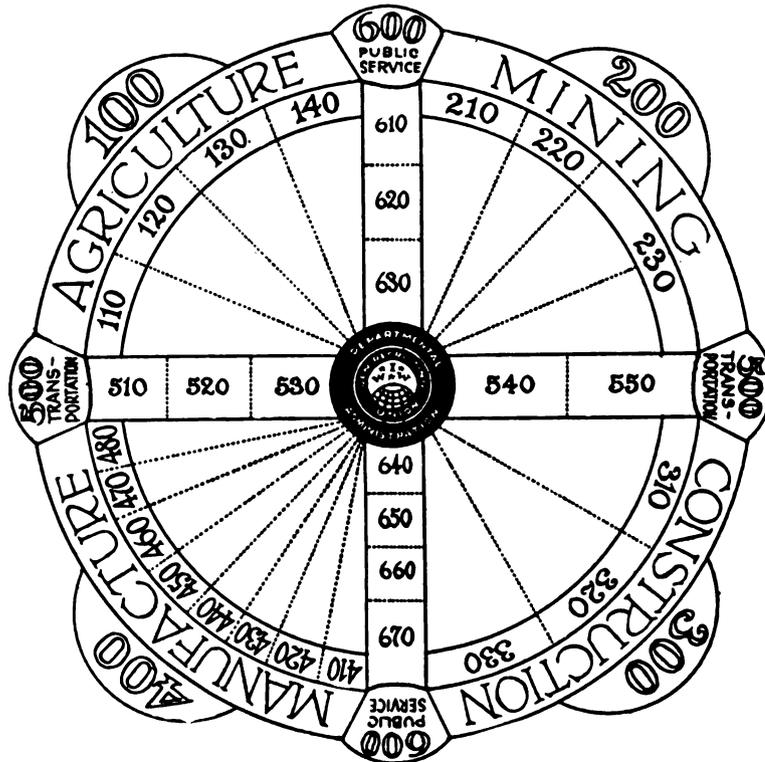
convention, and we shall do our best to keep politicians out of it.

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We read the Russian Appeal to the American I. W. W. received in this country eight months late. In these days conditions and group psychologies change more in eight months than in eight years a decade back. It is well to keep the point of rapid change in mind. The change is rapid towards the past and present position of the I. W. W. which is, Economic Direct Action, meaning action on the job by the workers. The change is not alone because the I. W. W. thus teaches; but, also, because it is a correct fundamental of a just social instinct of the workers. Hundreds of thousands of workers arrive at that mental position intuitively, aided by their sufferings consequent of local conditions. Both the action resulting from the propaganda and the intuitive action have their roots in natural law. It is vain to question natural law. The point is, seek to understand it.

There is one point in the Appeal which the writer deems important, and will try to analyze. Its general trend is an appeal that all kindred groups or organizations strive together that a more solid front may be presented to the enemy. That is something that does not become out of date. Its importance grows more manifested each day. If by "kindred" is meant groups, emphatically, aiming at the total elimination of capitalism with its consequent destruction of industrial lordism and militarism, then we see no reason why such organizations cannot work on lines that are parallel so far as it involves only action against the enemy. Education, organization necessary to action is the paramount concern today. Other questions may become more important tomorrow.

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We have been accused of dragging in personalities instead of principles. This is, however, in our opinion only a poor disguise for a desire to save the face of American Bolshevism or "communism" as they also style it. If in the course of the criticisms of principles one runs across a stool pigeon, what can one do except to expose. In fact it would be a betrayal of the trust placed in an editor if he kept quiet about his discovery or suppressed it.

At first the accusation against Fraina aroused some indignation in quarters where it was considered impossible that a man could be so sly or go so wrong. Now, however, the "communists" themselves seem to have gotten over the worst agony of the disclosure and are directly or indirectly admitting the correctness of the charges referred to.

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We have in our hand a copy of the now well known "Appeal to the I. W. W." by G. Zinoviev, published by the "Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America." (There are now two such parties. The other calls itself the United Communist Party) The Central Executive Committee in question has written an introduction to the said appeal which breathes a refreshing hostility towards the I. W. W. Although claiming to be part of the Third International, this Central Executive Committee repudiates for its part, the invitation by Zinoviev to the I. W. W. to enter into co-operation with the communists of America.

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The Italian workers, in taking possession of the factories, have given wings to the expression "a bloodless revolution". The I. W. W. program makes such a revolution possible.

May every individual retain his political faith as well as his religious faith, if he wants to, but we hold that with increasing enlightenment all religious and political denominations shall disappear and every man and woman become a "politician" in the original and proper sense of the word, that is a public spirited person who seeks nothing but the common welfare.

But until that time we shall draw a sharp line of demarcation between political action and economic action. We will leave the name "politician" as a Cain's mark on the forehead of those who are now dragging men, women and children down in a sea of foul corruption and into bloody adventures. Our own activities we shall continue to characterize as Economic Direct Action, as per decision of our last

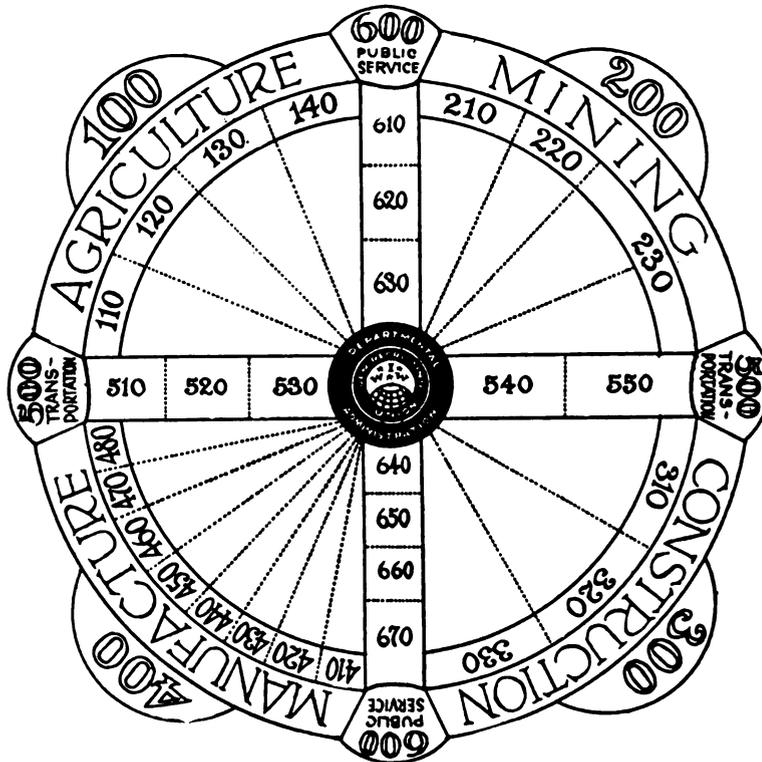
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W. by keeping the membership of that organization confused. A policy of "friendliness" on our part would only serve to play their game and would be, therefore, betrayal of the rank and file.

"The Communist Party rejects a policy of 'co-operation' with the I. W. W. and will conduct a policy of strict, pitiless criticism directed against the principles, tactics and leaders of the I. W. W. The communist party recognizes that the membership of the I. W. W. is revolutionary and will strive to give it communist understanding and compel them to relegate their opportunist leaders to the discard and change the policy of the organization to accord with the principles of the Third International. Only then will co-operation be possible between the communists and the I. W. W."

It is on this bunch that it is tried to force the affections of the I. W. W. by an endorsement of the Third International.

These intellectuals or quasi-intellectuals who always have been politicians and still are—they are going to save the rank and file of the I. W. W. from their leaders. Leaders in the I. W. W. where no man holds office longer than a year, with the exception of editors, who may, but seldom do hold office a year or more!

How do you like them, fellow worker?

We are told that this arrogant, preposterous crowd are the direct descendants, philosophically, of Mr. Fraina, the Palmer agent. The others, the so-called United Communists, are more to be considered the intellectual children of another philosopher, Mr. John Reed.

And thereby hangs a tale.

It is commonly known in this country that of all American politicians thirsting for power none is thirstier than John Reed, now a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International and very likely the real author of Zinoviev appeal to the I. W. W. He is supposed to have been released by the White Terror authorities in Finland, through which country he was attempting, according to the capitalist press, to smuggle some bolshevik diamonds with which to stimulate the communist movement in this country.

The story of the "communist" movement in America is largely the story of the struggle between two men for power and supremacy, a struggle for leadership between Fraina, the agent provocateur and Reed, the man with ambition, who thus jointly became the parents of the "communist" movement in this country, with Fraina always leading, until he was unmasked and left his competitor in control, although in exile.

It is a wellknown fact that in revolutionary times it is the most radical ones that get to the front. If you want to become a leader these days you have got to be awfully radical and r-r-r-revolutionary. Fraina and Reed found this out by experience.

Fraina having the backing of the secret police was playing a safe game and he went the limit. He went as far as he dared, cautiously and gradually, in

order not to arouse suspicion against his provocateur program.

It began with a gradual discrediting of parliamentary action ending with a complete repudiation when they failed to capture the socialist party. Now mass action came to the front as the main point of the program. Also tentative endorsement of the I. W. W. Gradually it drifted into the only logical conclusion—armed insurrection. Fraina was always a neck ahead in the race, because there was no limit to his daring. Reed had to follow or lose his leadership chances to Fraina.

When Fraina said "Down with parliaments"—Reed repeated "down with parliaments." When Fraina began to develop the theory of mass action, Reed was also mass action, and finally when Fraina said "armed insurrection," Reed had to repeat it or be left behind. And what the leaders said, their followers faithfully repeated. If Fraina had advised suicide, we believe Reed would have done the same thing, in order not to be outdone, and their followers would probably have jumped off the Brooklyn Bridge or some other high point, for if there ever was abject submission by the rank and file to outside leadership, it is to be found in the American bolshevik movement.

Advising armed insurrection, however, is dangerous business, and it is significant that both leaders were out of sight when that program was promulgated.

Fraina and Reed were very much like the smart shepherd boy and the bad giant in the nursery tale. We do not exactly remember it, but it runs something as follows:

The giant terrorized the neighborhood, so the shepherd boy decided to take his life. Small as he was, he could not think of using force so he had to use stratagem. He came upon the giant as he was eating his gruel of meal and water, so the giant, being hospitable, asked the boy to sit down. The boy sat down and ate and greatly surprised the giant by eating as many bowls of gruel as himself. But the boy was throwing the gruel into a big leather pouch he had under his girdle, which the clumsy old giant did not see.

At the seventh bowl the giant had to give up, saying he was all filled up. "But how can you who are so small eat as much gruel as I," he asked the boy.

This was the question that the boy had expected. In anticipation of it he had filled the leather pouch with gruel.

"That is very simple," he answered. "When I get too full, I take my big knife and slit my stomach." And as the boy said so, he slit the leather pouch so the gruel ran out.

Now, the stupid old giant did not want to be outdone and put to shame by a little shepherd boy, so he, too, pulled out his knife and slit his own stomach. That was the end of that bad giant.

