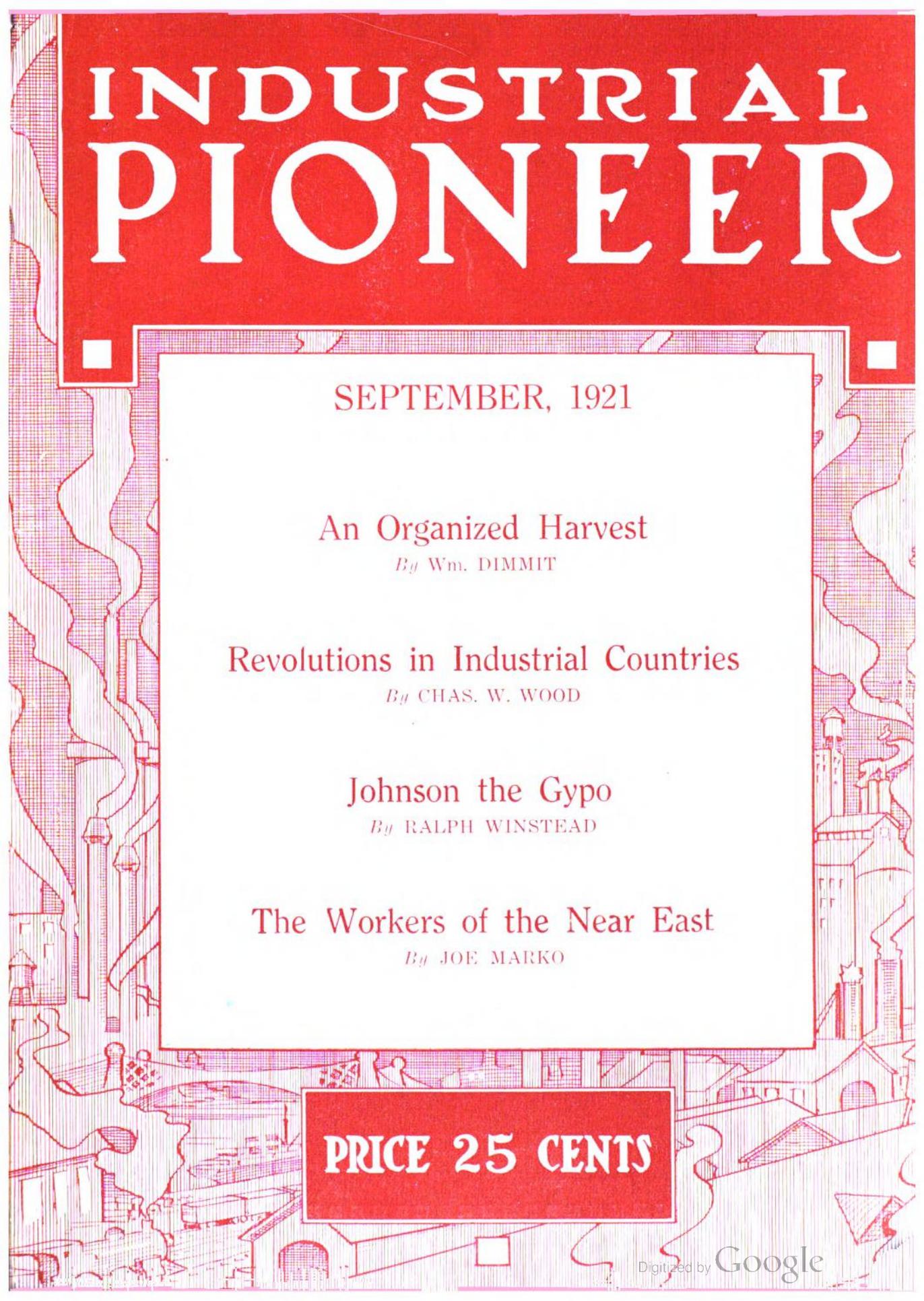


INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



SEPTEMBER, 1921

An Organized Harvest

By Wm. DIMMIT

Revolutions in Industrial Countries

By CHAS. W. WOOD

Johnson the Gypo

By RALPH WINSTEAD

The Workers of the Near East

By JOE MARKO

PRICE 25 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 has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld 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.

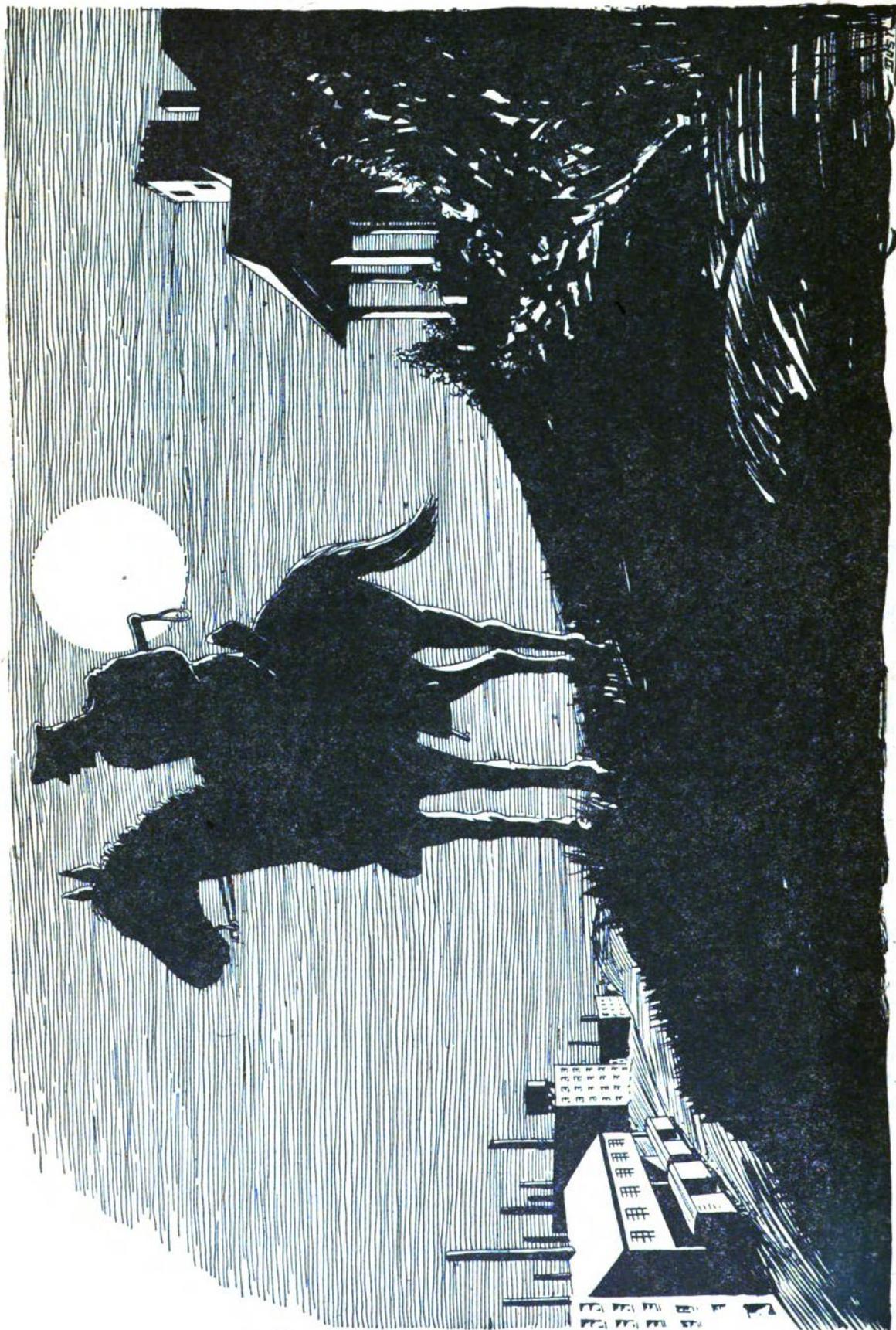
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





Contents

EDITORIALS:	Page
Unemployment	16
Power	16
The Prison House of Reality	17
ARTICLES:	
An Organized Harvest. By Wm. Dimmit	8
Industrial Research. By Bud	8
Economic Determinism. By Mary E. Marcy	9
Oil and Oil Workers. By Albert Barr	11
The American Railway Industry and Its Workres. By W. J. Lemon	18
Revolutions in Industrial Countries. By Charles W. Wood ..	19
Large and Small Scale Agriculture. By Wm. Dimmit	24
The Undoing of Capitalist Industrial Management. By Rosa Knuuti	34
Industrial Democracy. By Justus Ebert	36
Woven War and the Class Struggle. By Mabel Kanka	44
Tramping the Northwest. By G. R.	45
Gary, the Home of Steel and Efficiency. By The Steel Workers Press Committee	62
FOREIGN ARTICLES:	
Will Europe Revert to Barbarism?. By H. Van Dorn	28
The Labor Movement in Greece. A compilation	38
The Workers of the Near East. By Joe Marko	53
A Volunteer on the Siberian Front. By John Korpi	58
DEPARTMENTS:	
Wobbles	52
Book Reviews. By Jean Cutner and Art Shields	48
Defense News. By H. J.	64
FICTION:	
Johnson the Gypo. By Ralph Winstead	41
DRAMA:	
At the Top of the World. By A Rebel Girl	47
POETRY:	
"I" or "We". By Achef	18
Honorably Discharged. By Jim Seymour	22
Illustrated by Claire Whitaker	
The Winner. By John E. Nordquist	40
Civilization. By Julia C. Coons	51
CARTOONS:	
The Oupost of Capitalism. By Dust	2
Wowie!! By F. J.	6
Boss and Striker. By Michael Boland	10
Capitals One Big Fear! By F. H.	23
Gompers' Reward. By W. B.	63



THE OUTPOST OF CAPITALISM

The Industrial Pioneer

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Serial No. 8

An Organized Harvest

By Wm. Dimmit

THE American grain harvest introduces into the tranquil life of the farm that form of labor division with machine processes that on a large scale marks the factory production of the bigger cities.

The American harvest worker is a migratory worker. The harvest including the threshing, lasts but a few months from the time that the first binder enters the fields in Oklahoma till the last bushel of wheat is separated in Alberta, Canada. The average harvest job lasts from nine to twelve days while the threshing rigs usually furnish employment for no longer than from twenty-five to thirty-five days.

From Enid, Oklahoma, to Northern Alberta is over fifteen hundred miles. Across these rolling plains in frontier days the migratory herds of buffalo used to pass twice a year. Today the migratory worker covers the entire distance working from job to job harvesting and threshing, transporting himself on freight trains with an occasional lift on the blind of a passenger, on foot and by borrowed lifts from local farmers.

These workers enter the harvest in Oklahoma or southern Kansas. They put in a week or two in one locality and having finished their work they get paid off. They either transport their wages on their persons as they climb on the freights or they send them to some distant place for safe keeping or they blow in at the nearest town. By far the majority carry the cash on them.

After riding on the freights till they have arrived at new territory where work is going on they disembark and enter into the harvest workers' hotel, the jungle. Here they cook their food, wash their clothes, sleep and rest up a little for the next job.

These jungles are situated in places handy to the railroads. They form the connecting link from job to rail or back to job again. Coming or going the worker passes through the jungles and partakes of their hospitality.

In days before the I. W. W. organized these workers, there existed and flourished a peculiar brand of outlawry in this western harvest region. A combination of high jacks (plain hold up men) and gamblers were organized and preyed on the workers throughout the harvest.

These parasites, like others of their kind that infested the big cities such as white slavers, gun men, stool pigeons and detectives of all shades, worked hand in glove with the police authorities.

They victimized the migratory worker traveling by way of freight and jungle from job to job. They were not a menace to the moneyed interests of the towns and were given a free reign by all the guardians of law and order.

Gangs of high jacks ruled the freights. Heavily armed and well organized they would pass down from car to car sticking up the travellers and exacting tribute from them. High jacks and gamblers ruled the jungles and if their gambling games were so crude as to leave the worker cold and uninfluenced they would beat him up, rob him or drive him out of the place.

Resistance to their armed rule was hopeless for an individual. Many a dark tale of cruel murder could be told of these early days. Many a beaten form was dropped down between the swaying ends of box cars to be ground to pieces beneath the wheels of the moving train. For workers to apply to the authorities was to be joked and twitted. There was no protection from these blood suckers of capitalism

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

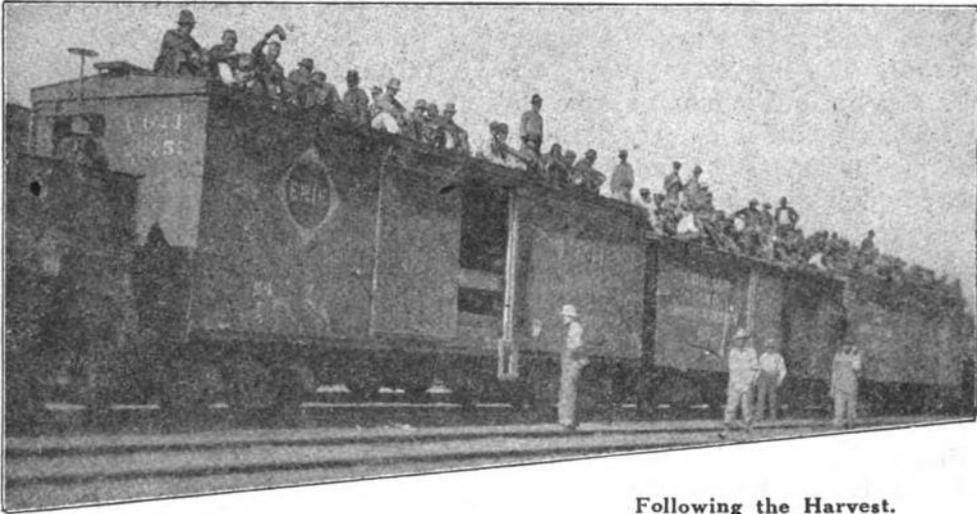
except by the remedy that all parasites fear, and that is labor organization.

The conditions of work that force a man to become a hobo can be imagined. Conditions of the job were not in most instances fit for cattle. Long strenuous hours of labor under a scorching sun, poor food and no place to sleep are things that cannot be tolerated always.

The I. W. W. entered the field. It organized the workers on the jobs, on the trains and in the jungles. The organized harvest workers fought for better working conditions and declared uncompromising

tion of the high jack and his fellow the gambler. Today workers' committees rule the freights and jungles and these committees are I. W. W. committees. That they have freed themselves from the leeches of the old days is due to nothing but their organized fighting ability. It is the way to the elimination of all parasites.

The first drive by the I. W. W. was in 1915, but was not very successful except as they learned by their failures. Definite plans of action were laid and in 1916 the famous harvest drive was put across that generated such vitality in the whole or-



Following the Harvest.

warfare on the high jacks and gamblers.

The improvement of working conditions is a matter of record. Hours have been shortened and food improved wherever the organized workers on the job have understood and practiced the tactics of the I. W. W. Still they are far from being satisfactory. Still the battle goes on for better working conditions and better pay.

But the high jack has not been tolerated. That he resisted with all his treacherous brutality cannot be doubted. His rule of freights and jungles could only be overcome by organized force. Law and order cared nothing for the migratory workers. The law is not made to protect such as they.

The workers organized their train and jungle committees. Many a pitched gun battle in inky black box car or hand to hand combat on the top of swaying, rattling freight trains have marked the elimina-

tion that it was able to withstand the ferocious attacks of subsequent years.

In the time during the war there was little activity in the harvest compared with 1916. The organization was taken up with defense work. No coordinated plans were laid down. High jacks crept back into bold activity and together with the rest of the organization things seemed to be failing.

In the fall of 1920 the agricultural workers' convention in New Rockford, North Dakota, nominated their new general officers and laid plans for real work in 1921. Early in the spring of 1921 the General Organization Committee met and detailed plans for the drive that has rejuvenated the I. W. W., were laid.

Careful study was made of the physical facts of the harvest country and the industry. The militant forces of the organization were centered at the beginning of

the drive at Enid, Oklahoma. Their activity started the ball rolling. From Enid they moved with the ripening crop in a wedge shape spreading out like a huge fan up through Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and at this date are entering North Dakota and Minnesota.

Each section of this immense area was studied. At every strategic point in the entire country was placed one of the members of the G. O. C. who furnished supplies and gave information and directive advice in the momentum gathering drive. Committees were on the trains. Committees had charge of the jungles. Job delegates were on the job. Everything had been provided for in this great, inspiring, well planned drive to organize and educate the harvest workers.

In the past the harvest drives have been subject to much criticism because of the lack of educational features for the new members. In this drive from July till August, in scarcely a month, 160,000 new leaflets have been distributed to the harvest workers. 40,000 pamphlets have been sent out, all this besides the thousands of copies of *Solidarities*, *Industrial Workers*, and *Industrial Pioneers* that are sold to and read by the harvest workers.

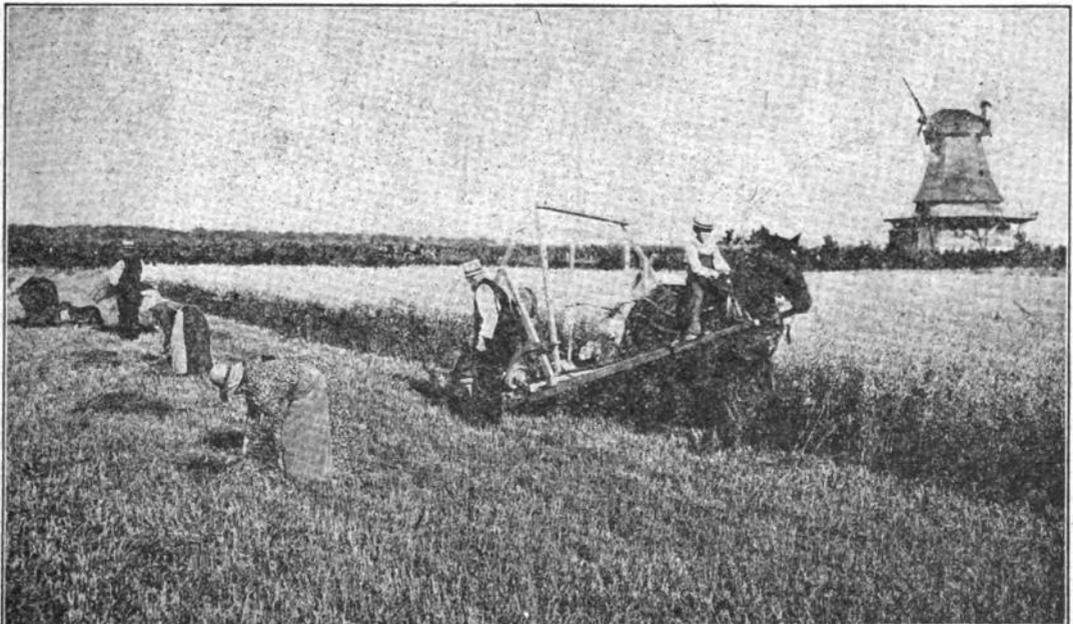
Never was such an educational drive carried on by the I. W. W. The workers

everywhere are alive to the need for understanding and are eager to get knowledge of the system of society that has so lately and rapidly thrust them into war and then into the degradation of unemployment and misery.

Up to August first over 5000 new members have taken out cards in the I. W. W. That these workers will stick to the organization is the firm belief of all who are in constant touch with the changing phases of the thousand mile picket line. Hundreds are stamping up ahead getting ready for the times next winter when organized action will be more necessary than now and they may not have the money to pay up with. The I. W. W. spirit has come back with such a wallop that every one has been surprised, old time members most of all.

To enumerate the little job battles over this great area would be to fill volumes. Everywhere that pep was shown for betterment of conditions and wages the workers have won hands down. That they have met with some defeats is to be expected. That the law has snatched off its quota of victims is the usual thing but the drive sweeps on and gains such magnitude as to be irresistible at the present writing.

On the jobs throughout the wide wheat belt the binders were at work rolling out the yellow bundles for the shockers or



Old Style Reaping—Binding by Hand

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

stackers to handle as the case may have been. Shocking or stacking grain in the broiling sun is a terrific job. Men used to inside work can seldom stand it. But the clumsy looking binders cut swath after

swath and the grain shocked or stacked is ready for the threshing.

In some places the combine threshers cut, thresh and sack the grain at one operation. These are big, unwieldy machines



WOWIE!

that are usable only on large, well levelled fields. If one part of the machine goes wrong the entire work is stopped. They are not the decided success that they were thought to be a few years ago. Dust clouds fill the air and the great automaton moves on with its productive task. How different from the old style mowers and hand binders!

Where the binding and threshing is done separately as is the rule the compact threshing machine or separator comes around, some weeks after the grain is cut.

On every crew of workers the I. W. W. is a living force. On the binders and

plans by determined workers, think what could be done to the criminal syndicalism laws of the more southern states next year if we entered the harvest with the workers that we now have organized.

Down through Kansas and South Dakota the fellow workers who now are lying in jail for their working class activities would be free. There is but one way to secure the workers' rights and that is to organize and fight for them. Organized power gets the goods.

By the time of publication the drive will be entering Canada, stronger, more virile and with greater spirit and solidarity. Al-



A Combine Thresher and Wobbly Crew

amongst the shockers, pitching bundles on the stack, or sewing sacks on the combine, feeding the separator or hauling the grain there will be found men carrying red I. W. W. cards, reading I. W. W. literature and thinking and talking I. W. W. language. The harvest drive is a big success.

A delegate was arrested at Devil's Lake and the workers at once pulled a general strike in the whole county for his release. In short order he was back on the job. At Valley City in the same state of North Dakota a delegate was arrested within the last couple of days. Already from farm to farm throughout the county the work has been passed to strike unless this worker is released unconditionally.

With this force of the I.W.W. generated in one month with the use of coordinated

ready plans are made to divert part of this great organized force out to the coast to take in and organize the beet, apple, and potato workers of that section.

Part of this great army are going into Colorado to take in the beet and potato work there. Then will commence the big new drive on the corn huskers. Plans have been laid out for this drive for the first time. Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Minnesota will be covered again with the great thousand mile picket line this year. The I. W. W. has come into the ring again. With its new spirit, with its new planful methods of attack and new tactics, hard learned from lessons of the past, it will be invincible. On with industrial organization. All power to the Industrial Workers of the World.



Industrial Research

OUR Department of Industrial Research should be developed to the highest degree of perfection. The importance of this department is, perhaps, not sufficiently recognized. Let us consider the reason for its existence, and how it is designed to function to perform an anticipated need of the workers.

In the end, the social revolution is not a matter of free verse poetry and cubist art, nor even an armed uprising, but is the act of a new class in society assuming the control of production and distribution of those things which men must have to live. There is no revolution until this act has been consummated. It is entirely possible that conditions will develop here in which this may be accomplished.

One need not be an oracle in order to predict great rebellions of the workers. Whether or not these rebellions will culminate in the social revolution depends entirely upon the workers' ability to organize, to seize power and then to use it upon a higher and more efficient plane than is possible to that class which at present rules.

A rebellion can at most but deprive the present masters of their power. The workers' power can come but from themselves. If this power is not immediately developed and held by the workers and applied to the direction of the economic functions of society, then indeed there has been no revolution but merely a revolt. A rebellion is merely an emotional outburst, while the social revolution is entirely a matter of intelligent action.

Even at the present time there is plenty and to spare of rebellion, but it is of a sporadic nature, it lacks co-ordination, and has in general little or no immediate revolutionary significance. We are, in truth, a nation of scissor-bills, for in us the contradiction of the existing economic system finds its reflex in our emotions, hardly, if ever, in our intellect.

This process, in turn, is reflected in the acts of individual or local group revolts, seldom in conscious effort to seek cause, effect and remedy. There are, however, potent forces at work which tend to coordinate these revolts and to make clear to the workers the cause and cure for their

economic ills. To do this, is of course illegal and cannot be done by any organization without great loss and hardships on the part of the active members.

The spirit of revolt, however, should not be discouraged, nor should those who seek to direct it to practical ends be condemned, but it is the peculiar revolutionary duty of the I. W. W. to organize the workers for the tasks of production and distribution in the coming new society.

We must be fully prepared to place at the workers' disposal the most perfect economic organization, and to supply these with the most detailed information upon all matters of production and distribution. Against that day we must now gather facts, facts and more facts, numbers and statistics. Every available tool in the country must be listed, all processes fully understood by our own specialists, all sources of supply must be known as well as the wants of all localities.

All this, and more our industrial engineers must have available, and it is the work of the general membership to collect this data. Each branch should have a secretary of industrial data who will collect this information from the members, and classify it and forward it to the Bureau of Industrial Research. This bureau should be composed of our best revolutionary engineers and they, in turn, will digest this acquired information and prepare it for the service of the workers in the old and new society.

Then, if the workers accomplish a successful revolt, the machinery will be at hand for these to immediately take up the tasks of production and distribution with little or no confusion, and they shall be secure against the expropriated "owners" efforts to sabotage, thus escaping and eliminating a most painful period of transition, an example of which we have recently witnessed.

Our engineers should make known to the fellow workers just what information is required, and each should exert every effort to acquire it. The idea should be developed to the point of economic espionage, so that no machine or process shall remain a secret.

Bud.

Economic Determinism

By Mary E. Marcy

THERE are three well known ways of explaining history. Some folks believe a God or Gods reach down from Heaven or Olympus and take a hand in the affairs of mankind. They believe in the theological interpretation of history. Others insist that if the years had not been occasionally sprinkled with Great Men, who stepped into the arena and yanked society forward, we would still be living primitive lives. They fancy that all the progress of the human race has been caused by a few hundred men of genius who found some great New Idea and led the people into new paths. In almost all colleges, schools and universities the teachings of history are based on this Great Man theory.

Then there is the economic, or materialistic conception of history, based on economic conditions, methods of production and the class struggles which arise from these between the makers of products and the takers of products.

The materialistic conception of history teaches us that the method of production determines all the institutions of a country, the governments, the laws, the press, religions, education, in fact the intellectual life of the people.

Instead of believing that the great ideas of great men pulled us forward, we know that economic need forced us to struggle forward.

The believers in the great man theory would say that we might just as well have had industrial unionism in the middle ages (when almost all production was carried on by serfs, tied to the land) as now, provided only that some man had been brilliant enough to think of it. They do not understand that it required machines and machine production to release men and women from the farms and from hand spinning, hand weaving, etc., etc. so that there would be an available supply of laborers to employ in new factory enterprises, and that it is modern machinery and modern productive methods which

are taking the skill out of the workers and putting it into the machine. This reduces skilled and unskilled workers to the same level and the pressing need for industrial unionism arises.

When I studied English history at school I would have told you that the history of England was the story of the kings and queens, their quarrels, love affairs, marriages and deaths. To me history meant courts and parliaments, Senate and Congress, while these institutions, as the materialistic conception of history teaches us, are only the result, the superstructures catering to the economic needs of the exploiting classes.

During the days of kings and serfs all the laws were about the rights of the king, the duties of the nobles to the king, taxes, the rights of the lords, giving him power over his serfs, the duties of serfs toward their lords. And all the teachers and priests and preachers taught the people that these were right and everlasting. All these institutions did reflect the mode of production and the interests of the ruling classes as the materialistic conception of history teaches us they have always done.

Nobody thought about railroad legislation in those days because there were no railroads. And nobody thought of limiting the hours of the work day. These ideas came after factory production when workers were gathered in groups and could communicate with each other readily, could organize and fight for their demands.

In the early days in America it took nearly all of the people all the time to supply the actual necessities of life. Then came the steam engine (which burned wood for a long time) but which carried products from one part of the country with much less labor power than transportation had formerly required. People could send their products to a central point by railroad; and villages grew up. Farm machinery liberated some of the farmers from the land and small machine-operated factories began to spring up in the towns.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The farmers migrated to the towns to get work. And every improved method in production threw men out of work somewhere and enabled the rising capitalist class to hire them for wages in new factories.

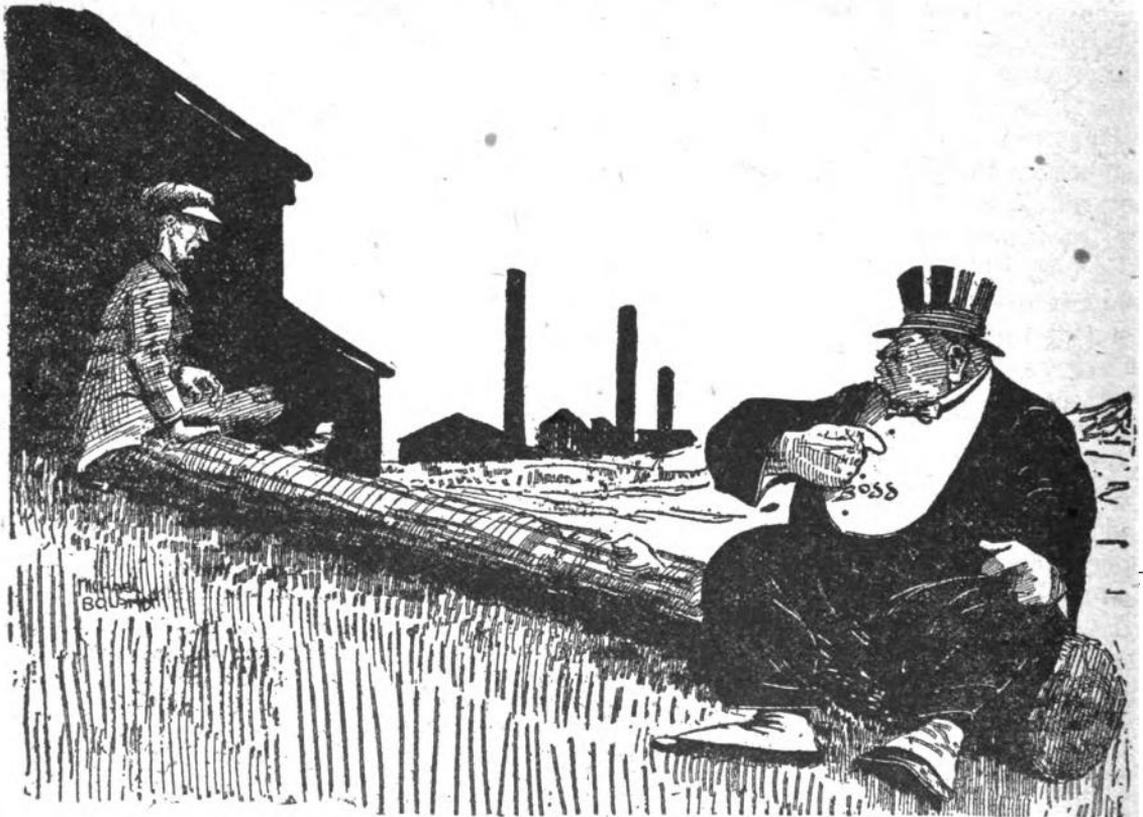
And the towns grew into great cities with mills and shops and factories. The population of the cities became greater than the number of people engaged at work on the farms. And always there were class struggles—struggles over the product of the workers, whether the employers should have more or the workers more.

We can see how impossible it would have been for men to start great industrial institutions in the old days before the railroad, steam power, machinery. Men and women could not be separated from the

land. There was no great army of unemployed to hire. And all this American history has been made by a change in the methods of production and distribution. The laws changed; the teachings of the college professors changed; the churches changed; the press changed—all to meet the needs of the rising capitalist class.

All the kings that ever lived were unable to make as much real history as the steam engine, or the spinning jenny, or the farm machines, or the cotton gin. These new tools changed the whole lives of the people, changed the whole face of the country.

And this is economic determinism, meaning that the economic conditions determine. This is what we call the materialistic conception of history.



Boss (arguing with striker): "ME work???? An who in hell'l be left to pay ye yer wages ye fool!"

Oil and Oil Workers

By Albert Barr

LONG ages before the enslavement of one man by another and longer ages before anything even remotely resembling modern civilization existed, oil was evolving, drop by drop, in old Earth's chemic depths—evolving, accumulating, awaiting the time when a certain desire of man's would drive him to seek an assistant to the functioning of the machines he had builded as a result of other desires. Yet the liquid treasure that the ages had stored was not drawn upon until, in the late 50's of the last century the treasure house was smashed open with a giant steel drill a short distance from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

Swiftly around the industrial world went the news that crude mineral oil had been found in large but unknown quantity. Every intelligent owner of machines knew not only that a new industry had been born, but also that the way had been opened for rapid and almost unlimited advancement in his own industry; and but a few years elapsed after the finding of oil, before that oil became an industrial necessity.

With remarkable swiftness there sprang up in Pennsylvania many "boom" towns, inhabited chiefly by men who had money to put into the new industry and men who had nothing but hard muscles and a desire to live. New wells were drilled; new fortunes were made certain; and a new slave group—oil-field workers, sires of those who were to be shot down at Bayonne, of those who were to be mobbed at Tulsa, and of those who were to be sent to Leavenworth from Wichita—was added to that larger slave group—the working class.

The first oil shipped out of Pennsylvania was barreled and floated on barges down the creeks and rivers. In a few years, however, came the pipe line. And the pipe line's quick coming is typical of the application of improved mechanical methods to oil production. The industry originated lately enough to have profited by all that other industries had been long years in evolving.