Fraina was the shepherd boy. Reed the envious old giant. Reed nearly busted himself with the gruel of r-r-r-revolutionary phrases in order not to be outdone by the boy Fraina. But Fraina had

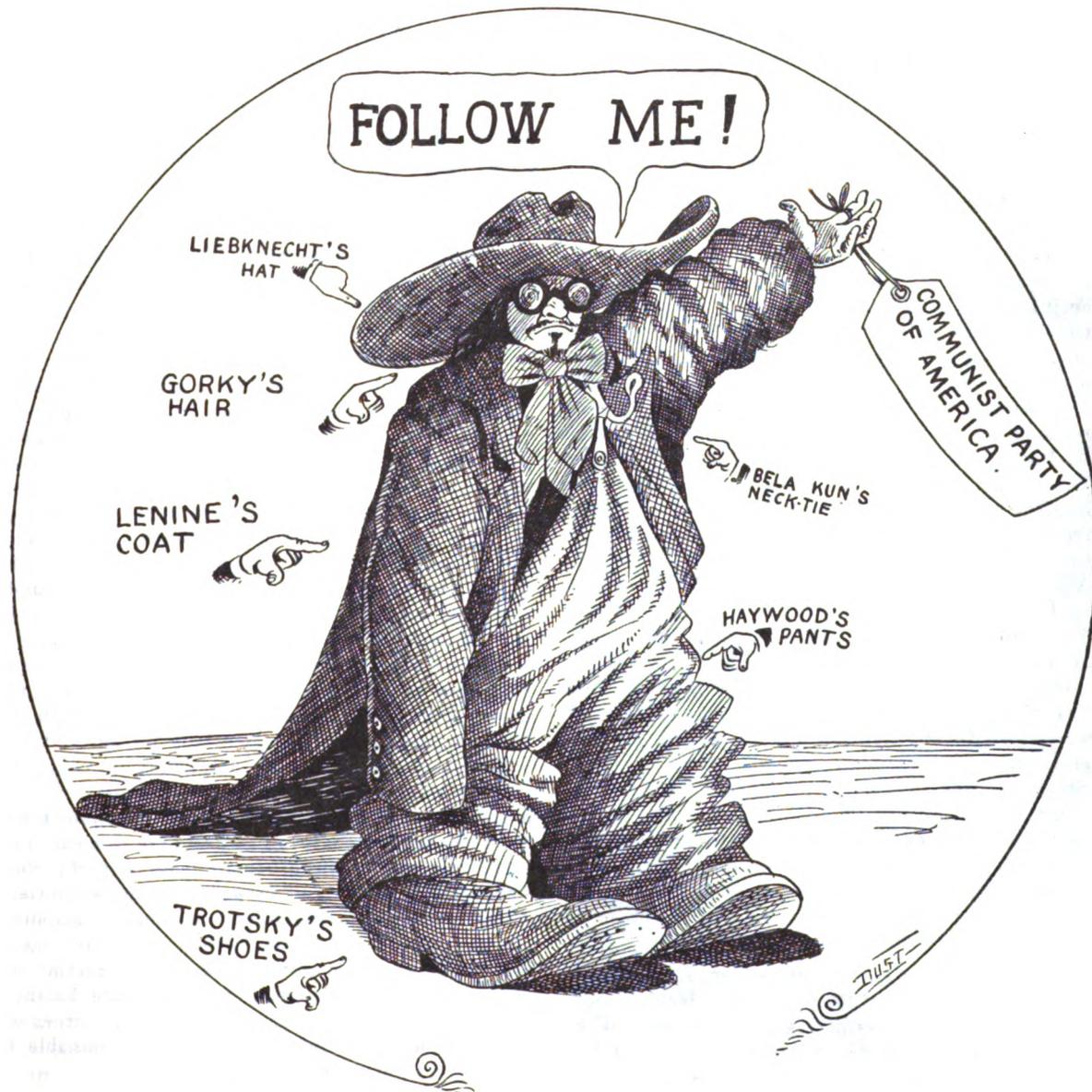
the secret service pouch to rely on. Finally, the boy in the case slit the pouch with the knife of "armed insurrection," and Reed not to be outdone took the same knife and slit himself open. That was the end of both Fraina and Reed as agitators working in the open. That trick sent them by opposite route to Hades or underground.

Their followers, repeating every act of their leaders, just as in the game "follow the leader", also slit their stomachs and went underground, and there they are to this day, barking at the I. W. W. and trying to sow dissension in our ranks by attacking the so-called "leaders".

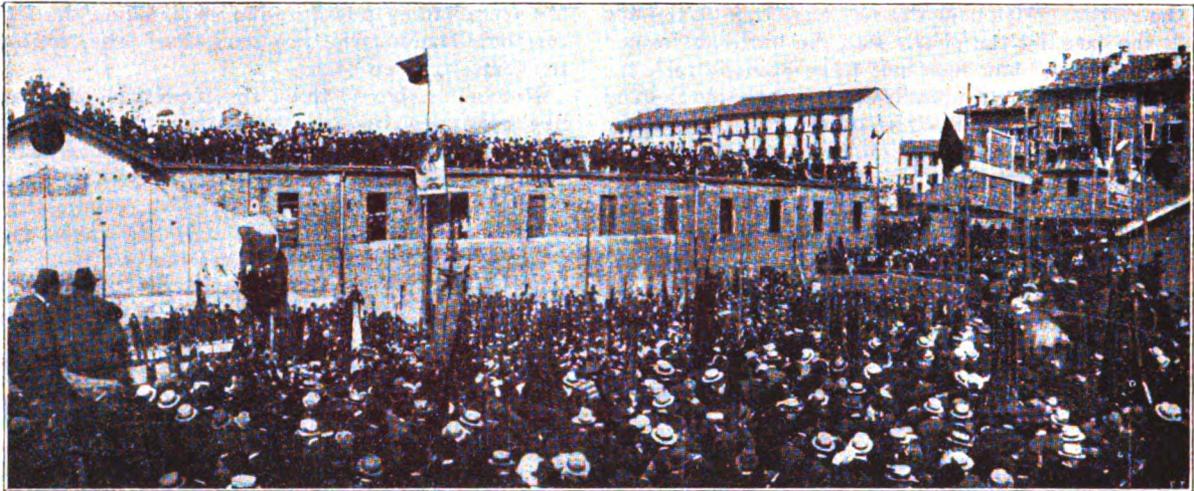
As said above, the American bolshevik movement is largely a personal affair. The rank and

file are standing underground and holding the sack for their leaders who are somewhere else, waiting for them to come back.

Not being able to think for themselves they are like hypnotized by their own stupid provocateur program, invented by the smart secret police agent. They would like to let go of it, but they can't. They have got themselves into a logical trap, from which there is no escape except by a full and open confession of the innermost motives of their politician souls and a complete recantation. To do that requires more moral courage than most of them possess, and in that manner they are being dragged down to their own destruction by the invisible leader weights of a false, mercenary philosophy which stultifies the American labor movement.



The Ass In The Lion's Skin or "All Dressed Up and No Place to Go."



IMMENSE CROWDS WITH THOUSANDS OF RED FLAGS ATTENDING THE CEREMONY OF LAYING THE CORNERSTONE FOR THE BUILDING OF THE SOCIALIST PAPER "AVANTI" IN MILAN

RED ITALY

By G. CANNATA

There are so many agencies interested in suppressing the truth about the momentous events occurring on the continent of Europe that our erstwhile close neighbor becomes daily more and more enveloped in an impenetrable smoke-screen of falsehood and secrecy. The performances of the American press in relation to Russian news have already reached the apex of perversion and imbecility; as to Italy, these performances are only beginning. The Italian situation must be indeed clouded in mystery to the ordinary worker who gets his news from the prominent capitalist newspapers. Occasionally he reads of interviews with amiable American gentlemen returning from business trips to Italy; the amiable gentlemen are invariably optimistic; according to them the "Italian people are getting down to hard work," "their industry and thrift, their innate common sense will carry them thru their present difficulties. But unfortunately, some sensational event occurs to disturb the impression thus created—we have widespread hunger riots; we have general strikes; we have civil disorder and commotion. At this point the Italian Embassy intervenes with the stereotyped official statement "that the whole affair has been greatly exaggerated by the enemy propaganda agencies, always busy discrediting Italy abroad in order to prevent her economic rehabilitation."

The recent remarkable achievement of the Italian Metal and Machinery Workers in "locking out" their capitalist masters moves me to present to the American workers a general picture of the Italian situation, brief and therefore necessarily incomplete as to details. My impressions in the matter are developed from a knowledge of the psychology,

temperament, traditions and working class movements of Italy; from direct correspondence and personal contact with recent immigrants or sailors from there.

The Economics of Italy

No single factor exerts such a great influence on events past and present in the labor movement of Italy as the economic status of the country in general. Italy is next to Belgium, the most densely populated country on the face of the earth; today its approximately 125,000 square miles of territory embrace a population of forty million. The density of its population is practically twice that of France. A thickly populated country may have a sound, economic basis if (like England and Belgium) it has available in its own soil or from its colonies, within convenient transportation distance, the prerequisites to intensive modern industry—coal, oil, iron, cotton, etc. Curiously enough, Italy with its immense population is essentially an agricultural country—it has little iron, practically no coal and no petroleum. Because of the insufficient area, and despite a fairly efficient agriculture, it cannot raise its own requirements of wheat, corn, meat and other primary essential foods. Its exports consisted almost entirely of luxuries and non-essentials (silks, art, glass-ware, olive oil, marble, sulphur, citrus fruits, dried fruits, cotton goods etc., etc.) and never served to cover more than a fraction of the imports. The resulting adverse trade balance was offset before the war by two special sources of national income, which served to make possible a rather precarious financial existence:

1. The tourist industry.
2. The exportation of man-power (emigration)

resulting in income through money sent from abroad. Italian emigration before the war had assumed colossal proportions, the high birth rate making it a permanent national practice. No less than seven million natives of Italy are today spread over the face of the earth in search of a chance to make a living.

The effect of the great war on the Italian economic and financial structure can be easily imagined. The special sources of income were greatly diminished; exports ceased while the imports of raw materials and finished products for the orgy of destruction reached unheard of proportions.

The entire economic life was thrown out of gear; immense munition and metallurgical plants sprang up in Northern Italy, depending on England and America for their raw material. Foreign loans succeeded each other rapidly and five national loans aggregating over fifty billion lire were floated. Italy emerged from the war with a total indebtedness amounting to seventy-five per cent of her national wealth; with a debauched currency (present exchange rate 23 lire to a dollar; pre-war rate 5.17 lire to a dollar) and with immense tracts of ruined territory on her hands.

Last December the financial statement of Minister of the Treasury Schanzer showed a deficit of two milliards 800 million lire. Six months later Meda's statement showed the deficit to be twelve milliards. Neither statement includes any interest payments on the foreign debt; the Allies have been obliged to remit them. Meda's budget as estimated for the year 1920-21 is summarized as follows (in millions of lire):

Ordinary receipts	10,000
Extraordinary receipts (sale of war stocks, etc.)	1,500
	11,500
Ordinary expenses	12,050
Extraordinary expenses:	
1. Cereals	6,300
2. War, Marine, Colonies.....	2,850
3. Liberated and redeemed areas.....	2,000
4. Maritime traffic	500
	23,700
Total expenses	23,700
Less total receipts.....	11,500
	12,200
Deficit	12,200

A national economic situation which was always a source of misery and poverty to the vast masses of industrial and agricultural laborers and small peasants, has now reached a stage in which life to the worker has become a nightmare of suffering and privation.

Italy is on bread rations; the spectacle of a people burning wood in locomotives and industrial plants is not unique with blockaded and beset Soviet Russia. Capitalist Italy has been reduced to the same extreme by a coal-price amounting to 18 times the pre-war charge. The government flour monopoly, which creates a state deficit of six billion lire

yearly in order to sell bread at a moderate fixed price, does not place the means of subsistence within the average worker's wage. To such a pass has capitalism and imperialistic war brought the Italian proletariat!

Revolutionary Traditions and Working-class Movements

The modern Italian worker has no horror of the word "revolution"; the wars for national unity, which had a very popular character, are barely half a century old. The economic misery of the country, due partly to its natural deficiencies and partly to an indolent and unenterprising bourgeoisie and a corrupt and thieving governmental officialdom, has several times forced the workers to surge blindly forward into bloody insurrectionary movements under the lash of impellent necessity. The years 1893 in Sicily and 1898 in Northern and Central Italy are written in the memory of the Italian workers in letters of blood. They were hopeless unorganized struggles, throttled by the military with the utmost ferocity. There followed the phase of economic organization and socialist political activity, then the inevitable turn to economic action beginning with the remarkable general strike of 1904 and the ascendancy of the syndicalist criterion of direct action in the years immediately preceding 1914. This period witnessed a wonderful series of



MALATESTA ADDRESSING ITALIAN WORKERS FROM A BALCONY

industrial and general strikes. The bourgeois press accused the workers of having gone strike-mad. The hanging of eight socialists in Japan in 1908 provoked a strike of 150,000 workers in the City of Milan) which witnessed five general strikes from 1912 to 1914. The killing of three workers caused the economic paralysis of the entire nation. Many of these "protest-strikes," called for 24 hours, continued for days and days thru the sheer will of the workers to advance further and further in their "revolutionary gymnastics." On one occasion the entire city of Milan, the Italian Petrograd of the coming revolution, was in the hands of the workers for three days. To go one step further would have meant revolution; the workers retired of their own volition; the time was not yet ripe. Just previous to the world-war, and following the disastrous economic consequences of the Tripolitan war, there occurred the highly successful semi-insurrectionary movement known as the Red Week of 1914. In such a temper and with such recent memories did the Italian workers enter the period of military terror and oppression that characterizes war. Conscription shattered the ranks of organized labor; the Italian Syndicalist Union, with a pre-war strength of about 125,000 members, was only able to maintain thru the war a membership of 30,000; its leaders were interned in concentration camps; its activities hampered.

Italian labor rebounded from the oppression of the regime of war and militarism with remarkable vigor. The ranks of all radical organizations filled rapidly; the Russian revolution seems to have caused a veritable psychological landslide. Amnesty for political prisoners was speedily obtained. One hundred and fifty-six socialists were elected to the chamber of deputies; the Italian Syndicalist Union reached a membership of 350,000, entering even the cities of undeveloped Sicily.

The Union of the Toilers of the Sea achieved practically one hundred per cent organization, and with the General Confederation of Labor, the Syndicat of Railway Workers and other minor labor bodies gave Italy an organized workers' army of about 2,500,000 men.

The Italian Syndicalist Union is a revolutionary Industrial Union; it is probably more closely related to the I.W.W. in its several characteristics than any other organization in the world. The independent unions of railway workers and marine transport workers are syndicalistic rather than socialistic in their activities.

The General Confederation of Labor and the Socialist Party, numerically the strongest organized force in Italy, work hand in hand and with the Moscow Third International. All Italian labor is thus formally lined up to the extreme left; "moderate" socialist opinion is represented exclusively by a section of the socialist parliamentary group and part of the officialdom of the General Confederation of Labor. It is superfluous to state that their influence with the proletarian rank and file is not very great.

Exercising Absolute Job Control

The enormous increase in organized strength of the workers and the prevalence of almost unanimous revolutionary intent in their ranks has given rise to a new tactic in the class-struggle which is highly significant and instructive. It is a tactic characterized by calm assurance and the sensation of limitless power; it is deliberately and systematically efficient and invariably successful. It is the exercise on the part of the workers of absolute job control.

It is not exaggerating to state that the Italian labor movement today is a state within a state. It is a state with its own international foreign policy which the workers, thru the exercise of their economic strength, carry out against the wishes of capitalists and government. The main tenet of this proletarian foreign policy at present is the defense of Soviet Russia against foreign aggression. The activities of the transport workers in this connection have been positively brilliant. Seamen have repeatedly forced the unloading of munitions at Genoa, Naples and Trieste; one shipload of munitions was seized by the crew and carried to Fiume; 56 Italian sailors on the British steamer Calabria struck in the port of New York when they discovered that the steamer was to carry Polish reservists to Danzig recently.

The railway workers regularly and methodically inspect all freight and side-track all war material. In effect, it may be said that the Italian industries still belong to the capitalists, but the workers operate them for their own particular interests, at least in part.

In the vicissitudes of the internal struggle, the workers are also using their newly-found power to daily humiliate the capitalists and accustom them to the bitterness of defeat. It has become a struggle in many cases over trivialities and for pure moral prestige. The workers in various shipyards have actually by job action forced the employers to fly the red flag on every ship launched! In the arsenal of Leghorn within the last two weeks a government torpedo boat destroyer took the water ablaze with red flags. After a nationalist mob had wrecked the offices of "Avanti" the socialist daily in Rome recently, the railway men retaliated by refusing to carry the bourgeois papers out of the city for distribution.

The Last Phase: Locking-out the Capitalist.

Before taking up the recent events in the metallurgical industry of Italy, which have attracted world-wide attention, it may not be amiss to state that the principle of seizure on the part of the workers has already been applied in several cases. In the agricultural field, the seizure and working of unused land has been legalized by the Visocchi decree; what the government of Giolitti was unable to prevent, it sagaciously sanctioned. The first example of the seizure and operation of an industrial plant on the part of the workers occurred in February of this year at Sestri Ponenti, Italy, during

an agitation led by Angelo Faggi, formerly editor of "Il Proletario," the Italian organ of the I. W. W. The workers held and operated this factory efficiently till driven out in a bloody encounter with the Royal Guards (Guardie Regie), the newly recruited force of highly paid mercenaries, which Nitti organized as the potential White Guard of the Italian bourgeoisie in the coming revolution.

The present controversy in the metallurgical industry arose from the workers' demands, embodied in a memorandum asking for an advance of approximately 35 per cent in wages and the satisfactory adjustment of various matters affecting workers' control in the factories. The Italian Syndicalist Union has over 50,000 members in this industry and considerable influence on the 400,000 members of the Italian Federation of Metal Workers, affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, and the other minor bodies of organized workers. It is particularly strong in Milan, Sestri Ponenti, Piombino, Terni and Bologna. In Turin it exercises considerable influence because it has consistently countenanced a "shop-steward" movement, highly popular with the rank and file of the Federation of Metal Workers, and somewhat disagreeable to the leadership of the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor. In fact, it may be said that the sole bone of contention between Syndicalists and Communists anarchists on one hand and maximalist socialists on the other is the insistence on the part of the former that the Socialist Party, with its heterogeneous leadership held in unnatural unity thru the vision of coming power, shall not extend its hegemony over the workers into the revolutionary period by the organization of politically dominated soviets, as has happened in Russia under a different set of conditions. The Italian shop-steward (Consigli di fabbrica) movement is a highly intelligent rank and file attempt to place the destinies of the Italian revolution directly in the hands of the producers.

The refusal of the National Federation of Employers in the Mechanical and Metallurgical Industry to accede to the demands of the workers caused a general "slow-down" strike to be initiated on Aug. the 20th, over one half million metal workers participating in the movement.

Production was reduced practically 50 per cent for a period of almost two weeks. The employers retaliated against this effective measure by declaring a general lock-out and the workers responded by effecting a counter lock-out of the capitalists! The workers seized over 500 plants in various parts of the country, barricaded themselves in, hoisted the red flag on the roofs and mounted machine-guns for defense against possible attack. Production was continued as in normal times, in some factories with the collaboration of the office and technical staffs, and in other factories without.

A curious factor in the situation has been the strictly neutral and pacific attitude of the Italian government. Personally I believe that the extremely crafty Signor Giolitti, the old fox of Dronero, ele-



SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF CARRYING THE TIRED CHILD AND THE RED FLAG AT THE SAME TIME, COMING BACK FROM THE DEMONSTRATION

vated again to the rank of premier by a dying and impotent bourgeoisie, is still trying to make good his old boast of having been able "to relegate Carl Marx to the attic," by his policy of corruptive conciliation towards the political socialists. The desire for power for its own sake, appears to be strong enough in Giolitti that he may even attempt to disprove Marx, by cutting loose from the sinking ship of capitalism, and perpetuating his political state thru a policy of pliancy and adaptation to new economic forms of social life. It must be remembered that Signor Giolitti has already legalized the expropriation of unused lands, recognized and established commercial relations with Soviet Russia, declared openly the neutrality of the government in all industrial disputes, threatened the confiscation of all war-profits and in other ways flown straight against the drift of bourgeois good usage and custom. Meanwhile the Royal Guards are active as ever maintaining intact the authority and prestige of his government. Signor Giolitti is indeed a 20th Century Macchiavelli and a statesman of resourcefulness; but the Italian workers have a keen enough intelligence and know so precisely what they want and how they are going to conquer it, that the stratagems of this latter-day Moses will prove absolutely futile.

With the Italian workers in complete possession of the splendidly equipped and excellently organized metallurgical industry, which includes all plants

manufacturing munitions of war, two roads only are open to them—they will either extend the movement and gradually force the seizure of all industry which means revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, or they will of their own free decision, compromise once more with capitalism to renew the struggle at a more opportune time. The present situation precludes stagnation; in order to function, the metallurgical plants must secure raw materials and dispose of finished products. At this date of writing (Sept. 12) the railway-workers have begun delivering raw materials without authorization; over two hundred plants in the textile, shoe, rubber, chemical and lignite mining industry have been seized. It is to be foreseen that certain elements in the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor will advocate renunciation and moderation, basing their thesis on the economic insufficiency of the country in case of revolution and consequent blockade. It is also to be foreseen that the Syndicalist and Communist Anarchists will advocate to the rank and file the immediate expropriation of capitalism and the proletarian assumption of power. As to the result, the next few days will tell.

Whatever the outcome of the present struggle, it will remain a milestone in the proletarian advance to power. The action of the metallurgical workers in Italy blazes a new trail for the world-proletariat. It is a road which the I. W. W. has for years recognized and advocated amid universal doubt and unbelief. The Italian lockout of capitalism has shown at least the possibility of a preponderantly powerful economic organization, with unanimous revolutionary intent, ignoring all the agencies of capitalist authority and resistance, and thru its sheer irresistible might taking possession of industry in the name of the producers. If impotent raging capitalism should then attempt violence, the blood of the victims would be upon its own head. Contrast the austere good sense, the serious moderation and sense of responsibility of the common worker, Eduardo Gili, today "commissar" of the Fiat automobile works in Turin, employing 40,000 men, with

the violent ravings of capitalist reactionaries and white guardists:

Gili is quoted by the Chicago Tribune of Sept. 12, as having answered as follows to the correspondent's question: "If the government stops playing neutral, or if the owners send armed men to occupy their plants what will you do?"

"Two can play at that game," said the commissar, "but we won't use violence unless it is forced upon us. We have machine guns, grenades, and armored trucks, and, moreover, we are friendly with the soldiers, who are our conscripted brothers.

"But we don't want any more war, nor do they. I believe everything will progress peacefully."

"We've learned this much already, that men will work in good spirits without superintendents. When the business end of buying and selling has been arranged, Italian labor will own the industries. This will come some time soon, even if we don't succeed now."

The words of Gili are prophetic, the proletarian revolution in Italy is inevitable; it is imminent.

The nationalist intellectual apologists of bourgeois Italy refer to the modern phase of her national existence as the "realization of the Third Italy," presumably the legitimate successor in greatness to Ancient Rome and the Medieval Republics of Venice, Genoa and Milan. Capitalist Italy, in a world dominated by brutal overbearing ambition and unbridled speculation and struggle, which make small psychological appeal to her people, has achieved but a meagre estate. She is politically, economically and culturally a vassal of the lords of coal and iron. To her people, as to all the oppressed of the earth, there is approaching an era in which constructive, creative and artistic genius shall have full opportunity for development, and the labor of brawn and brain shall be the noblest enterprise of man. It is for the achievement of the Fourth Italy, the Italy of the coming Industrial Communist Civilization, that our proletarian brothers across the seas are delivering their final and mightiest blows.



MONSTER MASS MEETING OF 150,000 WORKERS IN "THE ARENA," IN MILAN, TO SHOW SYMPATHY WITH STRIKING RAILROAD WORKERS

Is the I. W. W. Going Into Politics?

Nomination Speech Delivered Before National Convention Of The Intellectual Elite Of America,
Assembled At The House Of Blazes, In Chicago On September 16th, 1920.

BY QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

Candidate for the Presidency of U. S. of America and the Deestriect of Lake Michigan

Running on the more or less progressive ticket of the independent superman element.