From Pennsylvania, the oil industry spread westward across the United States.

With the growth of the industry went the growth of the oil working group of the working class; and with the growth of this oil working group went inter-group specialization of function—one man becoming definitely a driller; another a pipe-liner; another a pumper, and so on. And concomitant with this growth of specialization went what we may call functional clan-nishness—the hobnobbing of "tankies" with "tankies," pipe-liners with pipe-liners, etc., etc., each group isolating itself from and treating with contempt all other groups. To be sure, the owners of oil property encouraged this proneness of workers in one line of oil production to treat with contempt the workers in other lines, as it made and still makes for lack of working class solidarity.

As oil production in the United States spread westward, all oil-producing and many other states were dotted with a new kind of industrial plants—drilling rigs, earthen and steel storage tanks, refineries, gas-pumping stations, gasoline plants, etc., etc. As the total production for the United States increased, the number, size and modernity of these plants also increased; and while the total number of oil workers also increased, due to the addition of new fields to already producing fields, improved machinery was displacing men in certain lines of oil production. This displacement of man by machine continues in the oil industry as in all industries.

From the United States the oil industry leaped around the world. For 1918 the figures for oil production (figures compiled by the U. S. Geological Survey) are, in barrels of 42 gallons:

United States	355,928,000
Mexico	63,828,000
Russia	40,456,000
Dutch East Indies	13,285,000
Roumania	8,730,000
India	8,000,000
Persia	7,200,000
Galicia	5,592,900
Peru	2,536,000
Japan and Formosa	2,449,000
Trinidad	2,082,000
Egypt	2,080,000
Argentina	1,321,000
Germany	711,000
Canada	305,000
Venezuela	190,000
Italy	36,000

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The figures for total production from 1857 to 1918 in barrels of 42 gallons are:

United States	4,608,572,000
Mexico	285,182,000
Russia	1,873,999,000
Dutch East Indies	188,389,000
Roumania	151,408,000
India	106,162,000
Persia	14,056,000
Galicia	154,051,000
Peru	24,415,000
Japan and Formosa	88,498,000
Trinidad	7,432,000
Egypt	4,849,000
Argentina	4,296,000
Germany	16,664,000
Canada	24,426,000
Venezuela	318,000
Italy	974,000

U. S. figures are limited to quantity marketed.) These figures show that while there has been some changing of places among other countries, the United States has always been easily the greatest producer of crude oil—producing 67.82% of the world's total in 1918, Mexico coming next with 13.58%; from 1857 to 1918 the United States produced 61.11% of the world's total; Russia coming next with 24.66%. And from the following table of production for 1919 by fields, in barrels of 42 gallons, it will be seen that the Mid-Continent field is the largest producer in the U. S.:

Mid-Continent	196,891,000
California	101,564,000
Appalachian	29,232,000
Gulf	20,568,000
Rocky Mountains	13,584,000
Illinois	12,436,000
Indiana	3,444,000

The growth of oil production in the United States from 500,000-42 gallon barrels in 1860 to 377,719,000 barrels in 1919 followed the demand for oil and more oil, as more industrial uses for oil were found. As exemplifying the fact of the necessity for oil in the present social and industrial scheme, consider the minor fact that the number of officially registered motor cars in the United States for 1921, is 12,000,000. These cars, excepting perhaps one half of one per cent, are driven with gasoline, one of the most important of oil by-products. As exemplifying the anarchy of the present methods of oil production—production for profit—consider the important fact that the Capitol Crude Oil Co. has a refinery—their only refinery—at Santa Paula, Calif., with a total daily capacity of only 40 bar-

rels, while at Bayonne, N. J.—Bayonne, city of evil reputation where the lives of 18 striking oil slaves were ended by company-gunmen's bullets—The Standard Oil Co. has a refinery with a daily capacity of 88,000 barrels.

On the part of the large oil companies there has been, of course, some striving towards concentration of plants and coordination of working forces; but even so, the waste of effort in the oil industry is notorious.

In 1916-17 the Oil Workers' Industrial Union (I. W. W.) carried on a vigorous organizing campaign in the Mid-Continent oil fields. The oil workers responded to the call of the I. W. W. for organization, some thousands joining and remaining in the union. The oil companies expressed their resentment of the I. W. W.'s activity at Tulsa in 1917, by organizing a mob of very law-abiding citizens to beat, tar and feather a group of active I. W. W. oil workers; and in Kansas with the well-known Wichita indictment, on which 26 men were sent to Leavenworth prison for terms ranging from 3 to 9 years. With the last-named atrocity, organization work in the oil fields ceased, unfortunately.

After the signing of the armistice, hundreds of soldier workers went back into the oil industry; the labor market became swollen and the unusual wages paid to oil workers during the war were cut and working conditions became bad.

Now, since the supply of crude oil surely cannot be unlimited; since present methods of oil production are extremely inefficient, and wasteful of oil and energy; and since the great mass of oil workers is unorganized—two things must be done:

The oil workers must be organized industrially; and such plans must be made as will insure rapid and complete concentration of energy in oil production when the oil industry as we know it today crashes in the general—and inevitable—collapse of the capitalistic system of production. Both of these tasks are gigantic and cannot be completed without hard thinking, hard working and hard fighting. Therefore, the sooner and more seriously they are begun, the sooner will they be completed.

The American Railway Industry and its Workers

By W. J. Lemon

THE railway industry of America is not only the largest industry in the nation, but with its 2,000,000 employees in times of prosperity is in all probability the largest in the world. In America as in all countries it is the key of the key industries; it is the connecting link of all industries. Industry would cease should this vast network of railways cease to operate for any length of time.

As the nerves of the human body are connected to all its parts, so are the railways related, and connected to the industrial and economic life of the nation. It is true that the railways cannot exist and operate for long without the other essential industries, but still there are none that hold the important and strategic position of the transportation system.

The majority of our other industries, with the exception of a few, can store their products, and still continue to function so long as the transportation systems remain in operation, and continue to distribute their products. Not so with transportation. It is an everyday necessity. Social life starts to go to pieces at once when it stops functioning.

There is another prominent factor that we must now reckon with in the transportation problem, and that is the auto truck, which is taking a great part these days, especially in the short hauls between urban and interurban localities, with every indication that in time as the good roads plan progresses and grows, it will be a strong competitor for long distance traffic. Who knows but that in time the auto service may outstrip the steam and electric systems of transportation?

What is necessary is to impress upon the minds of the reader, not the superiority of the railways or its workers over other industries, and their workers, but to make clear how the organized workers of the railways have failed to perform their duty to their class and themselves, and what they can do in the future if they only become conscious of themselves as a class, and organize in the proper form.

History of the Railroads

In less than a century, to be exact just 90 years ago, the first railroad was constructed in America. From an insignificant line of a few miles in length, the system now totals approximately 265,000 miles exclusive of yards and sidings. In comparison as the mileage and volume of traffic increased, so all other features of the railways changed, such as materials used in construction, and in the method of operation.

The first lines that were built used ties or sleepers as they are sometimes called, somewhat similar to those in use today; but the rails were made of wooden four by fours, with straps of iron nailed on for the wheels to run upon. The loco-

motive was a very simple affair, light of weight, and slow on speed, with about as much tractive power as two good span of mules. The cars for both freight and passengers were as crude and simple as the locomotive that pulled them, and the track upon which they ran.

The movement of trains was not directed by telegraph until near the sixties, because the telegraph was not invented until about 1850, or at least it was not demonstrated to be practical and useful until about that time. Neither could you purchase a ticket over more than one line of railway, and the same rule applied to shipping or checking your baggage, for interline traffic had not yet come into vogue.

The speed and the stopping of the trains were controlled by the simple hand brake, which meant plenty of old fashioned hand power. The electric block system for safety, or the electric switches for speed and economy were things unheard of in the early days of railroading. Since those pioneer days a great and rapid change has taken place, both in the construction and operation of railways. This development was apparently much faster than the evolution in the workers unions.

Instead of the old fashioned wood and strap iron rail, we have the steel rail weighing 110 lbs to the yard, upon which the giant locomotive and the electric motor weighing hundreds of tons pull trains of a 100 cars or more. An ordinary car of today weighs more than an entire train of primitive days. Instead of the equipment being made of wood as of old, it is now constructed of steel. The coaches are marvels of beauty and comfort, and installed with every device for comfort and safety. Now we have the automatic air brake that is operated by one individual—the engineer, who controls the speed, or stops a train of 100 cars as easily and simply as he formerly stopped one. One can now buy a ticket, check your baggage or ship your freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific with no more trouble than is caused in going to the next cross road station. The merging of hundreds of small lines into a few systems has made it possible to simplify the clerical and accounting work.

We also have the automatic car coupler, the automatic electric block signal, and electric switches. We are told that all these appliances are installed for safety; in reality it is all done for economy, and dividends. Train wrecks, and damage suits are much more expensive than safety appliances. All this improvement has been brought about by the brain and the brawn of the workers. The despised immigrant from Mexico, Asia, and Slavic or Latin Europe, who have constructed the roads, and maintained the tracks, played the same essential part in this task as the so-called skilled aristocratic worker, for without their work these roads would not be here.

Finance

According to history railroads were financed to some extent by stocks (water) and bonds, but to a greater extent by bonuses, national subsidies, and government land grants. In the early period in the eastern states many of the old canal companies developed into railroad corporations, and financed their projects with the state grants, and municipal bonuses that had been given for the building of canals. In the western and Pacific states they were financed principally by national subsidies, land grants, and loans. From the year 1850 to 1872 the national government had given outright to the railroads 155,000,000 acres of land, and \$140,000,000.00 in cash, besides many substantial loans.

The following is only a partial summary of the favored few. The Union Pacific was granted \$16,000 per mile from Omaha to the Rockies, and \$32,000 per mile through the Rockies. Meyer's History of Great American Fortunes states that the Rockies were moved 200 miles east. \$48,000 per mile was granted for track laid to its connecting link, the Central Pacific which ran from the Rockies to the coast.

The Union Pacific received a land grant of 13,000,000 acres, and later on a loan of \$27,000,000. The Central Pacific received a grant of 9,000,000 acres; the Northern Pacific 47,000,000 acres; the Kansas Pacific 12,100,000 acres, and the Southern Pacific 18,000,000 acres. Only a few weeks ago the government handed over another cool half billion on top of what they had already given to the roads since their return to private ownership; and this right after congress had refused a bonus of \$3,000,000,000 to the returned soldiers, for reasons which they asserted would practically ruin the credit and finances of the nation.

The Railroad Workers and Organization

No class of workers in America have been more brutally treated and exploited than the railway workers; both as to wages, general conditions, and excessive hours of labor. They have been slaughtered, maimed, driven and blacklisted without limit; and still they are one of the most submissive and servile groups that we have in America today.

In the beginning there was no such a thing as organized labor on the railroads, unless it was among one or two of the skilled shop crafts, and that is doubtful. The pay was small, so much per hour, per trip, per day or month. No collective bargaining existed. It was all individual bargaining and the individual who got the best of everything was the boss. The day for the trackmen and shopmen was 10 or 12 hours without any bonus for overtime. For the enginemen and trainmen it was work until the trip was completed, whether it was a few hours or a week without any overtime allowance.

The first engineers were machinists, which no doubt explains why they received the highest pay.

This fact once becoming an established precedent, it remained so for a number of years.

Not until about 1856 was the first railroad union organized, when the engineers launched the Brotherhood of the Footboard, now the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In 1867 the conductors organized; in 1873 the firemen; in 1883 the brakemen, baggagemen, and switchmen, later on the telegraphers, but the unskilled were left alone and unorganized until just before the war when the Maintenance of Way and Shop Laborers united, but really did not make much headway until this country went into the war. The first railroad industrial union that opened its doors to all railway workers was the A. R. U., led by Eugene V. Debs and others in the early 90's. It went down after the great Pullman strike in 1894, principally due to the treachery of the old line brotherhoods to their class.

The U. B. R. E., another industrial union followed, but it, too, died out in a few years. The last independent industrial railroad union to come into existence which is still alive and organizing, is the United Association of Railway Employees of North America. Of course the I. W. W. has always been open to all wage workers, and today has an industrial union of railroad workers.

The U. A. R. E. of N. A. is the result of the outlaw movement of April, 1920, and the Los Angeles and Winnipeg outbreaks in 1919. It was formed because the Brotherhood executives failed to function in the interests of the workers, but lashed their members back on the job thus forcing the workers to scab on each other, and assisting the masters to gain a victory.

There is no denying the fact, however, that the present unions have accomplished good in the past when conditions were much different from now, but those days are gone never to return. The only real fundamental things they have accomplished, is the raising of the wages, the shorter work day, and the arbitrary overtime. The railway corporations have likewise lengthened the trains, adopted improved mechanical, and other methods of operation that more than offset the gains of the workers. Likewise the cost of living has advanced ahead of the money rise in wages, so in reality the increased productive power of the railroad workers like all other workers, makes them cheaper slaves today than ever before.

The Limit of Service Law, not to exceed 16 hours work in any 24 hour period was secured by act of Congress, not to protect the workers from performing unlimited hours of toil, but to protect the lives of the traveling public. In all the history of the Brotherhoods and the crafts there has never been a spirit of solidarity displayed on the part of the leaders, except in 1916 when the 8 hour day (Adamson Law) was forced through Congress by the strike ballot of the four Brotherhoods.

On numerous occasions, organized crafts have scabbed on other organized crafts in order to gain

some petty concession. We should mention two things in particular that have done an incalculable amount of damage to the railroad workers in the way of breaking and crushing their morale, and militant spirit. The first is the seniority and jurisdictional agreements introduced by the unions themselves which only tends to create friction and prejudice amongst the workers, thereby preventing solidarity, and only redounding to the benefit of the masters. The other is the age limit, and physical examination, introduced after the 1894 strike to punish the rebellious slaves; but is still in operation, and is used just as effectively in punishing the rebels of today. It is nothing more or less than a blacklist; a club in the hands of the masters, and none of the "recognized" unions has made any attempt to abolish it.

Times have changed wonderfully in the last year or so. It used to be two jobs for every man; now it is two men for every job. It used to be fight or work, now it is a fight for work. What the capitalists gave to the workers during the war, they are now going to take away, and more if they can.

On July 1st they took back the first slice in the way of a 12% reduction, and the next to come is the abrogation of the national agreement, which is the time and a half, and other arbitration awards. According to reports the decreases shall continue as far as the masters have the power to push us. And why shouldn't they, so long as the workers are divided and lack the power of organization with which to halt them? The leaders of the unions are doing nothing to stop them, except using a lot of old time threats and worn out phraseology, and appealing to capitalist politicians to help save them. They well know that they are powerless to save themselves under present conditions.

Some will no doubt take exception to the statement that railroad workers are poorly paid. It has been understood by many that the railway workers were the aristocracy of labor. Even the highest paid among them—the engineers—received no more than many mechanics. During the war there were many workers in war industries that received much more. The railroad workers' pay was brought up to the highest rate when labor was scarce, when the profiteers were in competition with each other for labor power.

There was a time when most of the present unions were considered quite militant, with the exception of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Order of Railroad Conductors; these two organizations were never accused of having any radical or progressive ideas. They always stayed on the job, let the other fellow do the fighting while they came in for the cream. For many years they held aloof from all other organizations, either feeling their superiority over the other workers, or else believing in that old quack idea that too many crafts in one union makes

an unworkable piece of machinery. Later on, however, they found out that they could no longer get any of the increases unless they got in the harness, and helped to get it. They began to see that a lone union was of no use to get anything from organized capital, so they gradually associated themselves with other organizations of the train and engine service only.

Like many other craft organizations they have not yet learned the necessity of organizing on the One Big Union plan. They don't yet seem to realize that that is why the bosses are whipping them now. The capitalist class is organized in the only real One Big Union in the country, while the workers are divided and powerless to save themselves. The American plan, or open shop is condemning the Brotherhoods and the railroad crafts to death.

While the courts and the chambers of commerce, ably assisted by patriotic organizations, were busy persecuting I. W. W's and other radicals for working class activities, the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods sat back self poised and quite contented, in fact more than pleased. They were saying to themselves—they'll never bother us, for we are "Respectable and Law Abiding Organizations." Their hopes and dreams are being shattered—the masters are going to wipe their unions out of existence, as though they were chaff before the wind.

It is too late now for the old unions to recover and gather their fragments together, to present a solid craft front to the enemy. With no foreign markets to absorb the surplus goods produced by the American workers, industrial and social conditions must get worse, before they can get better. With industries closing, and millions of workers walking the streets looking for work, it is utterly impossible for the present unions to solve the problem of unemployment.