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Ladies and Gentlemen:

The lady obstetrician, who was summoned to officiate upon the occasion of my advent into this world, could not swim—hence she could not cross the creek which intersected the path leading to our hut; the bridge having been carried away by the flood. When the time was overdue and no other means were employed to facilitate my birth than lamenting and praying I lost patience and I elbowed my own way towards the light. The above history is faithfully recorded in the family Bible. Now, if Mr. Cox or Mr. Harding had arrived into this world unassisted by the goose-lard-mongers, would they not have told about it in their nominating speeches? Of the three of us, there is no doubt, I am the fittest to play poker in the White House. However, the nomination cannot be imposed upon me unless I am given a running mate of my own choosing. I demand that William Gibbs McAdoo be nominated for Vice-President; Herbert Hotstuff Hoover is my second choice, but McAdoo is a much better worker—he would save me the expenses of keeping a janitor, a butler and a few other expensive servants.

The honors which are to be bestowed upon me this evening have been vaguely foretold thirty-five years ago. When I was three days old, a small circus was passing our village and encamped at a nearby caravansary. Among its curiosities was a blind gypsy girl phrenologist, who could estimate the intellectual caliber of any human creature by passing her fingers over his pate. Hearing about these miraculous traits of this prodigy of a gypsy, my father hurried to the circus tent and fetched her to my cradle. "This is the brat", he said to her,—“If you can tell me that he is good for anything, I will pay you a dollar.” The girl groped my head all over and found there wonderful bumps. She readily asserted that I was destined for brave intellectual exploits. As she accepted the dollar from my father and was turning to go she murmured to herself: “If this child lives long enough to use his head for mischievous purposes, some people will be glad and some will be sorry.” This prophecy shall come true tomorrow. Surely, Mr. McAdoo shall become wild with joy when he will read our chairman’s telegram, conveying to him these glad tidings that I choose him as my running mate—On the other hand—upon their perusing of my speech in the morning papers—Cox and Harding

—and even Christensen shall become sorry that I ever was born.

Comrade Debs is a serious rival. Were he turned loose, the country would witness a mighty contest. I am afraid of him. Fortunately, he still has to serve more than eight years for the crime the Government committed upon him, so he can make no speeches. I am in favor of his being set free—but not until after the election.

General Wood was an intrepid candidate; he was my choice; my bet of \$5 was placed upon him. The odds were 8 to 5; so certain I was of his victory in the Coliseum that I made plans in advance to place the whole stake of \$13 upon McAdoo. The nomination of Harding prevented me from collecting it and my finances became demoralized. I needed fresh air, so I went on North Clark street for a promenade. As I passed the Radical Book Shop and was about to turn to Trotzky Square, I was accosted by a beautiful girl. “How do you do,” she whispered aloud, at the same time bestowing upon me a tantalizing smile; and the look she gave me was violently eloquent. I gallantly offered her my arm, and, as we proceeded toward Chicago Avenue, the direction for which she appeared to be bent, I recounted to her the sad story how I had risked my last \$5 bill upon General Wood, and how Harding had robbed him of the nomination; and how there were still two days until my pay day. The girl jerked her arm loose from mine and contemptuously pushed me away from her. Women are constituted upon so practical a plane that they are capable of sympathizing only with the man who wins; and this is the reason why I joined in the Presidential race and why I would promise the people almost anything in order to win. Personal grievances toward Gov. Cox I had none—I did not bet on the success of Mr. McAdoo. I could not bring myself to believe that the attainment of justice was possible in the Democratic Convention any more than in the Republican. These two old parties are so foul with corruption that a good man has no chance in their camps. I hope that Mr. McAdoo will fare better in the House of Blazes. He trusted in our fair play so explicitly that he did not deem it necessary to attend our convention and personally guard his interests. His absence shows that he is becoming modest. My own presence in this Convention is not due as much to the lack of modesty as to the inchoate consciousness of my political importance, which impelled me to come.

More than a year ago a hungry dog strayed to Mr. Harding's front porch. Mr. Harding came out of the house with a sandwich and offered it to the dog, and **THE DOG DID NOT TAKE IT**. Dogs are more cautious than men. They no longer trust the candidates of the old parties. Many virtues have been hurled upon my rivals since their nomination. Assiduously as they are learning to wear these new moral appendages, they feel in them uncomfortable and unnatural. "They are family men" is being trumpeted by the kept press. Perhaps they are—What of it? The assertion that they do love their wives is also ridiculously extraneous. If they did not love them someone else would.] Women may be capable of preserving vacuum in their heads, but not in their hearts. Many a mediocre husband with his vitality already vanned, still desperately strives to pander to the ravenous erotic appetite of his wife with no other motive than the unchristian and egotistic wish to keep her from becoming enamoured in some musician, a poet or any other poor devil of an artist, who, although performing the noblest mission in the world, are too poor to afford to keep a wife of their own. Artists are instilling harmony into life and arraying even its most homely features in rhyme and rythm of superlative grace.

No family man professing the sublime love rinciples of Jesus Christ would boast of his monopolizing a source of temporal blessing which he himself is no longer capable of enjoying, and for the want of which the souls of his fellowmen are perishing. Considering all these circumstances seriously, I am for absolute and unconditional practical morality such as was advocated in the indignant ululations of Jezabuku, Shoumonshna and Harlipook. All the illicit pagan traffic which is so efficiently exposed by the aforementioned Shoumonshna; and who, for lack of a better word, terms it Kumiar-jaka-kuti, is being carried on to this very day—boys and girls meet in the dark for this unauthorized purpose. Neither Mr. Harding nor Mr. Cox do propose to put a stop to these things, whereas I am toiling for the past five years already upon a scientific book in which I strive to prove by the very words of the Scripture, that a generous lady never counts the kisses she bestows upon her lover—and that a fat bone will always precipitate a fierce conflict among hungry dogs.

The Non-Partisan—Social-Democratic plank in my platform reads as follows: "I am for public ownership of all the debts that my generous Administration may incur. To capture the votes of the I. W. W.'s and the Communists I shall yet amend this plank so cleverly as to give my definite, and unconditional pledge that the red stripes shall not be expunged from our national emblem during my administration—if I can prevent it.

To offer a practical inducement to Big Business I planed out the ensuing little 2 by 4 plank: I stand for single taxation and double gross misrepresentation of the good American people.

The women of the whole country are being solidly lined up in my cause. It was a curious incident through which I won their support: A friend told me that in Lincoln Park there was being held in captivity a baboon whose blessed buttock was resplendent with all the gorgeous colors of the perihelion of a rainbow. "That's the kind of a baboon I want to see." I said to myself, and forthwith I went to have a look at this strange animal. When I arrived at the spot, the baboon was exhibiting his hind part to a middle aged, pale-faced lady. She was contemplating this pulchritudinous symphony of colors with profound interest. As I joined her in admiring this eighth wonder of the world she slyly backed out to a corner, where she gave her face a calisthenic treatment with a puff which was sprayed with red powder on one side and purple on the other. When she reappeared at my side at the rail I looked upon her and noticed that she had succeeded in embellishing her faded physiognomy with imitations of two of the colors exhibited by the baboon, and she appeared to be happier and more hopeful than she was before. Obviously, she was endeavoring to excite my aesthetic senses. I appreciated the adversity which her matrimonial ambition must have been encountering in this present commercialized society. My sympathy was readily aroused and I resolved right there to say to her a kind word of encouragement. Having introduced myself as the Uebermensch party's candidate for an independent President of the United States, I declared that every woman was entitled to a husband, according to my Christian and humane platform. That she will get one when I become elected; and that she won't have to make her face as beautiful as that either, I said, pointing with earnest emphasis to the vari-colored back of the ape.

This straightforward declaration of fundamental democratic principles produced a deep effect upon this honest woman. With tears in her eyes she thanked me for my righteous attitude toward her oppressed sex. Forthwith she slid her hand into her stocking and produced therefrom a two dollar bill and contributed it to my campaign fund. She confided to me that she had considerable influence over Miss Alice Paul and that she hoped to enlist her in my cause to tour the country in my behalf. But it was this two dollars which enabled me to stay at home one day and compose this great nomination speech—every word of which was deliberately intended to inflict a merciless lash upon the knavish back of the plutocratic henchmen who want to fool the people, and who don't know how. Scoundrels and hypocrites! Only yesterday they considered me to be harmless, but tomorrow they will behold my righteous wrath portentously hovering over their nefarious domineering ambitions. Like a Gibraltar, a philosopher equipped with so sublime a gift of pre-science as I am, shall always be towering high above the seas of a charlatanic herd. The most their mad waves can accomplish is to splash my feet. The new order we are approaching is a reign of ochlocracy. Like infuriated

meteorological elements, massed for a catastrophic play, the awakening power of the enslaved strata of society shall prove irresistible. These new forces will not suffer to be directed by a "family man" or any other cheap receptacle of conventional respectability. To render the soul of the masses articulate, Providence has fashioned a special criterion of political sapience. Does not every pulse of your blood make you conscious of this fact that I am the new prophet whom God sent to this world in His final desperate effort to save civilization? Let Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer lay his iniquitous hand upon this prophet and the earth shall be shaken in its foundation; and the sun shall become dark.

I challenge the Senate Investigating Committee to examine my campaign finances and prove that my fund to date exceeds the sum of two dollars, which I voluntarily admitted. My rivals of the two corrupt old parties are said to have a campaign fund of \$14,000,000, and they have not as yet made a better speech than any inmate of any of our Asylums for Feeble Minded would, if he were brought under the influence of a quart of 60 per cent virulent moonshine concoction—While I produced a masterpiece of epochal oratorical importance. Such noble logemachical achievement can be attained only with such campaign fund as comes from above. Should I become victorious in this Presidential race—will not this be a positive proof that God is with me?

I favor the immediate settlement of all financial obligations of Europe towards the United States. Our debtors cannot pay in Cash, BUT THEY HAVE IN THEIR CELLARS GOOD STUFF TO DRINK! Hence, upon my assumption of the executive power, my first official act shall be to despatch the entire American Navy to the shores of Europe, and to collect from our debtors \$12,000,000,000 worth of champagne, cognac, beer, brandy, whiskey and gin, and perhaps, some of the old, seasoned German schnaps. When the navy brings the cargo to our ports by the Act of Congress, the cheaper brands of the liquors shall be distributed among the people, while the noble ambrosial liquids shall be reserved for the servants of the people. By a presidential proclamation a month shall then be set apart for the purpose of drinking these liquors, and for celebrating our regained liberties.

Any Leagues of Nations to enforce peace should have been created before the war commenced. To organize a League of Nations to enforce peace after the forces of destruction had spent themselves, is as idiotic an effort, and its success as impossible as that of attempting to have one's house insured after it had burned down. Batiushka Woodrow Wilson was in office more than a year while the war was being prepared. He witnessed the setting in motion of the massacring machine, and he did not throw into its gear as much as a single one of his fourteen points. Never before had the American people had so genuine an occasion to be ashamed of their Government as they have today.

Tradition of the country requires that the presi-

dent be a married man. You need not worry about that. There is a peach of a girl in my neighborhood upon whom I keep a hungry eye. I shall continue shining around her, and, if you nominate me, I may easily win her for my wife. The only objection she advances against me now is that I am lazy—that I am not earning enough to support her. This objection will vanish when I become elected President of the United States. A clever president can easily earn one million dollars a year—no matter how lazy he might be. Now, this girl is possessed of many charms; I would not attempt to enumerate or describe them on this occasion, because Beauty has no place in politics—nevertheless, I can assure you that she has more influence over me than the church. All men are threadbare creatures, enduring a despairing existence until they receive the blessed sacrament of life which is administered in the form of the first kiss from a loving girl. Likewise, a woman deprived of the influence of a loving man feels most wretched, and she is most happy when in his impassioned embrace. So noble a creature is my girl that my soul is craving much more violently for her than for the presidency, for the salary and the contraband backsheesh that's connected with the office. Should this exalted maiden consent to become the first lady of the land, I shall become the happiest of all presidents that ever existed. Caressing her and writing lyrics upon her lofty traits shall become the principal mission of my life. This sacred mission shall keep me continually so preoccupied that I shall never find time to introduce any new reforms, or to devise new encroachments upon your liberties. The legislative branch of the government shall be busy drinking the cognac and the champagne for several years to come. Hence, I can honestly assure the people of the United States that, during my occupancy of the White House, they shall be as free and as happy as if they had no president at all.

I thank you for your intelligent attention.

Turn to the Last Page!

There you find a reproduction of the front cover of the latest book issued by the I. W. W.—the Industrial Union Handbook for the Agricultural Workers.

It will be ready for delivery by the time you read this announcement.

We will review the book in our next issue. It has 64 pages and an illustration on most every page.

Send for it in single copies or in big lots right away!

Why is Capitalism an Absurdity

By John Sandgren

We have repeatedly stated that capitalism is being overthrown by its inherent contradictions and the mathematically absurd principles on which it is built.

One way to prove this would be to write a high-brow treatise, using the terms arithmetic ratio and geometric ratio and many other expressions understandable only to the professors in mathematics and economics or their equals. This magazine, however, is read by workers who only have a public school education, if they even have that. We will therefore try to prove our contention by a simple method which will be understood by all.

In 1889 Rockefeller's wealth was estimated at 100 million dollars. Let us say that the financiers are satisfied if their wealth doubles in 15 years. (As for Rockefeller this does not hold good, for in 1905 his annual income, not his wealth, was estimated at from 72 to 100 million dollars). From 1889 to 1919 are 30 years. In that time Rockefellers wealth would normally have increased to 200 millions in 1904 and to 400 millions in 1919, and in 1936 it would be 800 millions in 1951 it would be 1600 millions, and so on. In fact Rockefeller's wealth is much bigger than this, but we use it only as an example.

To use another example: The Astor wealth increased from 6 millions to 300 millions from 1854 to 1889. Let us make the conservative assumption that, from that year on, it increased in the same ratio as in the first example, that is, doubled in 15 years. In 1904 it would be 600 millions. In 1919 1200 millions. The Astor family may not pay taxes at that rate, but very likely they should.

So it is with most every fortune. On an average they double in 15 years, with compound interest at current rate.

Taking the country as a whole, in 1900 the total national wealth was 106 billions. In 1920, as was to be expected, it is far above 200 billions. It has more than doubled in the last 20 years. A very insignificant amount of this wealth is of such a nature that it does not draw interest. On practically the whole sum of 200 billion dollars, or more, the capitalist wishes to collect an increment in the shape of rent, interest and profit, aggregating an immense sum. Should capitalism be allowed to continue, we have reason to expect that in, say, 1935 the capitalist class would expect to collect interest etc. on a capitalization of 400 billion dollars, in 1950 on 800 billions, etc.

To make the absurdity of capitalism more palpable we will construct the following table, based upon doubling the total capitalization every 15 years:

Year 1920—Capitalization	\$ 200,000,000,000
Year 1935—Capitalization	400,000,000,000
Year 1950—Capitalization	800,000,000,000
Year 1965—Capitalization	1,600,000,000,000

Year 1980—Capitalization	3,200,000,000,000
Year 1995—Capitalization	6,400,000,000,000
Year 2010—Capitalization	12,800,000,000,000

You can extend this table as far as you please.

You will see that with compound interest the wealth of the capitalist class is growing into such figures as to soon require some method of counting comparable to the method used in describing the distance to the stars, which is not counted in miles but in light years. Marking it down in miles would require more paper than we can afford in these hard times.

While the capitalization rose to 100 million dollars as in 1900, the people were able to carry the burden, although it was terrible and nearly crushed the workers. By gradually adding to the burden we were able to carry a capitalization of 100 billions more in 1920. But do you think you will be able to stand an addition of 200 billions in the next 15 years, an addition of 600 billions in the next 30 years and an addition of 1400 billions in the next 45 years. Of course you ridicule the idea.

If you were playing poker, and the bid started with a penny, you would not pay any attention to it. No excitement for you. If it were doubled to 2 cents you would merely shrug your shoulders. You would still yawn uninterestedly at 4 cents and 8 and 16 cents. You would perhaps wake up at 32, get eager at 64, nervous at \$1.28, uneasy at \$2.56, anxious at \$5.12, desperate at \$10.24, faint at \$20.48, take whiskey at \$40.96, get palpitation of the heart at \$81.92 and finally collapse at \$163.84.

The figure is becoming absurdly high for you.

You get the same feeling as Napoleon had when he looked at the compound interest tables, "These collectors of interest would crush mankind, if it were not for occasional revolutions," he said.

Another example: This editor had a farmer relative in the old country who once got a beautiful calf that he was awfully fond and proud of. When he came down to the barn he picked the calf up in his arms and said to his friends, that he would pick him up that way every day, and in this manner he thought he would be able to keep it up until the calf had grown into a big bull. And he lifted the calf every day in his arms and fed him gloriously. The calf got used to it and could hardly eat before he had been lifted. The plan seemed fairly on the way to succeed. But, finally, one day our relative had to acknowledge defeat. His calculation was basically wrong. It was as absurd as the principles underlying capitalism. The workers have fed up the capitalist bull and carried it in their arms until it now is so big that they can no longer lift it.

Capitalism is a mathematical absurdity. Like a house built on quicksand, it is bound to collapse.

A social engineer charged with the task of devising a system of society that will stand through the

ages, would with necessity have to reject capitalism as unscientific and absurd.

As a matter of fact we have, for various reasons already come to a stage in the doubling up process where capitalism is untenable and crumbles.

Not only is capitalism trying to collect rent, interest and profit as before, in spite of the fact that mankind is physically and spiritually worn out from a long war, but it has added another terrible item which will probably be the straw that breaks the camel's back. We refer to the national debts of the various countries which has about quintupled in the last six years.

On this question we reprint from the daily press some figures which will explain why capitalist governments are collapsing.

The National Debts

At the beginning of the World War the combined national debts of the world aggregated \$44,000,000,000, bearing interest in the amount of \$1,750,000,000 annually.

Today these national debts amount to the inconceivable sum of \$265,000,000,000, while the interest charge thereon has increased to \$9,000,000,000.

In 1913 the existing national debts, distributed per capita among the inhabitants of the countries concerned, worked out an indebtedness of \$27 per capita, with interest charges to the amount of \$1 per capita per annum.

Today the inhabitants of these same countries owe for principal \$150 per capita, with annual interest charges of \$6 per capita.

At the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars the national debt of the world was \$2,500,000,000, and at the close of these wars in 1816, the civilized nations owed \$7,000,000,000.

Since then the growth of national indebtedness has been slow, but steady.

When the Crimean War broke out in 1854 the world's debt stood at \$8,500,000,000. During the next two decades, which comprehended the Crimean War, our Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, besides minor wars and disturbances, the national indebtedness jumped to \$22,000,000,000.

This huge sum, as has been seen, was doubled during the next twenty years, bringing the world's debt in 1914, as already stated, to \$44,000,000,000.

Then came the World War with an increase of some \$220,000,000,000 in the short space of six years.

This appalling increase in national indebtedness occurred chiefly in the dozen countries and colonies which participated in the war.

For example, the aggregate debts of the European participants increased from \$32,000,000,000 at the outbreak of hostilities, to \$184,000,000,000 when the armistice was signed, and since then the sum total of the indebtedness of these countries has grown to the inconceivable sum of \$223,000,000,000.

The indebtedness of North America, including the United States and Canada, aggregated at the date

of the armistice \$27,800,000,000, but has since been reduced to \$26,946,000,000.

When it is remembered that of the total increase in national indebtedness, occasioned by the world-war, more than nine-tenths thereof was created by the great countries participating, viz, Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary, and that North America's part of this total indebtedness is \$25,000,000,000 only, out of more than \$200,000,000,000, the serious question may well be asked whether financial rehabilitation of some of these European countries is either possible, or indeed, conceivable.

The mathematical absurdities thus inherent in capitalism are beginning to tell at this stage of the game.

Not only have they taken possession of nearly all wealth but the dispossessed are in debt to them to the amount of 260 billion dollars.

Mankind rises from the skin game with capitalism absolutely broke and hopelessly in debt for ages.

It is a theoretical and practical impossibility for mankind to double the wealth of the capitalist class in the next 15 years. It has reached the limit.

We have proven our case.

CAPITALISM IS AN ABSURDITY.

The capitalist class itself seems largely to be unaware essentially hogs by nature whose only object is aware of the impending danger. The capitalists economic gluttony. What does the hog in its pen aboard a sinking ship care. It has no sense of danger or responsibility. While the water is slowly covering the floor of the pen and rising on its legs, it will drain the trough, stepping with all four into it, to get the last drop, and finally lying down it it to snore and perish.

In the past men have drifted more or less unconsciously on the social sea, allowing the strongest to direct the course, irrespective of consequences.

But now that men are becoming socially conscious and the social sea is all mapped out, it is possible to design a rational system of society which will stand for ages to come and serve as a means of bringing happiness to mankind instead of dragging it down to destruction.

Such a system of society is Industrial Communism.

"Political prisoners will be set free and political refugees will be permitted to return," says a dispatch in the N. Y. Times. Oh, no, not in the "land of the free," but in uncivilized, barbarous Guatemala.

"Food Profiteers Face Prosecution," announces a headline in the same newspaper. One would think they must be tired standing so long in that position, trying to keep their faces straight.

The Wobbly Baiting Industry

That the Wobbly baiting industry is getting to be a lucrative graft we may conclude from the fact that these establishments are growing up like mushroom rooms.

They have them in every state almost and some of them aspire to be national enterprises.

We have previously exposed "The National Security League," showing how they extort money from the rich with fanciful tales about bloodshed

planned by the I. W. W. and promising them security for a consideration.

Here below we reproduce the blackmail letter sent out by "American Defense Society," asking for \$50.00 and holding out the prospect of protection against us.

These are the 100-percenters who claim to be americanizing people.

Poor America if it had no better grade of citizens to rely upon for her future!

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY, Inc.

National Headquarters, 1133 Broadway, New York
TELEPHONE CHELSEA 78

(In Perpetuam Memoriam)

First Honorary President
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Honorary Vice-Presidents

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Former Ambassador to Germany
WILLIAM GUGGENHEIM,
HON. FERRY BELMONT,
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Director of Publicity

May 8, 1920.

censored

Gentlemen:-

Do you know that the radical's battle cry is "To Hell with the government, to Hell with the law, to Hell with the Churches, to Hell with the right of any person to be possessed of any property!" Hundreds of thousands of Reds in the United States, all Comrades, no matter under which banner they march - Anarchists, Bolshevists, I. W. W.'s - all the same. Perhaps you think you are in no danger from them or that the danger if any is remote. In reality we are sitting on a powder keg.

Stop - Think - Review the past year.

The Red's next weapon is the general strike, the first one they win spells the beginning of the end. Professional criminals will cooperate with them. The Reds are arguing, preaching, teaching, always proselyting, organizing the unsuccessful, the dissatisfied. Every day they gain converts, they are a tireless, sleepless, constant menace to law and order.

The American Defense Society has been steadily contending against the disloyal, wherever and in whatever manner is the most effective, and as you know has accomplished results.

The Society needs resources to carry on its work this year. Mr. R. M. Hurd of the Lawyers Mortgage Co., recently wrote and asked you to subscribe \$50.00 to our work. We look confidently for your financial support and trust you will make your contribution as large as your circumstances at this time will permit.

Please send your check to Robert Appleton, Treasurer.

Yours very truly,

Charles Stewart Davison
Chairman, Board of Trustees.



An International Appeal

We are in receipt of the following appeal with request to publish:

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST OFFICE

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES

The political and military powerful ones of England and France have met in order to make a decisiv criminal attempt on the new social life which in Russia is trying to make itself real, and which yet after two years, strongly resists the most cruel attacks of the reaction.

Already, in the Rhine regions, war materials and provisions are accumulated and troops are concentrated.