The first step towards a real solution is the forming of industrial unions. This is opposed strenuously by all the reactionary officials of the railroad brotherhoods and the crafts.

The second step in arriving at the correct solution of the problem of society is in putting into operation workers control of production and distribution. The master class cannot operate the industries unless there is a profit to be had. The working class can and must, if they intend to exist, operate the industries for use and not for profit of anyone.

The only solution to this age long struggle of the classes is for the railroad and other workers to build the One Union of all the workers, regardless of creed, race, color or sex, upon the ruins of the old, and through organized power take possession of the means of life, for only by the ownership of your own jobs can you be free men and women. Organize like the capitalist class; they have shown us the way to freedom.

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UNEMPLOYMENT

Factories, mines and mills throughout the country still remain idle or work part time. Others everywhere are closing down. In the needle trades which is largely seasonal work, the season for many sorts of goods is long overdue and there is no activity.

The five million unemployed is rapidly swelling to six million. Still there is no attempt on the part of the owners of industry to even as much as understand the situation with which the world is faced. They hide from the disagreeable truth that capitalism is in its death convulsions, chatter wildly about deflation, normalcy and lack of demand, but do nothing.

The working class of the Volga region of Russia are faced with a famine because of the lack of rain. Ten million persons are liable to suffer in this catastrophe either death or great privation. The entire machinery of the centralized Russian Workers' Republic is at work vigorously trying to solve the problem of feeding these victims of combined capitalistic greed and climatic accident.

The number of persons now affected by the unemployment in the United States is greater than those liable to be affected by the Russian famine. No steps whatever have been taken by any of the powers that are in control in this country except the paltry remedy of a few bowls of soup and a few chunks of bread that usually serve to keep the hungry ones from disorder. Such palliative measures will be ridiculous in the terrible winter that is now facing

the workers of America. At the present progress of disintegration there will be ten million men out of work this winter and this will mean more than twenty five million persons with no means of support.

There is but one answer to the question of what shall be done. The only persons capable of solving the problems of the working class is the working class themselves. Industrial organization, industrial study, industrial planning by the industrially organized workers can be the only answer to the problems of starvation that confront us.

To declare the greatest strike in history and go back to work, move in and occupy the factories, the workshops and warehouses that the capitalists are letting lie idle, these things are the only means that can bring relief to the working class.

We are not prepared for such a move now. We of the I. W. W. must get prepared between now and that day in the near future when there will be no other solution for the workers of America but to move in and take over the industries.

Let us lend our energies now to constructive effort at organizing the three things that we cannot do without in such a move, the workers, the industrial knowledge and the plans of action.

POWER

The capitalist class today has no power that the workers can take over and use. We must generate our own power from our own class if we would ever achieve any control over the means of life.

The development of working class power is a bitterly hard process and does not come from any spontaneous freeing of the "soul" from the restraints of capitalism. It comes from the constant and recurring restraints of having to deal with and solve problems vital to the working class.

Remember this, that the working class has all the power that there is in society at all times. We need only to organize it and set it to work. Let us get on the job now! Map out the industries! Gather the data of the movement of materials! Create the organs of economic control and lay the plans for action!

THE PRISON HOUSE OF REALITY

REALITY seems a miserable and unwarranted affair. It is a dingy commonplace arrangement from which most of us are always trying to escape, but to which we are being forcibly brought back by that incorrigible policeman—Fact.

The queer part about it is that once Fact has hustled us out of the gay and happy building of our fancy and with sundry punches, jolts and wallops has deposited us back in our original prison we cannot escape again to our former warm and trustful menage—that is, we can't unless there is a road to this dream land to be had by way of the long stemmed pipe, the three inch hypo gun, the mysterious bottle, or a Billy Sunday revival. As a rule we next escape to a new house.

It is true that some persons have the happy faculty of eluding fact altogether. Great respect is due deeply religious or dogmatic and fanatical people. When the old flat foot Fact comes knocking at their doors with a warrant in his hand they with the greatest of dispatch fall upon him and annihilate him clothes, flesh, blood, bones and all. They are the greatest resisters in the world. Yet even they occasionally give in at some unguarded moment and are placed in that cell house of things as they are for a while.

Now there are very few of us who can shamefacedly say that we never even sought to escape from our lazy guards. Most of us slip out with various pretexts and have a jolly dissipated time with our freedom until we get rounded up and herded back again.

Some of us repeatedly evade reality for things that we call virtues and which we make a big fuss about. Love, patriotism and revolutionary faith are samples of these virtues which are used by us and which we select according to our age, ignorance and former or present condition of servitude.

A lot of us who have, from various visitations of brutal fact and studious observance, become aware of certain big social forces that are operating to change somewhat the structure of society, made quite

recently an escape into the realms of fictitious conjecture and revolutionary fervor over the far distant and well organized happenings in Russia.

The gradual rounding of us up by our dogged jailor is being accomplished with great pain and suffering, on our part. But every day we are landing back in our prison house wiser and more willing to use a workmanlike attitude toward things that we find there. Our prison is jammed full of reality. That is why we have always wanted to get out of it.

For instance it is something wonderful to escape on one of these great inspiring Madison Square Garden or Peoples Park revoltingly enthusiastic adventures. Unanimously we resolve to fold our Giant Arms or Build Barricades and die for the ragged remnants of a Red Flag as it flutters close to a manhole choked with gory dead. Such things as industrial facts be damned! We want nothing to do with reality while we are on this big revival. Industry! It is the vilest torture chamber of the boss. Away with the job! Give us liberty, freedom and industrial democracy!!!!

Then, when we organize our forces on these mass lines, what glory to gather together and discuss this and that line of action. It is so wonderful and inspiring that we never want to stop discussions. Action itself requires real knowledge and effort: plain everyday prison house knowledge and the drudgery of effort.

So we steer clear of action for we know that as soon as we get to dabbling in knowledge the old tyrannical jailor Fact will come along and send us back from our vacation to the colorless rooms of the prison house of reality. That is, some of us steer clear. We don't like those other persons who are always dabbling in facts and trying to set us to work. They are such nuisances.

* * *

The rumblings of a social cataclysm are heard and today those who have lately been confining themselves to reality are widely aware that the only escape from the impending ruin and its threat of total anni-

hilation lies in the reorganization of those distasteful and commonplace things—the industries.

There can be but one method employed by those revolutionists who are able to keep themselves in the gray walls of reality—by all those who are able to keep their feet on the ground and use their heads for other purposes than as instruments of hat measurement. That is the method of workmanship—the method of science.

Confronted with a problem, and we were never confronted with such a big and varied problem in all our race history, the workmanlike and scientific way to a solution is to get the facts in the case that can be had and having the facts, real definite facts, mind you, and not a lot of good guesses, then lay down and carry out a plan of action based on these said facts.

The social problem of most vital importance is one of industrial management compared with mismanagement. Things that we need are being produced for profit rather than for use. Social service and industry are not even on hearsay terms of acquaintanceship. The I. W. W. solution is to make them one and the same thing.

The way to do this is to study the industries, get the industrial facts and organize the workers according to the form and structure of the industry.

It is only through industrial union organization that we can achieve the power that is needed to put the industries on a footing of efficient operation for use and by this only means avert the crushing out of millions of lives during the period of starvation and chaos coming on with the dissolution of capitalism.

“I” or “We”

He was young
 Just from the army
 And a member
 Of the Legion strong.
 Bound for the harvest
 Being adventurous
 He went riding
 On a west bound freight.
 Great were his thoughts.
 He'd fix the Wobs
 And show the great men
 Just what
 He could do.
 His start was
 Sioux City,
 And a little
 Out of the town
 Some one asked him
 If he had a card.
 He showed his Legion button
 With a lot of pride.
 Somehow or other
 He quickly quit his ride.

He hooked on the next one
 And after a while
 Found himself waiting
 For another freight.
 He got peeved and cried,
 “By God, I'll ride
 On the next, I'll bet!”
 And got stung
 Worse yet.
 Being helpless and alone
 And hungry and tired
 When morning came,
 He made one more attempt
 On another train
 And failed again.
 But he rode the next
 And was heard
 To exclaim,
 “By God—Fellow Workers,
 We'll make John Farmer
 Come through this year.
 WON'T WE?”

Achef.



Revolutions in Industrial Countries

By Charles W. Wood

DOES anybody know how a revolution takes place in an industrial country?

I have happened to see only one. I wrote a piece for the papers about it at the time; but few people, even in the country where the revolution occurred, could believe that any such thing had taken place.

It was a funny revolution. In the first place, nobody much wanted it to happen, but nobody much opposed it. It was a necessity of the moment, and it went through without a hitch; but it was agreed on all sides that the new arrangement would be temporary; and when the crisis had passed, the people set about, almost unaimously, to restore the old order.

Years have passed since then, but the old order has not yet been restored. The new order was smashed completely—by common consent. The whole machine, which had worked so marvelously, was taken to pieces and buried without ceremony. But the old machine—the one that had broken down—refused somehow to work.

Very soon the prosperity of the country began to wane. A year later things got worse. Two years later, the industries throughout the land shut down wholesale and millions of workers were left without a job. A crime wave swept the nation. The people became almost desperate, and they are getting more desperate every day. There is much talk among them of "revolution," but the whole thing ends in talks; for nobody knows, among the 100,000,000 inhabitants, how a revolution occurs in an industrial country.

You may never have heard of the country of which I speak as it hasn't figured much, for the past century, in the revolutionary news of the world.

It is known as the United States. It is located on the Continent of North America. The revolution I refer to occurred in the year 1918.

For a full year this country had been at war with Germany and it was the consensus of opinion that it had to win the war. Up to date, however, it hadn't even figured in the war, to say nothing of winning. In the spring of 1918, somebody found out what the trouble was. The country had plenty of resources, equipment and man-power. But the whole thing wasn't of any fighting use, in that there was no co-ordination. Production was carried on hit-or-miss, as individual enterprise determined. The war administration tried its best to regulate affairs, but it couldn't even regulate itself. The army commandeered things that the navy needed, and vice versa. The railroad administration similarly competed with shipbuilding and the manufacture of munitions. Everything was hopelessly balled up until the industries of the country got together and called upon engineering experts to devise a plan of co-ordination.

Nobody called it revolution, but it changed the whole industrial face of the country overnight. And it generated a power that surprised the world. Granted that it was only war power and that nobody thought of using the same methods in peace; the fact remains that production for sale was supplanted by production for use, and that the principle of co-ordination began to supplant the principle of competition as the governing principle of our industrial life.

Which is, of course, why the whole machine was busted by unanimous consent about seven minutes after the signing of the armistice.

"Back to Normalcy" has been our slogan ever since. Back to inefficiency and production for sale! Back to the competitive struggle for markets and to the conditions that produced the war! Back to the system that broke down!

Of course, there are a few "revolutionists" who propose a different course. But what do they propose? I have been unable to understand.

Communism? Yes, but how? A dictatorship of the proletariat? Not a bad phrase, but just what is the proletariat which so unanimously voted for "normalcy" expected to dictate? And how are they to gain the upper hand in the first place—to wrest the power from the ruling class of today? It all harks back to my first question: How do revolutions occur in an industrial country?

Most revolutionists have a pretty clear picture as to how revolutions have occurred in the past—when countries were political rather than industrial. It wasn't a bad idea then to establish a political party. The party might not be legal, but the more illegal the more revolutionary it was apt to be.

Then there was pamphleteering, with underground propaganda among the intellectuals. Eventually the committee of action might make an open declaration, and the people would spring to the defense of liberty.

"Ring, grandpa, ring!" Let the bugles blow! Proclaim liberty throughout the land! Gather in the public square and defy the tyrant to do his worst!

Those were the happy days when revolutions could be won by fervor. All you had to do was to get everybody mad enough—"willing to die for an idea" is the proper way, I believe, to analyze the frenzy—then the city hall or the court house or something could be blown up, or the bastille stormed—and everybody knew that a revolution had occurred.

Ain't it tough, though, to be a revolutionist in times like these—when nobody knows how revolutions happen, and when they are just as apt to be made and unmade without anybody getting wise? As for getting the people into the right state of frenzy—the stolid, spiritless rank and file of Amer-

ica today is more afraid of frenzies than it is of anything on earth.

Frenzies haven't got them anything, in recent years, at last. They have won elections and got the politicians something, but the matter generally ended right there. They have brought on revivals and got the revivalists something, but in a few weeks things spiritual seemed to sag as badly as before. Even those frenzies which have resulted in the frenzied ones getting married haven't left all the participants permanently enthusiastic.

It may be stated as a matter of history that the people of the United States, since the civil war, have gradually become less and less amenable to frenzy. There was one exception. Frenzy became popular again in 1917, but the great majority refused stolidly to fall even for that until they were perfectly certain that the best people had all got in line. Today, if I am not in error, they are generally rather sore at themselves for falling even then.

Revolutionary Engineering

I think it is relevant to remark right here that the United States, since the civil war, has become an industrial rather than a political country. Less and less have things been accomplished through frenzy: more and more things have been accomplished through engineering. Even the white-hot patriotism of 1917 didn't hurt Germany very much. It required the engineering of 1918 to break the Hindenburg line.

Does this give us any clue as to what is likely to happen in the United States? The whole world is in a state of revolution. It is hardly thinkable that the world changes which are being made will leave this country unchanged. There will be some sort of revolution here. But how will it come?

Will it come through the people becoming sufficiently excited? If so, just how mad will they have to get? Will it come through great mass meetings and parades of the unemployed? Will the populace bare its breast to the machine guns of the capitalists in some great outpouring in Union Square? Or will the proletariat march up Fifth Avenue and seize the palaces of the rich?

I confess to having inherited a somewhat revolutionary temperament, and I hate to throw a damper on anybody's enthusiasm; but I think it quite possible that the revolution will not come to us just like that: for we are an industrial country, and these doings all hark back to revolutions of a different sort.

Once upon a time, seizing the palaces of the rich was a revolution in itself. For the palace was on a hill and the huts of the serfs lay all about; and when the palace cellar got empty, the serfs could just trot over to where they used to hang out; and if they hadn't forgotten to put in their crops, they could harvest them as usual and drag them up the big hill.

But they could hardly get away with that on Fifth Avenue. When the ice-boxes get empty there, they are habitually restocked in a different way.

Somebody goes to the telephone and calls up Park and Tilford. Any modern proletarian, to be sure, could do this: but Mrs. Tilford might be out and she might forget to leave any of the family to answer the phone. Revolutions of this sort do upset people dreadfully, and it is even possible that some of the telephone girls would be strolling up the avenues themselves, instead of sticking to the switchboard until the new residents were all installed.

Incidentally, where do the delicatessen folk keep their hens?—in case the supply you are able to find doesn't last you more than a week or two. And where does Mrs. Borden keep her cow? The milk in the bottles might be all right, but you've got to locate the cow if you want a permanent supply.

And the meat? And the new clothes and shoes? How do people get these things anyway—in an industrial civilization? They come from human labor applied to natural resources, and there is no question that the workers are entitled to them. But how do they get them? And how would they get them in an industrial country, during and after a "revolution" which had happened in Union Square? There aren't any cows in Union Square. There aren't any mines there; no tanneries, no steel mills, no mercantile marine. Without these things in constant action, life simply cannot go on in an industrial country.

The answer is, of course, that these things would have to be kept in action, and the only way that they can be kept in action is through industrial organization on the job. Most revolutionists today admit that political revolutions in themselves could never turn the trick; but what have they to offer instead? Parades, marches, mass meetings—strike, fold your arms, overthrow the tyrant—in other words, go generally wild. Then by some mystic hocus-pocus you will come into possession of the great industrial machine which you haven't the slightest idea how to run.

The most important fact in America today, however, is the new unionism which refuses to be swayed by such so-called revolutionary notions. The new unionism is revolutionary to an extent which the old industrial union never dreamed of being. But it aims at more than getting the workers into one big body. It is aiming to organize labor—which means organizing the work of the world. And when labor is really organized, it will be ready for something far more significant than a strike—far more significant even than "seizing the ownership of the means of production." It will be organized to use the means of production to keep the machinery going, to carry on production and distribution as an industrial and not as a business proposition.

"No spirit," has been a common verdict of professional radicals in regard to the working class of the United States. "The people here will suffer and complain but they will not revolt." It seems

mere to the point to observe that things happen in such a country as this not in answer to emotional fury but in accordance with the laws of scientific engineering.

The New I. W. W.

The I. W. W., as an organization, is observing that fact. It is concentrating upon a technical program. Many A. F. of L. and independent unions are stepping in the same direction, notably the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They are not "abandoning the class struggle," but they are recognizing that the class struggle is a much bigger thing than the fight of the workers against the employing class. They see in it the struggle of the workers for power and for freedom, neither of which can be wrested from the master class today.

The master class has no liberty. It is enslaved by its own inhuman aims. And it hasn't the power and cannot possibly develop the power to protect its possessions against panic, disorder and war. If the workers are to attain real power, they must get it not from their masters but from themselves. They must acquire the knowledge from which the power comes. They must learn how to run the machine not only as well as capitalism has succeeded in running it but much more efficiently. And they must learn how to run it not only for maximum material production but for the utmost human service. They must make the machine fit for men to work in, and not for men only but for women and children, too. They must abolish, as Charles P. Steinmetz says, all the jobs which lead nowhere, which do not release the creative powers of the individual and assist in all-around human development.

As Sidney Hillman recently pointed out, the workers can get 10 times more from industry than they can ever get from their employers: and it is because the Amalgamated recognized this sound industrial principle that they won the greatest labor victory in recent years.

"One Big Union" used to be a sufficient motto. Get all the workers of an industry into one organization, so that if trouble occurs in any particular department, all the employes of the industry can go out together. This was a thrilling idea and scientifically unassailable. But it was not revolutionary. It contained a full program for the stoppage of production, but it gave nobody an inkling of how production might be carried on.

The new idea is to organize for production: and that means that the workers shall not be organized in a hall—for production is not carried on in halls—but that they shall be organized on the job. They must be organized to go to work, not to quit. They must be organized to carry on production and distribution in every necessary industry, and to produce and distribute more efficiently than the capitalist system can.

And this is not a matter of religious frenzy. It is not a matter of oratory and debate. It is not a matter, either, of politics, law or government, nor

of business nor economics. It is purely a matter of engineering and industrial technique, hence this type of revolutionist insists on placing all emphasis upon the technical program.

It is significant that the monthly organ of the I. W. W., the One Big Union Monthly, has been succeeded by the Industrial Pioneer. It is significant that I. W. W. workers throughout the country have dropped their propaganda concerning the "ownership" of the means of production, and are talking definitely about how they may be used.

And who opposes this program? The greatest opposition I have seen comes from self-styled "Socialists" and "Communists." Ultra-revolutionaries, they think they are, and I have little doubt of their sincerity. I don't believe that one-half of 1 per cent of them are spies of capitalism, for capitalism is still too blind to the situation to recognize red on sight. Capitalism is seeing red all right, but it is seeing red where red does not exist, and it is so concerned with economics and banking that when it hears working men talking about increasing production, it thinks fatuously that they have "given up their foolishness."

But the fact remains that capitalism can put down any movement, no matter how widespread it is, which fails to keep the machinery of production and distribution going. But there is no power on earth which can overthrow a system which uninterruptedly performs these functions.

It is true that the industrial administration of 1918 was scrapped, but not by any outside force. If the group which controlled this experiment in co-ordination had wanted to continue its control, the government itself would have been helpless. That group, in fact, was the government, and bossed the army and the navy as well as the other functions of these United States.

And if the working class of America does organize industry, instead of contending itself with organizing citizens and baptizing them in the name of one union or another, it can avail itself at once of all the power which the industrial machine can generate.

The Situation

Perhaps it cannot be proved that an industrial country can have a revolution. Perhaps things will inevitably get worse and worse until the race gradually starves itself into giving up industry and reverts to individual farming with crooked wooden sticks in place of plows. From industrial Austria and industrial Germany and industrial America we have not yet seen anything to give us hope. But three facts, at least, are obvious.

First: Capitalism has proven its incompetency. The financial genius of the world has plotted for three years to make capitalism function as it did function before the war and has so far miserably failed.

Second: No revolution of the kind which most revolutionists have been dreaming about can occur in an industrial country; for modern industry

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

is a question, not of conservative or radical thought but of collective technique.

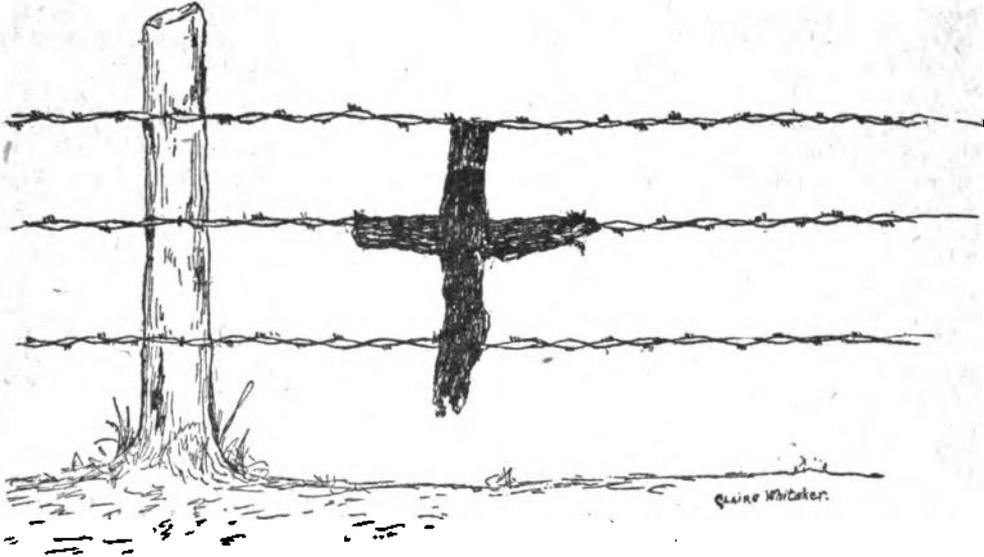
Third: While there is nothing in the proposed technical program which prohibits radicals from developing any fine frenzies which their emotional organisms require, there is nothing which keeps them from hearty co-operation with conservative minded mechanics, farmers and engineers who happen to have a sane desire to continue being fed.

The revolution I foresee—the only sort of revo-

lution which can succeed in an industrial country—may be lacking in blood and color and even in fiery phrase. But it will be a real revolution, and it will remove not only capitalism but all economics from the earth. It will be the organization of life to express, not to possess, to create and not to fight, to do things instead of wearing ourselves out trying to sell things and using up nine-tenths of our human energy in effecting the sales or in protecting the property we are induced to buy.

The Sunday Call .

Honorably Discharged



We are a pair of old socks,
Worn out in the service of one
Who noticed not our loyalty,
Until in the end—
Mostly the lower—
We failed.

We were good and faithful servants,
Serving our masters well in his days of
good fortune
And at his lowest extremities;
But we were tossed aside in disdain,
And with an arrogant pugging of the nose,
To be ground into the dirt
By passing hoofs.

A wandering minstrel
Picked us up tenderly and gingerly
And hung us on a barbed wire fence,
Where the desert sun
Could rot our tissues and purify our holey-
ness

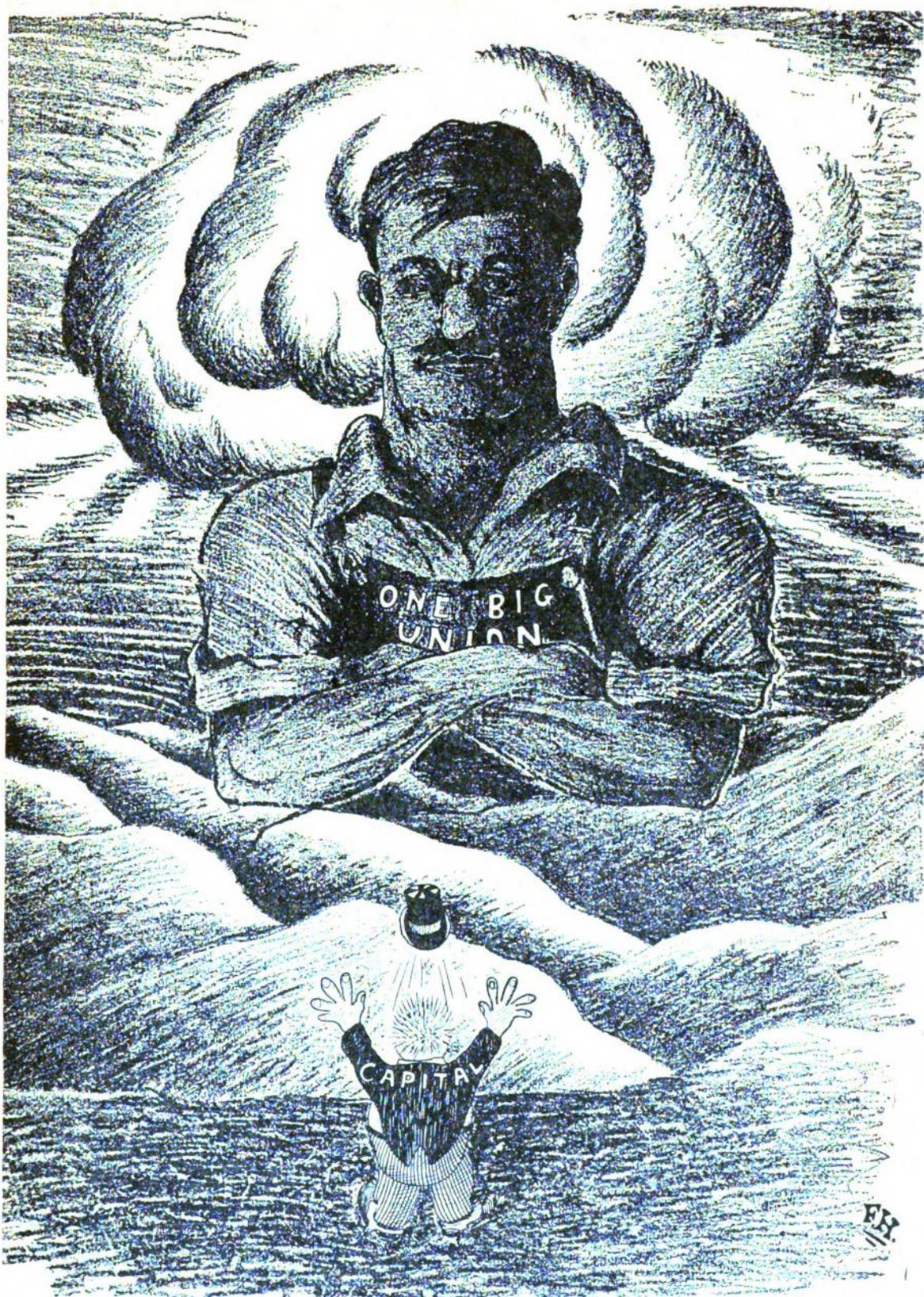
And the desert air
Purge us of the tenacious odor
Of our days of servility.

He trussed us on the fence
In the shape of the cross
Of the predecessor of the Wobbly agitator,
And here,
Abandoned,
Our days of usefulness ended,
Though the winds persistently invite us to
accompany them
To fields of sanctifying activity,
We steadily decline.

The dull-eyed cattle stand and look at us—
And wonder . . .

We were good and faithful servants . . .
And we are well done.

Jim Seymour.



CAPITAL'S ONE BIG FEAR!

Large and Small Scale Agriculture

By Wm. Dimmit

A HOG, a peach, and a bushel of wheat all start life on the farm. In this they may not be different from lots of persons that drape themselves over city desks and work benches.

Also like the farm bred city folks these first mentioned products of the farm no longer spend their last days in the old home. They emigrate to sections which do not produce hogs, peaches, or wheat.

This emigration is the big feature not only in the life of the hog, peach, and wheat but in the life of the farmer who has brought them into the world and looked after them, and to the person who takes them off the farmer's hands and introduces them into the machine process. In fact it has become the big feature to all of us.

This transference was not always so. In many portions of the well known world it is not so yet. But here in the U. S. A. the big and distinguishing feature about agriculture is that it is a commodity producing process. The hogs, peaches, and wheat seldom stay where they start at. When ready or nearly ready to be of some use to the world they are rounded up, picked, or mowed down and put on the market. The farmer sells them for cash and often buys part of them back again for his own consumption.

Agriculture Is Part of Industry

Agriculture in America is industrialized. There is very little of that small garden size production carried on chiefly for the personal use of the producer. American farmers produce first for commodity exchange and then occasionally for personal consumption.

The industrial nature of production is the outstanding fact which must be taken into consideration by any organization which is laying plans for a social revolution. The fact that farm production itself is industrialized makes it just that much more imperative that industry must be the determining factor in the success of any experiment in socialized or communistic methods of social organization.

Industry is a huge complex machine depending on the efficient or at least partly efficient working of all the parts. If one of the parts don't work the whole blame machine shuts down.

Dangers of Industrial Breakdown

In America shutting down this machine means simply the starvation of every one. Not only the people of the cities but most of the rural population as well. So it is of prime importance that no attempt at a transfer of social control to themselves should be attempted by the workers of this country until such time as they have enough industrial knowledge organized so as to insure at least enough production to keep most of the people alive.

Full warehouses may give to the onlooker the idea that there is enough food stored up to serve the country for a couple of years and that during this couple of years we can easily enough reorganize the industries. This looks fine. But the distributing machinery is part and parcel of the entire industrial process and with no definite plan laid out as to how to keep the industries at least moving why the stuff would either lie in the warehouses and rot or else be wasted by being distributed in one section while another section was starving. The industries in America must be carefully studied and understood before any revolutionary attempt is made or else with the transference of power to the workers will be transferred the job of burying the majority of the population.

Agriculture is not excepted from this hard and fast rule. Indeed it should be more carefully studied and mapped out than any of the industries. From the farm comes that which keeps us going. With no food revolutionary spirit soon plays out.

Two Sorts of Farm Methods

On the American continent there are two sorts of farm commodity production. We find first the common individual farm method in use. The farmer and his family together with an occasional hired man or two do all the work of production except during harvesting and shipping periods.

Alongside of this individual farm system there are larger scale methods. Comparatively big estates depending on hired labor and under the supervision of either the manager owner or a hired manager, have for years been a feature of domestic agriculture.

Both of these methods are carried on with greater and greater use of machinery. It is generally supposed that the big estate is putting the small farm out of business but no figures for this assertion are ever submitted. The tendency for concentration of ownership in fewer and fewer hands can easily be backed up by reams of data but paralleling this concentration of ownership there exists the creation of a farm tenantry that is increasing at an alarming rate. Large scale farm operations are not on the increase in this country.

It is doubtful if there are as many big ranches under single management now as there were ten or fifteen years ago. It is strange that there is such a scarcity of figures about the industrial methods of operation. When it comes to figures involving ownership, profits, or cash values a person can find volumes everywhere but figures dealing with industrial methods of management and industrial evolution are very scarce. People think

still in terms of ownership instead of in terms of industrial use.

As a productive factor, considering the number of hours of labor power applied, there is little dispute that the large estates are the most economical of the two systems. Accurate figures on this question have not been compiled either, as nearly all data in a capitalistic world deals with investment and profits. Production per unit of labor power has little meaning to the so-called investigators.

In the present profit system any enterprise that does not produce profits regardless of how economical the production may be is doomed to fail. Failure has marked the road over which a large proportion of the ventures in extensive farming have traveled. So much has this been in evidence that farmers are everywhere cynical of any attempt to start such enterprises. "The agriculturist," they say, "is one who makes his money in town and spends it in the country while the farmer makes his money in the country and spends it in town."

Distribution of Products

An analysis of the position of large scale agriculture cannot be made without proceeding into the facts of distribution. It is generally recognized among students of economics that the worker is robbed at the point of production. As a class truth this is not to be refuted. Its application, however, to the owner workers of the farms does not hold and is limited to the elements known as the wage working class. Farmers come in the social class known as the middle class or bourgeoisie. In spite of the fact that they belong apparently to the ruling class they are highly exploited and robbed.

This is done indirectly through an elaborate system of control of the distribution of farm products by those business elements that constitute organized capital. In practically every instance where farm products are being marketed they pass first into the hands of some branch of that competitive buying and distributing organization that for inefficiency and lack of co-ordinated effort cannot be beat. These commission houses and produce buyers are the most wasteful feature of the American food industry. They are highly efficient and show great solidarity, in extracting a high percentage of profit from the farm produce, however.

The only exception to this marketing program lies in certain fruit and dairy combines that have eliminated the middle men by means of their position. This phase will be touched on later.

The Farmers' Returns

It is an easily noticed fact that in every village, town and city which is a center of a farming district there are always agents for commission houses and produce firms. They operate in every way possible to get possession of the largest amount of the farm crops at the lowest possible prices. Hay buyers, potatoe buyers, grain and stock buyers, buyers of everything that the farmer sells flock through each community, working in competition with each other yet strangely co-operating in keeping down the price to the lowest level.