The German Labor Movement, forseeing a disrespect for German neutrality, already sent out into the world a call, directed to the German, French and English workers to make that impossible by means of a strike.

The International Anti-militarist Office, in ses-

sion on the 9th of August, 1920, in Holland, urges the head and hand workers in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, England, Holland and in all countries which in any way can be implicated in the attack, to be conscious of their response, to themselves, to their fellowmen and to their posterity.

It addresses itself to all revolutionary people with the instigation to continue to resist, with extreme vigor, the intention of the ruling powers.

The International Anti-militarist Office also calls on the so-called colored races, which are exploited by European Imperialism for the suppression of new social and cultural possibilities, no further to serve the white rulers but prepare to place themselves on the side of the workers, to which they belong.

Workers and soldiers of all countries, make yourselves ready for a mass-refusal to do military service and for the **GENERAL STRIKE**.

The Hague, Holland; August, 1920.

Translated from the Esperanto.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A letter from the Syndicalists of Sweden

As our readers have seen reported, some members of the I. W. W. have tried to organize branches of the I. W. W. in foreign countries. In the case of Sweden this attempt has gotten us in conflict with the Syndicalist organization of Sweden.

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. recently made a ruling not to issue I. W. W. charters in countries where there is already in existence an organization similar to the I. W. W., and under this heading comes Sweden.

An article on the Syndicalist movement of Sweden in another part of this issue, as well as the following letter from the Executive Committee of the Central Organization of Workers of Sweden shed more interesting light on this question.

Here the letter follows:

Box 51, Orebro, Sweden, July 15, 1920.

To the General Executive Board, I. W. W.

As there has some friction arisen between the I. W. W. and the S. A. C. (Central Organization of Swedish Workers) due to an attempt to organize branches of the I. W. W. in Sweden, the Executive Committee of our organization has taken the matter up and decided to write to you in order to bring this friction to an end.

We fully agree with you concerning the importance of the workers organizing internationally and we hope to be able to carry on successful work for this purpose together with you. Our organizations stand in the main on the same foundation of principles concerning object and means and the difference in the form of organization is more apparent than real. Just like you, we consider that the workers ought to gather in an organization comprising the whole class. In building this organization we have, however, for the present, laid the most stress on local organizations which are intended to include all the workers of a locality. The central organization is the joint body of all local Sam-organizations. The local organizations, however, are divided into industrial sections which co-operate mutually thru an industrial organ covering the whole country—an organ which for each industry is selected by the workers of that industry.

Concerning the international organization we, however, hold the opinion that it should properly be a superstructure on the national organizations already existing. We need hardly point out that this opinion does not rest on patriotic reasons but on reasons of expediency from an organizing standpoint. In the first place, the conditions vary under which the organizations are built up, due to tradition, the spirit of the people, and the economic structure in different countries, which is so materially different in the various parts of the earth that it may be considered impossible to press the daily life of the smaller organization parts in under the Central leadership of a World Organization. In the second place, it would, in our opinion, be difficult for a World Central to maintain that close

relationship with each local or industrial unit which is desirable for successful work. The National Central is surely in this case superior because there is always greater knowledge of the economic conditions, which in a National organization always show a certain uniformity as well as of the thoughts and sentiments of the outer parts of the organization and last, but not least, on account of the difference in language. Besides, organizing on an International scale is not apt to be successful unless it is undertaken with the co-operation of the National organizations as in a way there would be two competing organizations in each country, for instance, the I. W. W. and S. A. C. in Sweden of which, naturally, the organization of domestic origin would have the greatest chances. It would in our opinion create a confusion of organizations if the different national organizations generally should attempt to expand beyond the boundaries of their own countries. We should here be apt to get local or industrial organizations affiliated to the I. W. W. of America, the C. G. T. of France, the F. A. U. D. of Germany, etc., and the same would be the case in other countries.

However, we are of the opinion that International co-operation between the organizations for different countries is going to be of great importance, the greater the more extensive the organizations become. We have also been active for the arranging of an International Syndicalist Congress but so far have been prevented by the minions of the Capitalist state. In our opinion this co-operation should be established by means of a jointly elected International Secretariat. Should International co-operation in certain industries be required, the way should of course be open for the industrial organs of the respective National Central organizations to initiate and organize such co-operation. In this manner we believe the greatest results of International organizing will be obtained.

As it however seems uncertain when an International Syndicalist Congress can be held, we consider that permanent relations between the S. A. C. and the I. W. W. easily can be established per correspondence. Thru exchange of materials and by maintaining relationships of other kinds, the two organizations may be able to get in fairly intimate touch to the advantage of both.

We have wished to make this communication in order that no misunderstandings between our organizations should arise, especially as the Syndicalist movement has so much resistance to overcome that our energies should not be split in internal conflicts.

Hoping that our viewpoints will be understood we remain, with Syndicalist greeting.

(Seal)

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS OF SWEDEN.

Per FRANS SEVERIN,
JOHN ANDERSSON.

THE INDUSTRIAL INTERNATIONAL

WHEN SHALL IT TAKE PLACE ?

From all corners of the world the demand comes for an industrial international. We have repeatedly referred to the call for such an international from the Russian unions. We all know of the efforts in that direction made by the Syndicalists of Scandinavia and Holland. The approachment between the I. W. W. and the English Shop Stewards is recent history.

Here follows a letter from a Spanish Worker, dated Barcelona, June 2, 1920:

"We are planning to intensify international relations, so much neglected heretofore. Very soon and upon the initiation of the organization of Barcelona, there will be formed in Western Europe a formidable Latin Confederation, composed of the revolutionary organization of Portugal, Italy, France and Spain. When our idea of such a plan was communicated to these countries, they accepted it without any reservations, and, as we said before, it shall soon be a reality.

"The social movement in Spain, and particularly in Barcelona, advances vigorously toward the definite conquest.

"Today the National Confederation of Labor of Spain, an organization which as you already know is eminently revolutionary, constitutes a serious menace to the bourgeoisie as well as to the State. Our enemies have hastened to place themselves on the defensive and they endeavor

by every possible means to do away with our young and powerful Confederation, which now comprises nearly a million and a half of members.

"The *Union General de Trabajadores* (General Union of Workers)—directed and controlled by Socialists—is rapidly disintegrating and its forces are being added to our own. Imagine the importance of our organization when, during the past 20 months, with the suspension of guarantees, with the union halls closed, with the terrible persecution of our most active fellow workers, and without allowing our papers to be published, and, considering that since the beginning of the long period of repression we have had more than 50000 workers pass through the jails of Barcelona alone,—and yet, in spite of all this and more, our organization still maintains itself. And if given a brief period of return to normal conditions or respite from repression, we believe we could soon prepare the workers both in a normal and in a material way, to be ready for the final day.

It is plain to everybody that the time is rotten ripe. If we only stick to our desire for an *Industrial International* and keep out all political issues, there is no reason why this new International should not become a reality in the very near future.

A preliminary conference is in order. Who will take the initiative?

Turkey on the One Big Union Map

The following letter from Constantinople to the I. W. W. General Office speaks for itself:

"INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' UNION

Galata, Rue St. Nicolas, Cafe "Aurore" No. 4.
Constantinople, Turkey, Aug. 20, 1920.

Comrades:—

We hasten to inform you that the class conscious workers of Constantinople have founded in the month of May (May 17, 1920) an organization

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' UNION.

This union organizes the workers as a class in accordance with what they produce, and is divided into six major branches which in their turn are subdivided into as many unions as are deemed necessary.

The aim of the I. W. U. is the abolition of the wage system and socialization of the productive forces and distribution. The tactics of the I. W. U. are the same as those of all the new revolutionary organizations in all lands.

International solidarity permits us to rely on your assistance.

With revolutionary greetings, we are,

(Seal)

S. Maximo,

Secretary Executive Committee."

The Scandinavian Socialist Federation Endorses the I.W.W.

At the recent convention in Chicago of The Scandinavian Socialist Federation of the U. S. A., held in Chicago Sept. 3-6 the following resolution was adopted on *industrial organization*.

The Convention wishes to emphasize the necessity of a militant economic organization on the basis of the class struggle and of the organizing of the workers of America into One Big Union. Until this takes place the convention endorses the Industrial Workers of the World as being the expression of the One Big Union idea in America and wishes to express its recognition for the untiring pioneer work the I. W. W. has done as a propaganda organization for this idea, and do we expect from the I. W. W. that they at the right moment either take the initiative to, or co-operate in an eventual attempt to bring the workers of America together in an organization on the economic field which is able to carry on the battle."

For the rest the Federation remains an independent educational body which has for its purpose to organize among the Scandinavians in America to gain increased power in the agitation for Socialism.

Do We Need an International Language?

We are in receipt of a letter from an Esperantist subscriber together with a translation of an Esperanto proclamation which reproaches us with sinning against the fundamental principles of internationalism.

Here we quote parts of the letter:

Horace, Kansas, Aug. 29, 1920.

The time has arrived, it seems to me, when every Emancipator if he does his full duty, must work for the One Language actively, not of course to take the place of one's own language, but to be the common means of communication with all the peoples of the world.

The workers of the world must talk understandingly together, if they ever unite understandingly.

I took a trip recently to Salt Lake and on my return home I came in contact with many passengers from the coast scared out by the earthquake, and the topic of conversation among some of them, next to the earthquake, was the "Jap menace" and I remarked incidentally to a fellow traveller that here was the next war in the making. On arriving home I found in my correspondence a beautiful letter from a Japanese student, written in Esperanto, of course, breathing the spirit of good will and love to all his brothers the world over, and I said as I read it, "If only Japan has many such sons her future is secure."

Fraternally yours,
Lillian K. Bullard.

ESPERANTIST MANIFESTO

(Translated from "The American Esperantist" by Lillian K. Bullard.)

"Comrades of All Countries!

Behold the emblem of our new association—The Liberated Star. (Literally the Star Set Free. The star is the emblem of the Esperanto Association. Note by translator.)

It seems to us a superfluity to show the necessity of a Workers' International. Certainly all advanced Esperantists feel the need of this organization which more than any other will help to the triumph of our dear Ideal. However, one point from our statement requires explanation.

The organization fundamentally is unlike the present International. All Workers' Internationals, past and present, sin in the structure's self. Each stands on an illogical basis, namely: the nation as a cell or unit. The thorough nationalism of each national section poisons the whole association. Each section strives—possibly unconsciously—only for itself, only for its selfish nationalism. Very evidently then the concord exists on paper only, and at the congress each section mutually promises certain international assistance. However, when the acid test comes, this unity, this mutual aim disappears, and in spite of the endeavor of some faithful ones the place is taken by nationalism, even imperialism, which pushes the friends of today one against the other. Then no more internationalism, no more mutual help, no more fraternity but distrust, even hate.

Actually the Workers' International does not exist! Each National section is a separate autonomous association: for behold! at each International, for the sake of the various languages, the separate sections are really obligatory, at least the language

section, but we Esperantists know not this barrier. Why conserve this form-system which shows itself thus fatally at every Workers' International Institution?

Put away the ancient and dangerous concept which suffocates the International feeling's self. We can and must found a NATIONLESS INTERNATIONAL on the basis of a common language.

All Communists, Co-operatives, Syndicalists, Socialists, Labor Unions, members from every land, no matter to what party you belong, must all come to the same aim, namely: the leadership and independence of the workers all united together in only one SUPER-NATIONAL INTERNATIONAL.

Put away these artificial forms which now divide and embarrass and substitute instead this device: REVOLUTION.

Comrades! Spread the knowledge abroad, print our call and join our organization. We need everyone's strength. If every forward looking worker understands his duty our International will be powerful and will be a bulwark to the Working Class and from it the true Internationalism will be established which is so much needed.

Our Country and our Fatherland must be: Humanity.

Our aim will be: The establishment of the Workers' Universal Republic.

La Centra Komitato L. S.
23 Rue Boyer, Paris, France."

We have published the above not in order to shift the attention of our readers from the all important question of creating new organs of production and distribution and administration, but in order to give the viewpoint of the world language enthusiasts.