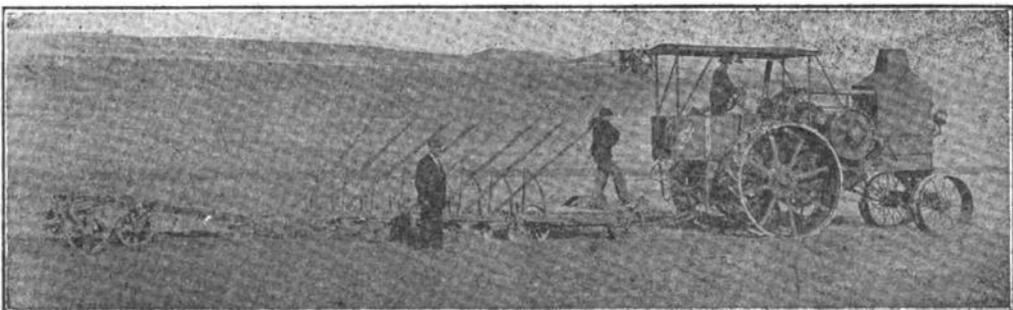
Here is the point where the farmer is exploited. He is not robbed as he tills the fields, milks his cows or tends his stock. All over his cost of maintenance is stolen from him by this marketing end of the food industry. Not so of course with the farm laborer. He is a wage worker whose wages are determined by the same factors that influence his city fellows. The going wages and working conditions are usually the very minimum on which life can be sustained. They can be raised only through organization and battle with the farm employer.

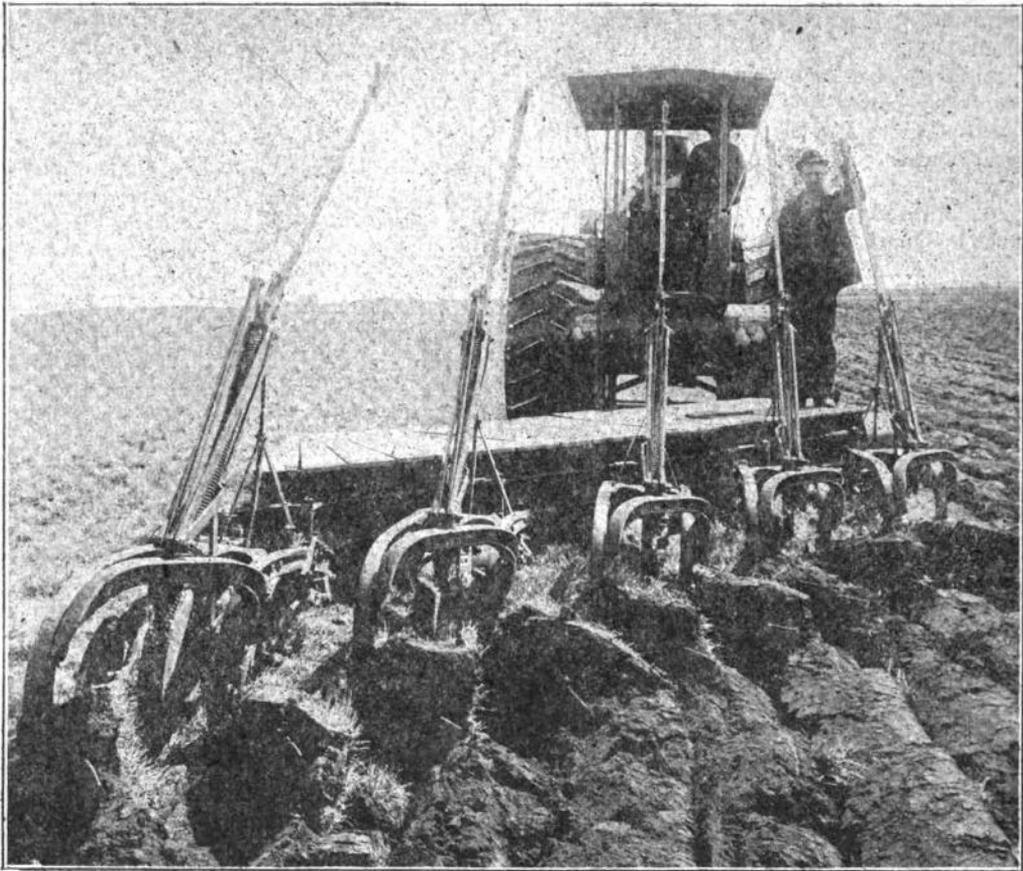
Produce buyers, wholesale houses, bankers and financiers form a combine which have preyed on the farmer unmercifully. The farmer in turn has kept the wages paid to his hired man at as low a figure as he could get by with. Yet low labor wages are of no benefit to the farmers as a class. If the entire class of farmers decided to install a five dollar a day minimum wage with a basic eight hour day for all hired help these farmers would themselves be better off at once.

The percentage of return to the farmer is decided on by the distributing monopoly according to the amount found necessary to keep the farmers as a class in food, clothing and shelter besides reproducing children to take their places as the foundation on which the system rests.

Domination of Small Farming

It is these facts of the marketing end of farming that have kept the large scale production from





TRACTOR PLOWING ON LARGE FARM.

being installed throughout the industry. The surplus values from the agricultural industry are extracted from the products as they are on their way to market rather than at the point of production. The dominant financial class is the recipient of those surplus values in all cases.

A large estate is placed in the same position as a small farmer so far as the marketing end of the game is concerned unless the estate is operated by some of the big food packing and distributing concerns.

Of such a nature are the big combinations of growers that control the fruit packing and distributing industry of California as well as actually operate many of the ranches there. They exploit wage labor and secure all these profits in addition to the ones normally raked in from the wholesale distributing end of the business. It seems that it is by these methods only that real productive, large scale agriculture can extend its field under capitalism.

On the other hand, ownership of agricultural lands has become more and more centralized in fewer and fewer hands, but the method of exploiting these lands has not been that of centralized management and control.

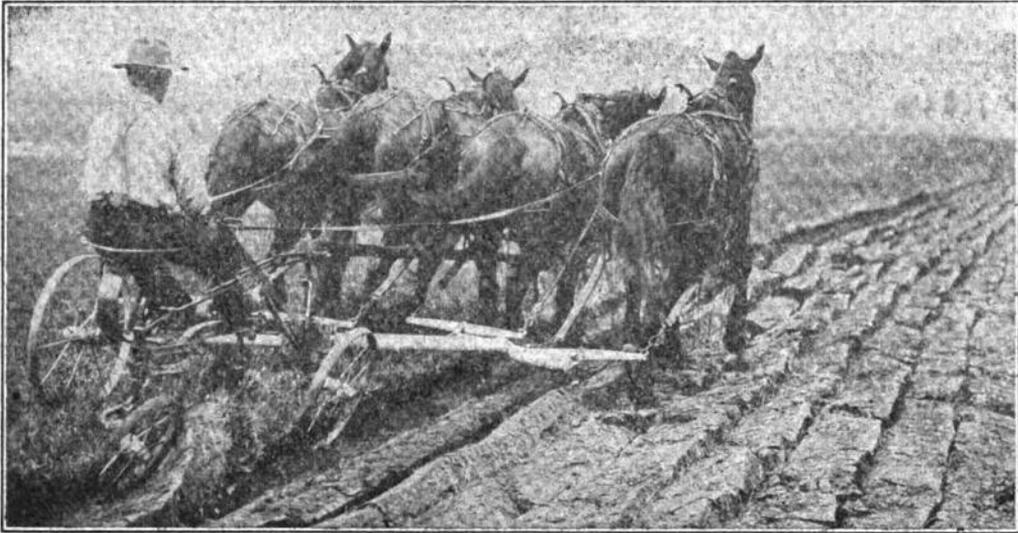
The tenant system is being largely put into opera-

tion. The individualistic farmer whether held down by tenantry, mortgage or marketing factors is a source of greater profit to the parasite as things are at present organized, than is the large-scale farmer with his wage labor. Besides small farmers present no dangerous liability towards organization.

The technique of small scale farms provides no efficient method whereby many of the larger and more efficient machines for cultivation can be used. The tractor is largely a failure in fields smaller than several hundred acres. It is wasteful of land, being clumsy in turning the corners which seem to greet the plowman every few feet while turning the sod, in a small field.

Not only that but in order to get proper use of any of the large mechanical farm devices it is necessary to have some efficient system of mechanical overhauling and repair for them. Small farms (and many big ones also for that matter) have none of these things and cannot have them even though they have the capital to invest in the large machinery.

Small scale farming has one advantage of a productive nature, however. This advantage lies largely in the mental state which is induced by the sense of private ownership and control. The



HORSE PLOWING ON MEDIUM SIZED FARM.

farmer has a highly developed instinct of workmanship. He does things quite often just for the sake of doing them. Working as he does in personal contact with his hired laborers he extracts from them a degree of efficiency and interest that the wage laborers on a large estate seldom show.

Add to this long hours, poor food, lack of recreation and an entire immersion in the problems of farm labor—and we have resulting a cheapness of commodity price which is not achieved by the large estate.

The factors of custom would tend, of course, to the conservation of this small-scale farming, even though the larger methods were more profitable, but from the present indications the large farm will never succeed in replacing the small individual method until some form of social ownership and working class control is arrived at.

Organization Needs

The problem of organizing powerful industrial unions among the farm workers is one which calls for an extensive survey of those large-scale farms which are already in operation. It calls for an extension of that policy of controlling and organizing those strategic workers who are so necessary to the harvests.

To place such an organization on a solid basis, however, requires permanent stationary organization of those workers who actually plant and tend the growing crops. Tenant farmers are among the

most exploited, as well as ignorant, of the agricultural workers. To educate and organize them is a task of tremendous magnitude, yet from the many half-baked attempts which have been made by ill-prepared tenant farmers' organizations and groups, the results are remarkable, considering the effort expended. For the I. W. W. to enter into this field with a determination to achieve real power necessitates a development of highly centralized organs for the securing of special data and the bringing out of timely programs of executive action.

There is no present indication that the small farmer will be removed as a factor in farm production until such time as he takes an active part in removing small-farm production himself. The present method of exploitation by marketing control gives no hope of large-scale agriculture displacing the small tenant or individual farmer. We will always have to deal with farmers who have the psychology of individualists until we can with the active aid of the farming population put across large scale farming ourselves.

Our present end is the solid organization of those actual wage workers employed not only on the large farm but on the small one as well. A definite program of action can be the only means to achieve this. The knowledge of the agricultural industry as a whole is indispensable for drawing up such a plan.



Will Europe Revert to Barbarism

By H. Van Dorn

MANY years ago Karl Marx made the statement that capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Had he foreseen the world war and the extent of its ravages, as well as the stupendous disasters, political and economic, which have befallen the European peoples since the conclusion of peace, he might have, with a great deal of justification, expanded that statement to include, as well, the possible destruction of everything that goes to make up our present-day civilization.

While such an eventuality may sound rather startling to some people, it is not by any means historically impossible.

Before the war "the onward sweep of the machine process" had reached a stage where, for industry to continue to operate smoothly in any country, commerce had to be carried on and production co-ordinated on an international scale; boundary lines had lost their meaning, nationalism in business had become an obstacle to trade expansion and the international outlook a necessity for further continued peace and prosperity. Yet the mentality of the people, either of the classes or the masses, had not changed—could not, in the nature of things, have changed—fast enough to keep pace with the requirements of industry. The outcome of a nationalistic mentality coupled to a fast-expanding industrial mechanism, for the successful control of which an international outlook is absolutely essential, could only have been an explosion—the inevitable world war.

Almost three years have passed since the signing of the armistice. Is nationalism now as strong as it was before the war? Has the spirit of international working class solidarity, which alone could have averted the world war, made any appreciable progress? If the inherent contradictions of capitalism led to the world war, what will the continued operation of capitalism, burdened with war's aftermath—staggering national debts, disorganized industry, shattered finance, sapped vitality, heightened national hatreds, sharper class conflicts—lead to?

The Class Struggle and Co-ordination

The future of the human race will be determined by the outcome of the struggle for supremacy between capital and labor,—ignorance versus enlightenment, patriotism versus universal brotherhood, capitalism versus communism—in short, bourgeois nationalism versus proletarian internationalism. It is the fight to the bitter end between the forces of destruction and construction, a race for life between economic dissolution and the growth of proletarian internationalism. And the sad part

of it is that we cannot by any means be sure that even should internationalism triumph, it will be in time to save Europe from tumbling into the abyss.

What do we see on the side of internationalism and economic reconstruction? Soviet Russia, the other Soviet republics and the Syndicalist and Communist movements of the European countries.

True, as was pointed out by Henry G. Aisberg in the *Nation* a few weeks ago, there is no communism in Russia now. But there has not been, at any time since November, 1917, pure communism in Russia nor a pure communist government, nor could there have been either. True, Russia has granted free trade to the peasants, concessions to foreign capitalists, has compromised with the foreign bourgeoisie in order to conclude trade agreements with it. But those things do not mean the abandonment of internationalism. On the contrary, they are a recognition, in deeds, of the fact that all nations are so closely bound together by economic chains that even socialist and capitalist countries are compelled to co-operate for their mutual benefit. Failing to do so, both would be headed for the rocks of economic dissolution, as is the case with most of the European countries which have failed to understand the absolute necessity of international co-ordination of effort.

Italy and Russian Trade

The internationalism of Soviet Russia cannot better be illustrated than by pointing out the over-generous conditions which she always concedes to the other party to a contract, whether in the signing of a peace treaty or a trade agreement. This was especially marked in her pacts with the Baltic states—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia—the Caucasus and Near Eastern states, with China and with Poland. On May 6th the Russo-German trade agreement was signed, and now the Soviet representative Vorovsky is in Rome, negotiating with the Italians; and, according to authentic information, he has been "exceedingly well received" by the Italian government. Why he has been so well received will readily be seen from this comment in *Le Journal de Geneve*:

"Now the Black Sea is really for Italy the roadstead down which flows the coal of the Don basin, the wheat of Ukraine, and the oil of Baku. Because Italy is absolutely dependent on the outside for these first necessities, she has suffered much during the war and since the war. What is more, Italy sees in a direct understanding with Russia the only way to escape American or English exactions."

The results, to date, of Russian trade negotiations have been cited by Mr. Kraasin as follows: Foreign purchase contracts placed by Russia amount to

5,000,000 pounds in Great Britain, 50,000,000 crowns in Sweden, 3,000,000,000 marks in Germany, \$10,000,000 in the United States. He further points out that Russia's gold reserves "have a limit" and that "as our exports still are negligible, we must resort to concessions, of which only one, that of the Svenska Kugellager Fabric, has been signed, but others are pending."

Brands of Internationalism

It must therefore be admitted that Soviet Russia is today the chief bulwark of internationalism. Of course, the bourgeois countries also have their "internationalism"—of the bird-of-prey variety. The British and French imperialists do not care whether they get their booty in France, England, Silesia, Syria, Egypt or Afganistan,—just so they get it. This is the kind of "internationalism" that is killing Europe by inches. But we will treat of it later.

What distinguishes bourgeois from proletarian internationalism is that the former presupposes the presence of a robber or exploiter class which aims to benefit from whatever activity may be undertaken or agreements entered into jointly by two nations; in the latter that class is absent, and the welfare of the workers of the two countries receives equal consideration. This was admirably illustrated by Georgia before she turned Soviet: Allied imperialists were robbing the country right and left, with utter disregard for the welfare of the native population, which was starving and without work. As soon as a Bolshevik government was set up and trade relations established with Russia, the Georgian working class was given first consideration.

Besides Russia, we can count on the side of proletarian internationalism the other Soviet republics—Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Persia, Turkestan, and most of Siberia; also, those countries which, while they have not yet adopted the Soviet form of government, have come within the sphere of Russian influence, such as Turkey. It may safely be said that at present Russia exerts equally as much influence in Asia as does Great Britain, with the difference that while Russia's influence is growing that of Great Britain is on the wane.

In the rest of Europe and in America, proletarian internationalism finds its only support in the ranks of the more advanced trade unionists, Syndicalists and Communists. In the United States these elements are at present numerically quite negligible, but not so in Europe. The Syndicalists unions are especially strong in the Latin countries: Spain, about 800,000 members; Italy, 700,000; France, 300,000. Then follow Germany with some 200,000, and Holland and the Scandinavian countries with an aggregate of close to 100,000. In Great Britain the case is different, as there the revolutionary unionists have remained within the old-fashioned trade unions.

The Communists are said to have at present 500,000 members in Germany, about 75,000 in

Italy and Great Britain, and quite a respectable number in some other countries, notably France and Bulgaria. But in no other country do they have, as yet, a real firm hold on the laboring masses; neither do they possess, it seems, in any country a concerted, workable plan of action.

Results of Nationalistic Forces

What are the forces lined up on the side of bourgeois nationalism, leading inevitably to economic dissolution and—"God only knows"? The capitalists, landed proprietors, middle classes and peasants of the various countries, with their respective nationalistic movements, counter-revolutionary organizations and governments.