Do we deserve the reproach of sinning against internationalism by not forcing the question of an international language?

We do not think that we deserve it

If all of us could talk Esperanto or Ido or English or French or Chinese, it would unquestionably greatly simplify international co-operation.

But the difference in language is not an unsurmountable barrier for international relations. We know one another pretty well. It is simply remarkable how quickly we get in touch with one another. And if we are brought together by travel, it is also surprising how quickly we size one another up. Because there are a few in each country who know a foreign language or two every movement soon becomes known to similar movements in other countries.

When it comes to international congresses it would, of course, make it easier if all delegates could speak one language.

But there is this drawback to this idea. To learn a language, even as simple a language as Esperanto or Ido, is a task too big for 90 per cent of the workers under the present conditions. If we were to make knowledge of a world language a condition for delegateship to international congresses, the make-up of those congresses would be entirely different from now. The men and women at the top of the labor movement are the ones mostly elected as delegates because they are the most representative. But if we were to draw the Esperanto line most of them would fall down.

Somehow or other the delegates manage to get a knowledge of the proceedings, though it is naturally incomplete.

As a matter of fact, among the men and women who have fought themselves to the top of the labor movement, there are very few that would submit to the ordeal of learning a new language sufficiently to understand it spoken or to speak it themselves. These powerful men and women will force the world to understand them. The languages of the bigger nations, English, German, French are used, and the other, smaller nationalities are expected to know one or several of these languages.

The workers of smaller nations are therefore quicker to appreciate the advantages of Esperanto than the big bullies whose language is spoken at the congresses.

You simply cannot ram the international language down the throat of the internationally organized workers. It takes too much time and energy for the average worker to learn in these times of terrible stress. His whole leisure time is taken up in studying the daily press, the labor press, the books in sociology, attending meetings and tending to his recreation program. Besides, the big nations do not see the necessity of it.

As much as we wish it were possible we realize the futility, at present, of taking this matter in earnest. It will have to be left to private initiative.

Some day, when we have abolished all economic and political boundaries, when we get plenty of leisure, and when nearly all of us shall have an education like a college professor, we shall take up the question again and solve it.

Just now, with the roof of the temple of capitalism threatening to come down upon our head, we cannot deviate from our course sufficiently to learn a new language, however ingenious.

By the time we, as a mass, are proficient enough in the world language to make a speech in it, or to understand it when spoken, we would be buried in the debris of capitalism with no organs ready with which to produce food, clothing and shelter. What good would it do us then to be able to make a fluent speech in the soft and sonorous vernacular of our friends the Esperantists or the Idoists?

The world language is an improvement of great value upon the present linguistic anarchy, which much resembles the lack of sense and system in bourgeois production, but it is not a sine-qua-non of the creating of a new society.

New Defense Secretary

In accordance with the recommendation of the General Executive Board, William D. Haywood has now relinquished his post as Sec'y-Treas. of the General Defense Committee in Chicago, in order to take up other work for the defense.

The new Sec'-Treas. of the General Defense Committee is Fellow Worker JOHN MARTIN, who some time ago was released on bail from Leavenworth.

In the future address all communications and remittances for the defense to

JOHN MARTIN
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

KEEP THE FUNDS FLOWING !

The "Industrial Unionist" Takes the Field

Box 79, Station D, New York, N. Y.
September 18, 1920.

Editor of the O. B. U. Monthly:—

This is to inform your readers that the "Industrial Unionist," organ of the eastern branches of the I. W. W. will issue its first number about October 15.

The paper will come out twice a month and will not miss any issue as did its predecessor, "The Fellow Worker". The New York members have adopted a financing scheme which will guarantee continuous publication.

The "Industrial Unionist" will be invaluable for all students of our movement, for it will concentrate its attack on the eastern industrial situation. No one can deny that the capitalist power has its strength in the East, for here are located the most gigantic industries and here is the most numerous population. Therefore what happens in the East is of greatest importance in the revolutionary world.

Our paper will not merely tell about the labor revolt, it will not merely be industrial unionist but it will also be industrial as well. It will give the scientific data about our property, now in control of the enemy.

A staff of able writers will make bright and varied the columns of the paper. There will be humorists who see the ridiculous in the doddering power of capitalism and there will be correspondents fresh from Latin America and Europe, and there will be scientific men talking about industry in an impersonal way.

It is a paper that you can't afford to miss. So watch for the first number.

Yours for ours,
Card 455,306 of the
Industrial Unionist Committee.

DETROIT, ATTENTION !

C. W. I. U. No. 310 of Detroit, Mich., will move into their new hall on Sept. 15. Our address will be 278 Michigan Ave. This place is a store with two good-sized display windows. We are painting and papering it and expect to have one of the most attractive book stores in the United States. We have been trying to get a place in the part of town for some time. It is the only place for the I. W. W. in Detroit. It is the center of the floating population and most of the Federation halls are in this locality.

Yours for the O. B. U.,
Joseph H. Donner,
278 Michigan Ave.
Secretary No. 1.

The Case of Jim Larkin

We are in receipt of the following appeal from *The James Larkin Defense Committee*, 254 West 34th St., New York, N. Y.

As Jim Larkin is personally acquainted with thousands of I. W. W. men and known by name to all others, our readers will, undoubtedly, listen with great interest to what his nearest friends have to say in his behalf.

Here follows the appeal:

.. JAMES LARKIN, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and accredited representative of the Irish Labor Movement in the United States, was convicted on a charge of criminal anarchy in the criminal branch of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, on April 27, 1920, after a trial lasting three weeks. He was sentenced to a term of from five to ten years at hard labor and confined in Sing Sing Penitentiary, from which he was afterwards removed to Clinton State Prison, Dannemora, New York. He is now debarred from seeing visitors with the exception of his counsel. Though forty-four years of age, he is consigned to the dirtiest, most unhealthy and most laborious work, the prison cotton shop. This is how the defender of the rights of the workers is treated in a land which was once the asylum of the oppressed of all lands. Larkin is an exile from Ireland—barred by the British government from entering any territory over which the British Empire holds its robber sway. He has been separated from his wife and children for almost six years. The American Government refused his 15-year old son permission to enter this country to visit his father. Could inhumanity go farther than that?

A short story of Jim Larkin's work in Ireland will dispel any suspicion that he is a criminal or an anarchist. Returning to Ireland in 1908 after traveling over the world earning his bread, he proceeded to organize the unskilled workers of Ireland into an industrial Union whose motto was "an injury to one is the concern of all." He found the Irish workers the worst paid slaves in Europe with a standard of living far below that to be found in any English city. The housing conditions in Dublin were such that according to the report of a government investigation, 21,000 families, averaging five to each family, were living in single rooms in that city. Larkin brought the workers together, taught them the value of temperance, clean living and a love for the beautiful. The union which he founded bought Liberty Hall and Croydon Park, where the workers could go and rest and where the women of the workers could bring the children to get the fresh air and the sunlight of heaven. The Dublin employers massed their forces against Larkin in the great lockout of 1912-13 in order to break the union and drive Larkinism out of the country. They failed after a struggle lasting eighteen months, and today the union numbers 140,000 and functions on the political as well as on the industrial field. The Transport Union is not confined to any one group, but includes dockers, farm laborers, domestic servants,

cattle drovers, clerks and workers in every field of industry. The aim of the transport workers is to take over the land and industries of Ireland and operate them in the interest of the people.

James Larkin was born in Newry, the north of Ireland, but his family went over to England to work there while he was still a child. His father was a workingman, a Fenian, and a comrade of Michael Davitt's. His return to Ireland in his manhood's days meant a new factor in Irish affairs, a new turn in Irish history... Every student in Irish affairs now recognizes the fact that without "Larkinism" the movement for an Irish republic would have been one-sided and powerless. It was "Larkinism" that stirred deeply the workers in Ireland and gave them a hope in the republic—"Larkinism" with James Connolly's force and direction added."

The SINN FEINER of New York, July 24, devotes a page to the Larkin case under the heading "Inhumanity to Jim Larkin." It tells how the American Government refused Jim Larkin's son permission to visit his father in this country. "When has the United States become a new Siberia?" asks the Sinn Feiner. "Whoever dreamed that the time would come in our republic when a Dumont, an American consul in Dublin, and a Colby, a Secretary of State in Washington, would dare refuse to vize a passport of the son of an Irish father convicted in an American court of a political offense?" The Irish World of May 29 has the following to say of Larkin: "Jim Larkin is in jail because the English Government fears and hates him, because the big business allies of the English Government fear and hate him. Jim Larkin is not in jail because he has broken a law. He is in jail because our masters, who, with tongue in cheek call themselves our servants, despise and condemn the law, make a mockery of the law, repudiate the most sacred guarantees of free speech and free publication and individual freedom.

Twenty-eight public bodies besides all the trades and labor bodies in Ireland have passed resolutions for the release of James Larkin. We feel that he is a victim of as foul a conspiracy as was ever hatched against a member of our race by the hidden hand of the British Government. It is your fight as well as ours. Today it is Larkin who lies in jail on a trumped up charge of "criminal anarchy." Tomorrow it may be De Valera. Irishmen and Irishwomen and lovers of human freedom! Your attitude toward Larkin in this critical hour will be the acid test of your professed devotion to the cause of the Gael. Larkin today is in a felon's cell but remember that in the Irish history it was no disgrace to be a felon. Larkin is in jail because he was fighting your battle. Help to get him released so that he can continue the fight. Money is needed to appeal the case. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT ONCE TO EMMET O'REILLY, Treasurer of the James Larkin Defense Fund at 254 West 34th Street, New York City. You sympathize with the victims of the British Government in Ireland, so why not show the same sympathy with their victims here. Let our motto be "an injury to one is an injury to all." LONG LIVE FREEDOM!

Fraternally yours,

James Larkin Defense Committee.

Forward March

By J. A. Stromquist

This poor old World is sore beset
 With wars and strikes and insurrections.
 Whole nations starve
 And die, like flies,
 At the first touch of frost.
 Men, Women, Babes are languishing
 In dire poverty and want;
 And preyed upon by hopelessness
 And black despair.
 Covered with filth, vermin infested,
 Victims of the plague,
 And yet
 The worst has not been told.
 They cannot see their enemy,
 "The class that lives in luxury"
 And wanton idleness.
 The Mothers, Fathers, Sisters, Brothers,
 Who sent their loved ones across the sea
 To fight to "save Democracy,"
 To lose their lives
 And leave their bones
 Bleaching upon a far-off shore;
 Who toiled and wrought with brain and hand
 To feed the World and "save the land,"
 Yet lived to see
 Plutocracy enthroned, supreme,
 In this, "our own United States,"
 The erstwhile "land of Liberty"—
 Have they not learned their lesson yet?
 The number of "our" Millionaires
 Has tripled since the war began,
 And Gold and Diamonds gorge the land,
 While senseless luxury, and waste,
 Run riot; and the parasite caste
 —now that war's holocaust is done,
 And their own rotten bodies safe—
 Goes o'er to France to "see the sights"
 And dance the fox-trot on the graves
 Of unnamed Proletarian victims,
 Who bled and died in agony
 That these, the rotten parasites,
 The excrescence of Human-kind,
 The useless, frothy scum of Earth,
 Might still prolong their evil sway
 And, like the Vampire-breed they are,
 Still suck our blood.
 And we, meanwhile,
 By foolish prejudice divided, and misled
 By labor-fakirs; ignorant,
 Bound, hand and feet,
 In fetters of the stale and outworn form
 Of craft dis-unions,
 Lie down supine, helpless and bereft
 Of hope, or faith in our sacred cause,
 And those amongst us who rise up
 And dare to voice their protest, those
 Who are not wholly fools, or cowards,

Are thrown in jails, deported, lynched,
 Manhandled, hung and mutilated
 By Capitalists and their hired thugs.
 Oh, Workers—Men and Women—wake!
 Remain no longer blind and deaf
 And hopeless—insensate.
 Behold!
 The power of Mammon totters
 On its pedestal. Thru its vitals
 There goes the shudder of approaching death.
 The "masters of the bread," the "lords of money,"
 "Financial kings," "Barons of industry,"
 Yea, one and all,
 Now feel the ground tremble
 Beneath their feet, and grow alarmed
 For fear their filthy gold—
 Stained with the sweat and blood of workers,
 The tears of Women—slaves,
 Cursed with the moans of starveling Babes—
 Slip from their shaking hands,
 And they, the shirkers,
 Perforce may be compelled to toil,
 Like unto us, their present slaves.
 Behold! The Revolution—dawn of Freedom—
 Is near at hand.
 Stand up, be Men!
 And join the ranks
 Of Labors great, on-sweeping Army—
 The Industrial Workers of the World.
 Deathless, invincible, competent
 To build a better, fairer, World
 Upon the ruins of the old
 And rotten, crumbling, class ruled state.
 Fellow-Workers, Brothers, Sisters—all—
 Come in your millions. Make haste!
 Delay not, for the time is ripe—
 "Aye, rotten-ripe for change"—
 And upon you now waits the choice
 Of whether the birth of the new World
 Be swathed in a haze of blood
 And charged with fierce pains,
 Or whether it be peaceful, calm
 And glorious,
 Like the transition out of night to day.
 Behold! A star, a blazing sun,
 Has risen in the East.
 Our Brothers of Holy Russia lead the way.
 The blood-red banner, emblem of our Cause
 And Human Brotherhood,
 Now flutters proudly o'er the ranks
 Of their valiant, Red, batallions.
 "Let us go!"—have courage;
 Fall in line and Forward March!
 To Victory, Peace, Plenty, Joy and Love,
 And FREEDOM,
 For all the Human Race.