To fully realize the extent of the danger let us always bear in mind that in every country only one class, the industrial proletariat—and, generally, only a part of it—stands for international cooperation and solidarity, while all the other classes—which in most European countries constitute numerically a majority—stand for class and national aggrandizement at the expense of other classes and nations.

The international status of most of the European countries has been largely determined during the last couple of years by French foreign policy. And it is doubtful whether in the annals of the whole history of mankind anything could be found to equal in selfishness, bigotry, short-sightedness and imbecility the course of action pursued by French bourgeois imperialism.

By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany was obliged to pay over to the Allies an enormous amount of indemnity. But, says Frank A. Vanderlip in "What Happened to Europe" "...with the Entente nations there were fundamental misconceptions in regard to the economic principles involved in the payment of indemnities. Indeed, the statesmen who drew the peace treaty seemed least of all, for a time, to understand how indemnities may be paid by one nation to others." Eighty per cent of the iron ore of Germany was located in Alsace-Lorraine, which the treaty returned to France, and of the three large German coal fields the one in the Saar valley is to remain under control of France for at least fifteen years, while Polish insurgents, backed by French gold, are trying to grab off the Silesian coal fields, which were recently retained by Germany through plebiscite. Having ruined German industry, and having built up, to boot, an embargo wall against German exports, the Allied imperialists say to Germany: Now pay us forty-two billion dollars' worth of indemnities in gold and commodities! Why does not some psychiatrist put these French bankers through the mental age tests and send them back to the kindergarten, where they belong?

Austro-German Conditions

No wonder that there are over two million unemployed in Germany, and that the real wages of German workmen are about one-third of what they were before the war. The thing to be borne

in mind is that this suicidal policy does not benefit the French working class, since there are almost as many unemployed in France and the real wages are just as small.

The criminality of the Allied imperialists is still more clearly illustrated in their treatment of Austria. The former Austro-Hungarian empire was backed up with such utter disregard for economic requirements that in what now is known as Austria industry is completely paralyzed. The people are actually dying from starvation by swarms, in Vienna several hundred thousand children are tuberculous and rachitic; the only way out towards economic reconstruction is union with Germany. And yet the Allied imperialists do not permit this union because it will strengthen Germany economically! Better the murder of a nation than an added measure of health and prosperity for the German people—there is the wisdom of the French bankers in a nutshell.

The following is taken from the July, 1921, issue of Current History: "Austria has not yet collapsed, but it is certainly tottering. In the early days of June it was left without a government, as Dr. Mayr's cabinet resigned, and the prospect of forming a more authoritative cabinet is remote. The government's fall was precipitated by the action of the annexationists, that is, the Pan-Germans and other influential groups who favor unification with Germany. The people are mainly in sympathy with this plan, at least on one score: They hope that inclusion with Germany would mean a brighter future for Austria. Racial sympathies have played a large part in the development of such sentiment. The provinces of Tyrol and Salzburg have overwhelmingly voted in favor of such alignment, and Dr. Mayr, in view of the attitude of the Allies, especially France, and of the Financial Commission of the League of Nations, could do nothing but point out the conclusions and resign."

The other actions of Allied imperialism are on a par with its treatment of Germany and Austria. What sane person will deny that the economic reconstruction of Russia will benefit the whole of Europe—in fact, the whole world? Yet for three and a half years the Allied bourgeoisie has done everything in its power to prevent Russia from recuperating economically. Supplies and ammunition to the value of many hundreds of millions of dollars have been given to the counter-revolutionary movements of Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin; Wrangel and Poland,—and the sad part of it is that these supplies were produced by the Western European and American proletariat.

But enough about the French imperialists! Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.

The Small Nations

However, we would be mistaken in thinking that only the ruling classes of the big Allied countries are selfish, bigoted and short-sighted. The ruling classes of the smaller countries are just as bad. Writes William Hard in the Chicago Daily News:

"The principal business difficulty in central Europe is an unreasonable and excessive governmental interference with the flow of commodities across frontiers. This fact is so manifest that it has led at last to the project of the conference at Porto Rosa, where an effort will be made by representatives of various south central European states, including Italy, to abate the frenzy of export restrictions, import restrictions, vexatious examinations, intolerable delays and numerous other methods of suicidal economic warfare now prevalent along south central European boundary lines."

In discussing the situation in Hungary, says a writer in the July, 1921, number of Current History:

"Several difficulties must be overcome before friendly relations can be established with this neighbor (Roumania). What Hungary aims at is economic treaties, and the consequent lifting of the export ban. Although Hungarian money increased conspicuously in value recently, this rise is handicapped because of the obstacles put in the way of commercial traffic with neighbors. Roumania, especially, is slow to come to an understanding with Hungary in this respect."

Thus does bigoted nationalism reign supreme. Every little country has built a fence around itself. The "foreign policy"—what a degraded use of two perfectly good and innocent words!—of every bourgeois country has but one end in view: to maintain an outward show of authority and to safeguard the material interests of the class in power. What does the landed gentry of Roumania care if the town populations of Hungary, or of Roumania itself, are starving! What does the British imperialist care if the Black and Tans in Ireland leave a trail of arson and murder in their wake! The "integrity" of the empire must be maintained, the "under-dog" must be shown his place.

Political "Constructiveness."

In Rosta-Wien, edition of June 5th, 1921, appears the following news item:

"Budapest, Hungary, May 12th.—In one of the recent sittings of the National Assembly, deputy Felix Drozdy directed attention to some of the items of the budget. For the maintenance of the Brachial-Gewalt formations (the original of the Black and Tans) there was a sum of 1,123,000,000 crowns; for the maintenance of invalids 14,000,000; for Horthy's court the cost was 34,000,000; for combatting tuberculosis 1,600,000. The wages and other costs of the Brachial commandos were 44,000,000, for the support of war orphans, 8,000,000. For the maintenance of prisons and jails there were 34,000,000, but for adult education not a penny."

Here we have a government, which calls itself Christian and civilized, spending 1,167,000,000 crowns for the murder organization Brachial-Gewalt, which is the instrument for carrying on the White Terror, and not one cent for adult education. Of course, the Brachial commandos have had

a big job on their hands. As far back as May, 1920, the British Joint Labor Delegation sent to investigate the White Terror in Hungary reported that at a conservative estimate there were at that time 12,000 persons detained or imprisoned; and, possibly, twice that many. Then there were all those thousands who had been murdered since Horthy assumed power. One executioner has confessed to having hung over a thousand single-handed. But hanging and torturing people, cutting off women's breasts, tearing off their finger-nails and gouging out their eyes is not going to start a country's industries humming. We should not therefore be surprised to learn that half of Hungary's population is unemployed and starving.

Social Disintegration

Hungary may be a somewhat extreme example, but, broadly speaking, the same bigoted, nationalistic, cruelly selfish, class spirit motivates the governments of all the European bourgeois countries. Not a sign of an international outlook anywhere. Everywhere unemployment, starvation, degradation, ignorance, crime, disease. In many of the south eastern countries, as well as in parts of Spain, large masses of people have forgotten the meaning of soap, doctors, hospitals, books, schools, good food, clean linen. The life of a man has become cheap,—a hundred times cheaper than that of a yearling calf.

George W. Russell ("A. E.") comments in the N. Y. Evening Post as follows on the disintegrating European civilization:

"The great danger for Europe, the great danger for us in Ireland, is that we may forget what civilization means. . . The man who has drunk whiskey for years finds the purity and coldness of water tasteless and distasteful. The generation growing up in an atmosphere vibrating with sensations and alarms, with rifle and revolver never very long silent, comes to regard these as part of the normal life."

Anti-Jewish Demonstrations

Of late there has been a great revival of anti-semitism, which can always be considered as a barometer of nationalistic feeling. During the last couple of years pogroms on an immense scale have taken place in Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Ukraine and Siberia. General Graves, former Assistant to Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, writes in the July Current History, in an article entitled "The Truth about Kolchak": "A pogrom against the Jews was carried out (by Kolchak) in Ekaterinburg in the middle of July, 1919, and anti-Semitic reports place the minimum number of killed at 2000." Anti-Semitism has raised its head in countries where heretofore it has been practically unknown. In Great Britain a book has been published, and is being extensively sold, purporting to show that the Jews have entered into a gigantic conspiracy to gain control of the finances and governments of the whole world. Sure, is not Trotsky a Jew, and does he not want

to overwhelm the whole world by a Yiddish-Bolshevik revolution? And even our own Henry Ford has temporarily forgotten efficiency in flivver-making and welfare work for employes, and gone Jew-hunting.

The circumstance that the Jew is of a different race and holds different religious tenets has really very little to do with anti-Semitism. Ask the average Jew-baiter what are the objectionable features of the Jewish religion and the chances are that he won't be able to tell you. The significant thing about anti-Semitism is that it serves as a safety valve for feelings of discontent among the masses. Are times hard, is work scarce, is money short? "Oh, that's easily explained," says Henry, "the Jew is to blame." "You have nothing to eat?" asks the Polish landlord of the peasant, "then kill the Jewish traders and merchants and you will be alright." So the peasants slaughter five or six thousand Jews and are afterwards worse off than ever. Anti-Semitism is a form of throwing sand into the eyes of the ignorant, suffering masses, whether industrial workers or peasants. It is like saying to a man who is starving because the factory in which he worked has been shut down: "Go and kill three dozen flies and your troubles will be ended." American race riots must be put in the same category with anti-Semitism, and the owners of newspapers which incite whites against blacks are as much accomplices to ghastly murder as the Polish landlords and Cossack officers who start pogroms.

The following quotation from an article by Paul Scott Mowrer on "The Assimilation of Israel," which appeared in the July Atlantic Monthly, will further emphasize the gravity of the present wave of anti-Semitism:

"In Eastern Europe, the sentiment of anti-Semitism is not, as in Western Europe, confined chiefly to conservatives and chauvinists, but impregnates even the masses. The Magyar peasants are bitter against the town-dwelling "communist" Jews. . . All Eastern European Jews are suspected of Communism. The Ukrainian nationalist bands have apparently been guilty of serious and repeated pogroms. The Poles are unanimous (?) in their ardent and patriotic hostility to the four or five million Jews included within their frontiers."

The Terror Organizations

But anti-Semitism is only one aspect, albeit a glaring one, of the wave of national and class hatred which is sweeping over the world. It is but one example of the use that the classes in power make of brutal instincts in order to perpetuate their period of misrule. The British Labor Delegation in Hungary reported that although most of the victims of the White Terror are Jews, a great many are native Hungarians. There is essentially no difference between Jewish pogroms and the shooting of Communists and Syndicalists by the Italian Fascisti, the outrages perpetrated upon the Irish by the Black and Tans, and the wholesale deporta-

tion and assassination of members of the Spanish Confederation of Labor.

Since the armistice, and especially since the establishment of the Russian Soviet Republic, the world has witnessed a tremendous growth in the military, both legal and extra-legal, organizations for the protection of the bourgeoisie. In Italy there are the Fascisti, several hundred thousand strong, who prior and during the May elections murdered over a thousand workers and wounded several times that many. In Bavaria some 300,000 armed men belong to the Orgesh, (the word is coined from "organizatfon" and "Escherich," the latter being the name of the leader in the movement.) There are "Noske's Guards" in Germany, the Black and Tans and volunteer corps in Great Britain, the Brachial Gewalt in Hungary, the "free unions" and Samatan in Spain, the American Legion, 600,000 strong, and the Ku Klux Klan in the United States. No negro, Jew, foreigner or Roman catholic can become a member of the latter. All of these organizations are bourgeois nationalistic and patriotic, and believe in the use of force and violence.

To these organized and undisguised forces of violence must be added the "free" or "Christian" unions which the capitalists are so assiduously cultivating in all countries in order to break the backbone of the class-conscious proletariat, as well as the latent violence of the European peasantry. The outlook for economic reconstruction is especially dark in countries like France, possessing an overwhelmingly large, selfish and ignorant bourgeois-minded peasant population.

That the European governments are utterly helpless in the face of these forces which are making a shambles of civilization,—are, in fact, being used as instruments of destruction—has been admirably pointed out by a writer in the London Nation, June 11, 1921:

"Profound as the economic consequences of the war have been, it may be that the psychological consequences cut even deeper... Five years or more of fighting have rebarbarized a great part of the European population.

"It is remarkable that a few thousand young men can dash about the streets and roads of Italy in lorries, hurling hand-grenades and burning buildings, it is much more remarkable that the millions of Italians suffer them to do it. The complicity of the government is the newest and most startling fact of all.

"We suffer not merely from the wild violence of men of the Korfanty or D'Annunzio type; much worse is the calculating and legalized violence of governments. They, too, go labor smashing on a titanic scale.

"In our own country, and indeed in Western Europe generally, the constructive side of government has disappeared.

"Only one conscious purpose seems to illuminate the coalition, the defense of property, while property itself disappears with our trade."

Then the writer discusses the possibility of another war, and concludes by pointing out the alternative that "there is another possibility, and that is Caesarism."

The Coming Revolt

In the preceding pages we have briefly summarized the forces, engendered primarily by the contradictions of capitalism, which are making for the destruction of civilization.—And this brings us to the crux of the argument. What would happen if the European proletariat, driven to desperation by unemployment and starvation caused by the breakdown of industry, would revolt and try to set up proletarian states, being faced as it is by that mighty array of organized bourgeoisie? That revolt the industrial worker must, and will, of that there can hardly be a question. It is not thinkable that he will gently lie down and die from starvation.

Civil war will then break out on an unprecedented scale. Tens of thousands of the most virile, intelligent and aggressive men and women on both sides will be slaughtered. The already vitiated and devitalized European stock will be still further vitiated. The animal instincts—brutality, bestiality, lynch law—will reign supreme. As a foretaste of what probably would take place let us consider this extract from General Graves' article about Kolchak: "In pacifying this district (Krasnoyarsk), which was generally anti-Kolchak in sympathy, General Rozanov's troops, on entering a village, would demand the name and residence of every partisan, the location of hostile bands and a guide to lead them in a surprise attack. Failing to secure this information, every house was burned, and in the event that the demands were not then complied with, every fifth male was shot regardless of age."

It is generally claimed that the Napoleonic wars reduced the stature of the French people by two inches. The world war has certainly accomplished irreparable damage. Ten million men of the very best European stock were killed outright on the battle field. The growing generation will be a generation of weaklings, broadly speaking. Hundreds of thousands,—nay, millions—of European children are syphilitic, consumptive, rachitic,—deformed in body, mind and soul. That Europe can stand a prolonged civil war on a large scale, or another imperialist war, without her civilization "going under," is highly doubtful.

The Next War

One only has to read Will Irwin's "The Next War" to become convinced that another world war would wipe half the Caucasian race off the face of the earth. Says General Tasker H. Bliss in "What Really Happened at Paris": "I maintain that in the conditions of this modern world a war cannot begin between two of the great powers of Europe without threatening civilization. And if it should come within this generation I doubt if civilization could stand the added strain."

It is remarkable that men representing vastly different viewpoints are in practical agreement on this subject. Says Will Irwin, in effect: peace and reconstruction, or war and—barbarism; Frank A. Vanderlip: economic reconstruction, or—barbarism; Leon Trotsky: communism and economic reconstruction, or—barbarism.

Yet to judge by the actions—and expenditures—of the bourgeois governments of the whole world, another imperialist war is by no means outside the field of possibilities. Figures have been published showing that at the beginning of July of this year France had 800,000 men under arms; Poland, 600,000; Greece, 250,000; Jugo-Slavia, 200,000; Italy, 300,000. In 1920 ninety-three per cent of the total expenditures of the United States government went to pay for wars, past, present and future. \$697,000,000 were spent on the navy, although the appropriation first made by Congress was only \$440,000,000. As a contrast, in 1916 the navy bill was only \$155,000,000.

The following significant dispatch appeared recently in a Chicago newspaper:

"Paris, July 11.—The flying arms of the Japanese army and navy are being developed in France today, and also in Japan under French direction, with astonishing rapidity.

"Orders for airplanes placed with French manufacturers in recent months by the Japanese military authorities total more than 300. The majority of planes being purchased are the latest types of French scout and bombing machines. Another significant fact is that the French airplane factories, probably the most advanced in the world, are now filled with Japanese army engineers, who are studying construction.

"The Japanese army has adopted the French scheme of aerial organization, French instruction methods and French types of planes."

In relation to President Harding's invitation to some of the big powers to send representatives to Washington to discuss disarmament, the following news item will be highly interesting.

"Washington, D. C., July 11.—Approximately \$1,500,000,000 has been appropriated for the extension of the naval program by the five countries which are expected to discuss disarmament, figures today disclosed. The United States leads with \$500,000,000, Great Britain is second with \$422,000,000, Japan is third with \$250,000,000, France is fourth with \$175,000,000, and Italy is fifth with \$78,000,000.