Nature is Kind But---

By Geo. Sutherland
(Delegate 2056 F.)

I was up at White Bluffs, Wash.,
The other day—beautiful country;
The Columbia flowing peacefully,
The basin dotted with orchard tracts,
Bungalows, neat little houses, HOMES,
And all about were the the ETERNAL HILLS
Set in a gorgeous purple haze
With the precious sunshine
Making EVERYTHING GLORIOUS.

Here was a FARMER repairing machinery;
Others were pruning trees,
Still others engaged in
PREPARATIONS
Of one kind or another
Getting ready to PRODUCE
A PEOPLES Basic Need—FOOD.

I too had been a PRODUCER,
Raising garden truck, small fruits
And Apples in the Spokane Valley,
To the Glory of God and—
The PROFIT of Spokane COMMISSION MEN.
THEY paid US THEIR price, NOT Ours;
And when we ORGANIZED,
Sold our Apples in the East
That was in 1911—
They put the Railroad people NEXT
WE COULDN'T GET CARS
The Second Season,
Had to DUMP our Apples
In Spokane,
THAT'S Why I'm NOT PRODUCING,
And why MANY OTHERS
Are Not.

THEY are throwing WOBBLIES
Into JAIL
Just because they are
WORKINGMEN Or
Because they belong to
A LABOR UNION.
The U. \$. GOVERNMENT
Is DEPORTING Workingmen
For the Arch CRIME(?)
Of trying to improve
WORKING and LIVING CONDITIONS,
And the Industrial Barons
Are KILLING Our Fellow Workers,
Still the Mighty Ones holler
"PRODUCE."

I looked again
At the Hills in the Purple Haze;
Stock peacefully grazing,
MEN and WOMEN
Engaged at USEFUL Work,

And I mused thus:
NATURE IS BEAUTIFUL AND KIND,
The INTENT and PURPOSES
Of Mankind are BENEVOLENT,
NOT EVIL
Mankind is Geared to
ACTIVITY, CO-OPERATION and
SERVICE,
Needs No GODS—NOR KINGS
NOR BENEVOLENT TRUSTEES
To Guide Him,
And Would LIVE and WORK
In HARMONY WITH ALL
BUT—A VICIOUS INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM
Makes of HUMAN SOCIETY
A Veritable JUNGLE
Where the LAW of TOOTH and FANG
PREVAILS.

The Case of Willie Cibber

(Editor's note: The less said about the meter in the following "poem," the better. To us it seems it is neither prose nor poetry. But the story of Willie Cibber is brief and to the point, so here it goes.)

Willie was born at Camden town, Camden town,
near Delaware Bay.
And there he lived and went to school, a youngster
bright and gay.

Little he then thought, that his life would fail,
And some day he would rot in a Kansas jail.

When a boy, he had oft looked in wonder at the sea,
And the world he longed to see, like other heroes,
famed in history.

When Willie he was about nineteen, he kissed his
mother one summer day,
Saying, that he was going to see the world far away.

When a letter from him to his mother came,
He told how he was "picking potatoes up in Maine,"
Where he had earned some money too, which he was
careful to send home
To show he was not foolish, even if he longed to
roam.

Next from the Southland, his letters came,
To him "Dixie's Land" did not look so grand, but
there was much that caused him shame.
So the winter over, found him northward bound,
To take in the harvest, where rovers are always to
be found.

Having worked awhile in Kansas, and made a little
stake,
He came into town one night when it was rather
late.

So having got a lodging, he soon was fast asleep,
From which he was rudely awakened to find him-
self tied up in a sheet.

A blow on the head, and Willie's struggles were soon
at an end,

And he knew no more until he found himself lying
on the ground

Stiff in his limbs, with his head feeling sore from
the cruel blow.

Gone were his clothes and his little stake; wrapped
in a sheet where could he go?

Gone are the pirates of the Spanish Main,
But here in Kansas it is much the same.

A victim does not walk the plank into the sea,
But the marshall orders a LYNCHING BEE.

Having with a struggle got on his feet, he gave a
look around.

Just as he did so he heard a scream, and he saw a
boy running off with a bound.

Dazed, faint and weary, he knew not what to do,
When a bullet whizzed and a voice called, "I'll get
you."

With gun in hand and a red flush on his sagave face
A marshall came running up to the place.

On the head Willie got anotheer cruel blow and the
blood ran over his golden hair.

As on the ground he lay, the marshall tore some-
thing from his breast, saying, "T's the keerd,
he had it there."

Great fame for the marshall, his name in the city
papers did appear,

And of his prowess the governor would surely hear.
A mock trial, a demented boy, with a sad pale face.

So ends this tale,
For now he rots in a Kansas jail.

D. J. T.

The Man with the Hoe

How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb terror shall reply to God
After the silence of the centuries?

—Edwin Markham.

Many sweating, ploughing, treshing, and then the
chaff for payment receiving;
A few idly owning, and they the wheat continually
claiming.

—Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself."

One is free in proportions as one is strong;
There is no real liberty save that which one takes
for one's self.

—Stirner.

Ignorance is the root of all evil.
Self Government is better than good government.

—Campbell Bannerman.

The Poisoners of the Wells

Dedicated to the American Sup-Press.

By Attila

Sweet is the warfare in the miry trench
To that which our corrupted pressmen wage
To wreck the minds of men and spread a stench
Through this wild climax of a frenzied age.
With draff they feed the hungry mob, and lies,
And all that lives grows bloated and obscene
When these ghouls mumble it. And all that dies,
Dies doubly in their obsequies unclean.
War is not such an evil as the curse
Of paltry minds in power that distil
Venom into the people and asperse
Courage and Truth and Chivalry. They spill
Their ink on that poor spark that still retains
Its dim, precarious fire amidst the blast—
The ray that struggles in a myriad brains
With sulphur and with pitch they overcast.

You crowds that writhe and gabble in the gloom,
Drugged and besotted with a toxin dire,
You that are smitten by a darker doom
Than War's red mace or Havoc's flail of fire—
O sorry helots to the basest breed
Of wretches that defile the printed page,
Whose slimy tentacles twice daily bleed
Your brains and souls—how mocks the huckster
age

Your puerile talk of "liberty," who wallow
In the black marshes of a noisome press—
You serfs of dead Democracy who swallow
The monsters' spawn, yet starve in emptiness—
Long have you heard their shrieks of "liberty!"
When Law against their dens of evil treads—
"Their liberty of speech!" What leprosy
Is on you that your heels should spare their
heads?

Once more the stark Black Ages seize the Earth;
Its soil was ripe for madness and the dance
Of giant Superstitions that had birth
From that great womb of Lies and Ignorance—
The felon Press. The boon becomes a bane;
The Liberator hounds his million slaves;
The Source of Knowledge is old Night again,
And Truth sits weeping by her countless graves.
Upon those starless plains where nations teem,
I saw the welter of the eyeless herds
And slaughtered minds, and heard the ceaseless
scream

Of ink-stained jackals and of carrion birds,
And knew it for a more abhorrent sight
Than mangled armies shrieking to the night.
London, 1915.

PAY YOUR DUES AND VOTE!

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The I·W·W.
IN
THEORY & PRACTICE



This is the object
of the I.W.W. to give
Labor a form of organ-
ization that will make
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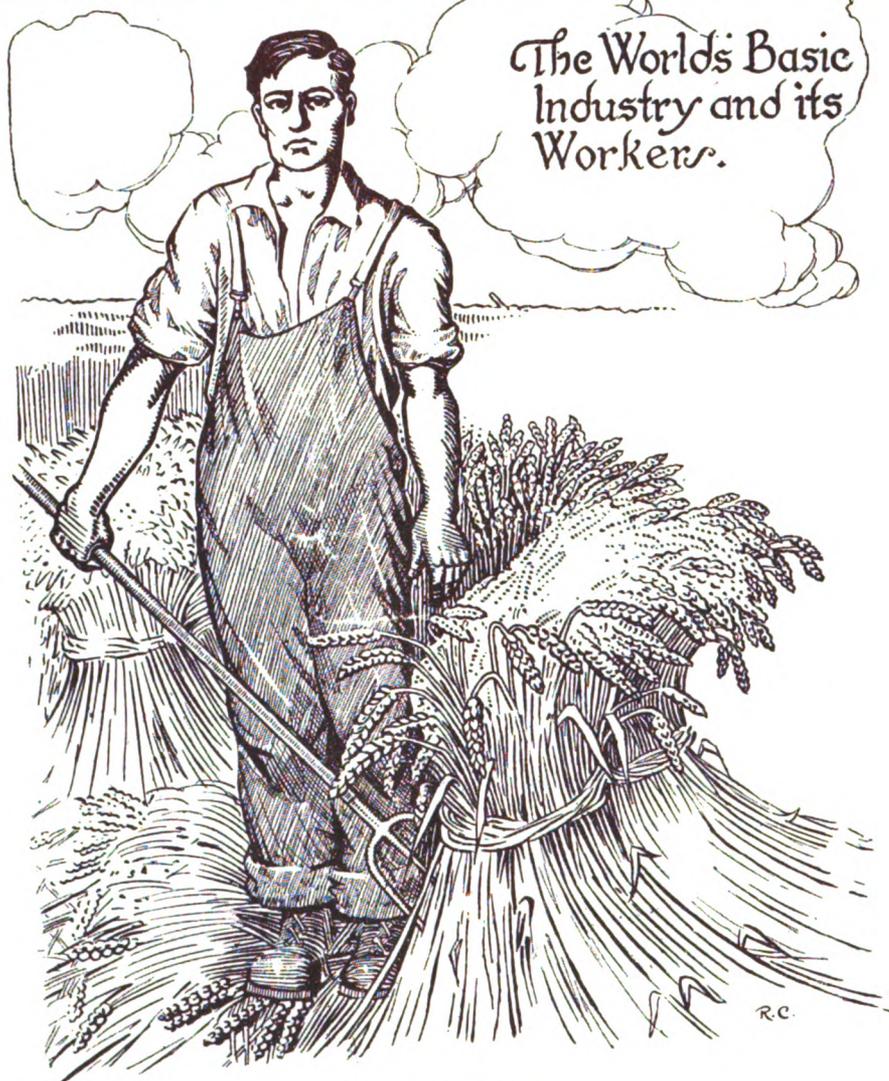
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