"Completion of the present building program will show the five countries armed on the oceans as follows: Great Britain, 995 ships; United States, 608; Japan, 221; France, 253; Italy, 245."

It seems unlikely that these vigorous military preparations can go on without leading to war. But another imperialistic war, or a protracted European civil war, by still further disorganizing industry and international commerce and sapping the vitality of the nations, can only lead to a relapse into feudalism, or—barbarism.

In every point the capitalist classes of the world show not only their incompetence to promote and conduct industry but their every move shows them to be hindering, obstructing and actually destroying industrial co-ordination and industrial growth. "Each man kills the thing he loves" sang Wilde in his prison cell and capitalism, once having fostered with loving hands the infant industries, is now seemingly bent on their eventual destruction. With the destruction of the industries goes also that which we have come to term civilization.

The only other alternative seems to be a quick and decisive victory in all the European countries of proletarian internationalism over the forces of bourgeois nationalism.



The Industrial Future

— — — We will develop and use the human attributes which are inherent in all of us—the attributes which are lofty and noble. Our greatest joy will be when we are doing something for our fellows. This is not Utopian—No! Even then we will get just a glimpse of what ideal perfection would do for humanity.

These are a few of the things which Industrial Unionism makes for. We I. W. W. men vision these things—yes, we are dreamers and so were the founders of Christianity, of the American Republic, of capitalism . . . So is it with the I. W. W. men and women who are pioneering the way for the workers' industrial commonwealth wherein all will be happy and safe. *Jas. H. Larsech.*

The Undoing of Capitalist Industrial Management

By Rosa Knuuti

A commercial war which was the inevitable outcome of a system of production for profits has produced its natural results. "Idealistic" aims, for which the suffering people of the nations fought so zealously, are lost in the stagnation of a "reconstruction" into unemployment, misery and want for the workers.

Undoubtedly the post-war times are giving as much cause for unrest as did the war itself, for scarcely had the last gun been fired when the mad cry of the "high cost of living" and "profiteering" was echoed from shore to shore. Wild efforts to solve these problems were made.

"More Production"

The "high cost of living" was an exceedingly lively topic for a while with the capitalist press itself, and with blundering stupidity various kinds of action were suggested as a solution of this "perplexing" problem. More production, an increase in the efficiency of the workers was advised. Crowding the markets full of commodities would force the prices to drop, and, lo and behold, the high cost of living was "solved." So the law of Wall Street was duly obeyed; the factories began to hum as they never hummed before; the warehouses already glutted with wartime production, were rapidly being crowded to over-capacity with the good things of life, all this, with the supposition of bringing order out of chaos. And in the meantime international capitalism was discussing markets. The Russian blockade was becoming a problem together with the boycott and annihilation of Germany's production, which was dictated by the Versailles treaty.

"Under-Consumption"

But this is already of the past. At the present time, with the cry of increased production still ringing in our ears, we find ourselves face to face with another problem to be "solved." More workers than there are jobs, or unemployment with all its vicious consequences, is the situation that demands attention and solution. And again, we find the bourgeois press with the aid of "law and order" solving a social problem for us. Inasmuch as over-production seems to be the disturbing factor at the present time, it is, no less, an error or a wrong deduction to assert that society is suffering from over-production. There is no use denying the facts: while the granaries and warehouses are full, are overflowing with the necessary things of life, the masses of the people are living under conditions that make it an utter impossibility to buy back or supply themselves with the food and clothes

that they have produced. Under-consumption is really, what we are suffering from today, as the direct result of a capitalistic industrial administration.

Nothing to Buy With

And capitalism, ill-at-ease, avoids the music. Vigorous campaigns are being launched to encourage buying. Empty out the markets and warehouses, we are told, and again a social problem will have been "solved." This all sounds well, when one doesn't think about it, but, since the good things of life cannot be had for a song, but through the medium of money exchange, we, the jobless and penniless, conclude that it is an excellent "solution" from the bourgeois standpoint, but it doesn't mean anything to us.

The present system of capitalistic production is essentially a business system. To produce commodities for use is out of the question, since producing commodities for profit is the very foundation, the pulse of the capitalist system. What matters then, whether the producers, the wage earners in society, are able to buy back the things necessary for human living? What matters then the fact that armies of workers from time to time must accept an indefinite "vacation"? The accumulation of profits is the vital point, and toward this end capitalism strives, however inconsistently. The capitalist class is consistent only when it considers its own safety, and its cunning and vicious efforts to keep the workers ignorant and submissive.

The impending economic ruin of an inefficient system of production is becoming more threatening each day. Consequently, "back to normalcy" recipes are many. Efforts to stabilize conditions by stimulating domestic trade, since European markets are either crowded with commodities or unavailable for trade, is the last straw that the business interests of this country are endeavoring to clutch. The "over-production" they have on their hands must be disposed of at all costs, even at a risk of less profits, to avoid further aggravating the masses by prolonged unemployment. But the master class is an exceedingly cunning class and usually strikes when the iron is hot. While it may come down with the prices on commodities, nevertheless, it does not lose the opportune moment for lowering the wages of the workers, afforded by the whip of hunger and unemployment.

Workers See Capitalist Inefficiency

But the capitalist class has already made its blundering mistake, the mistake that will eventually fling it into oblivion. It has unmistakably

proved to a dangerously large majority of the workers that it has become an inefficient administrator of the business of society, and that the only alternative is to replace it by an administration that can produce and distribute the necessities of life so that each and every member in a society of human beings can survive and progress, work and recreate for the benefit of society as a whole.

Feverishly the whole world over capitalism is striving to recover its equilibrium at the expense of the workers. This is the question of the day, and the question which should be uppermost in our minds. Although we know that the capitalism of yesterday will never be its same old self again, we must all the more help the march of events along so that the bankruptcy of capitalism will become a reality as soon as possible. "Blood and thunder" politics, with the aid of a pop-gun brigade, will not bring this about. Spontaneous, unorganized mass-action will not deliver the goods. The undoing of an organized industrial capitalist class will be realized by a force not only as strong as the organized forces of capitalism, but infinitely stronger, more cunning and more scientific in every sense.

How to Conquer and Replace Capitalism

The grievance of the working class in a capitalist society is not serfdom nor chattel-slavery; it is not political disenfranchisement nor abject slavery to the "divine right" of king or czar, but it is the damnable curse of wage slavery upheld by a system of industrial despotism! The curse of living and slaving in a profit-mad world for no other reason than to produce comfort and luxury for a class of parasites! This is the grievance of the producing

class in capitalistic America, the sample for the world's industrial slaves, where everything evolves on competition, profits and labor exploitation; and these are the phases that we must consider when we talk of the undoing of capitalism. When we speak of undoing capitalism, we must speak in terms of organized force, a force that is not only competent to challenge the forces of capitalism, but which will furnish to society an alternative to capitalist economic management.

A working class management of affairs is what we are aiming at and, after having learned many a valuable lesson from the working people of Russia, Italy and of other countries in throes of minor social upheavals, we are bound to use this knowledge profitably. We have learned that the social-economic factors in any society are the determining factors of a revolution. This being the case, we must strain our efforts to organize the working class power on a social-economic basis; in other words, consolidate the industrial power of the workers in a manner that will paralyze the industrial forces of capitalism and will give us the organization to carry on production and distribution.

Revolutionary industrial unionism is today the only power that gives a practical and scientific solution for economic slavery. It not only implies the overthrow of capitalism but the reconstruction of a new system of society to replace it. The social revolution is inevitable, and if we take it seriously, we must accept industrial unionism with all its consequences and apply it unreservedly to better our conditions and principally to foster revolution.



Capitalists Utopia

Radicals have long been accused of looking for a utopia on earth. Today the radicals are the ones who proclaim that there can be no utopia either under this system nor the next. Life is a constant flux and change and when our social organization changes into something more fitted to present day needs, life will not cease to struggle forwards to new goals and new achievements.

Today the reactionaries are looking for a dream condition. They want to reach a situation where they won't be annoyed by the facts of the class struggle which they refuse to admit but the signs of which stare them so resolutely in the face.

All labor troubles are to be ended and profits

are to be secured through the efforts of the National Civic Federation sub-committee appointed to find the maximum agreement that can be reached between capital and labor. Once that agreement is reached then there will be no more labor troubles and everything will be serene.

That such intellects as Herbert Hoover and President Harding subscribe to the undertaking but shows more clearly the bankruptcy of intelligence that exists among the ruling class. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Industrial Democracy

Its Origin, Growth and Prospects

By Justus Ebert

THE ideal of the Industrial Workers of the World is industrial democracy, in which industry, taken in its broadest sense, shall be run by, for, and of the workers, industrially organized.

Industrial democracy recognizes the basic importance of industry in modern life. On the development of industry depends the development of society. Russia, for instance, cannot have anything else in fact than a peasant dictatorship, because it is dependent on and dominated by primitive agriculture. This is made plain by the recent change of policy adopted by Soviet Russia.

The reverse is true of this country. Here we witness an industrialism that dominates everything, including advanced agriculture, and the immense numbers of proletarians who support this industrialism and make it possible.

"On the operation of industry depends the creation of wealth which makes finance and war possible." So said Frank Vanderlip, the eminent banker, during the recent world blood-bath.

Peace, no less than war, depends on industry, too. The shutting down of factories causes "hard times," with all of its serious, vital consequences.

Industry controls government and society. Who composes Mr. Hoover's staff of advisers for the redemption of the country from industrial depression? Why, industrial experts and engineers, to be sure! And whom does Mr. Harding call in for a nice little after dinner talk at the White House, for the same purpose? Why, the big bankers, who control the finance of industry, and employ these experts and engineers, to be sure!

Industrialism, in its most inclusive meanings, overshadows everything else in modern diplomacy and life. Why is Russian recognition demanded or opposed? For industrial or economic reasons! Why is the oil of Mexico, Mesopotamia and the Dutch Indies wanted by the capitalists of this country? For industrial or economic reasons! Why do the capitalists and bankers of this country want "the open door" in China? For industrial, economic reasons! Why is war with Mexico, England and Japan threatening? For industrial, or economic, reasons! Why do employers associations boycott Y. W. C. A.'s and church societies with social ideals and programs? For industrial or economic reasons!

In brief, the industrial basis—the economic motive—is seen in all social, governmental and diplomatic acts of modern society. He who controls industry controls society.

It is for this reason that the I. W. W. emphasizes the importance of industry and the necessity for its democratic administration.

Industrial democracy is a growth from within

industry itself. It is not an imposition by law from without. It is not state ownership and control. Industrial democracy is the conscious endeavor of the workers to operate industry for the good of themselves and all society. It has its origin in the struggles between capitalists and laborers born of modern capitalism; and is recognized as a necessity to save society from the wars and cataclysms caused by the conflict of interests engendered by the latter.

Industrial democracy embraces only the workers. As in real political democracy there can be no kings, so in real industrial democracy there can be no capitalists. And for the same reasons: kings were brutal, oppressive, grasping and incompetent rulers, a menace to the state and progress; likewise with capitalists, who rule, not for the good of mankind, but their own profit, to the ruin of the race.

Industrial democracy, being founded on industrial possession, is the basis of all democracy, for without the power and control which industrial ownership confers, political and social democracy is a delusion and a snare.

Apparently, industrial democracy is only a dream—an utter impossibility. Yet its beginnings are manifesting themselves in many ways besides the theoretical formulation of the I. W. W.—negatively, in the attempts of corporations to create company unions in order to run the tendency towards industrial democracy into the ground; positively, in the endeavors of the labor unions to give this tendency a more pronounced force and character.

The battle for industrial democracy is on. It is being waged in current literature and in the confines of conservative unionism.

Henry Frank, writing on "Industrial Democracy," in the March, 1921, Century, gives an outline of the origin of this fight and its deep though obscure significance. Says he:

"Before the introduction of machine power, which resulted in grand-scale production, the handicraft workman was master of industry. When the factory came into being the masters of the small shops were driven to the wall. Two classes developed in industry, employers and employees. Not even a sense of partnership survived the wreck of the old handicraft system. It became a matter of master and servant. Control was the big thing that was lost by the masses of the laborers. The workmen of the world have never become reconciled to that loss, and as popular education has done its work, stimulating the self-respect and dignity of the masses, the sense of disinheritance has become keener. So that many of the most acute students of contemporary life contend that

beneath all the clatter of labor disputes there is a profound movement for representative government in industry, exactly as there has been through the years a movement for representative government in politics. It is difficult for many employers to believe this. They come into daily contact with workmen, and rarely do they find a workman who seems greatly concerned with a voice in business. The workmen they meet seem concerned solely with matters of wages and hours. Many employers therefore set down all the facts of a movement for industrial democracy as the dream of doctrinaires. But I suspect that a reporter going up and down England a little while before magna charta was wrested from king John would have been impressed with the fact that few of the common folk of England would discuss intelligently and in detail the desired political reform, though the underlying urge to democracy was there. Most of the profound movements of history have been unconscious, as far as the masses were concerned, until the critical moment of consummation arrived."

The movement for industrial democracy is growing in consciousness, as witness the activities of the railroad and machinists' unions at the recent Denver American Federation of Labor convention. These two groups of unions forced through a resolution favoring "government ownership and democratic control of the transportation systems of the United States," and a half-control of industry by labor. Or as the resolution puts it, to secure to the men employed in organized industry that equality of employment of all the rights, privileges and immunities now enjoyed by those who contribute capital to organized industrial enterprises."

In England we see much the same trade union phenomena that we see here, viz., a demand for the nationalization of the mines by the workers, with the idea of advancing the workers' status, standards and powers, both as producers and as citizens. It is recognized, sometimes dimly, sometimes vividly, that only through workers' management and control of some kind and degree can the workers progress towards improvement and emancipation.

Now, this is not full-fledged industrial democracy. It is a compromise with capitalism on the part of labor unionism—an attempt to bridge the transition from the old order to the new. Nevertheless, it is a beginning, a groping towards industrial democracy of the full-grown kind. It is an outgrowth of experience with capitalism, which, together with more experience of the same kind, will lead directly towards industrial democracy of a genuine character.

The railroad and machinists' unions, having felt the need for "government ownership and democratic control" in the peculiar conditions surrounding the railroads during the war, are likely to find that post-war conditions will force them into even more advanced positions than those at present assumed—positions involving even greater ruptures with the

old order of absolute private ownership and capitalism. This evolution will be hastened by their own organization weaknesses, which will make them unable to enforce their Denver resolutions.

This tendency to greater definiteness may be observed in Europe, especially among the working class organizations of England; so that, on the whole, industrial tendencies may be seen working for industrial democracy the world over, the capitalist reaction to the contrary notwithstanding. In fact, this reaction will be helpful to industrial democracy in the long run. History makes this obvious.

Following the Civil War in this country, for instance, there came a stupendous depression, unemployment, and a great corporation development, leading to the formation of the trusts and modern imperialist capitalism. The labor unions were badly crippled and their growth temporarily halted. But they survived the crisis and flourished later as never before.

A somewhat similar condition on a more extended scale prevails now. As a result of the world war, an economic crisis holds the nations of the universe in a paralyzing grip. Millions are unemployed, starving and destitute. Everywhere, in striking contrast, capitalism is developing on a larger, intensive scale, expanding beyond national boundaries, forming international combinations, while, at the same time, developing an imperialist nationalism. Labor unions are deeply affected; apparently favorably so, as far as growth in numbers go and clarity of purpose is concerned. Their future, when viewed in a workaday light, is apparently uncertain. But assured when viewed in the light of history. If the past is any criterion bigger growth awaits them not many years hence.

Consider the future prospects that greater capitalism offers to the workers and thereby realize what opportunities for industrial organization and industrial democracy are embraced therein.

Greater capitalism is intent on the international development of Mexico, Asia, Africa and Russia. This will give an impetus to industry, with its usual cycle of prosperity, overproduction and collapse. Or greater capitalism, accentuating the need and the greed of its national imperialism, will fall out and go to war, when the results, as seen during the late war, will be the same; that is, there will be a cycle of industrial impetus, prosperity, overproduction and collapse again.

In both, or either of these developments, the industrial demands for labor and the need for labor participation in the programs outlined will give to labor a basis on which to further build its organizations and to more fully and completely advance in the direction of industrial democracy. Not only will the favorable aspects of greater capitalist development—international or national—contribute to labor's advancement, but so also will the unfavorable aspects. War and its horrors arouse labor to organization no less than war and its pros-

perity do. Especially is this more likely to be the case in the future than in the past. Hostility to war has grown, thanks to the revulsions engendered by the late war.

The international growth of capitalism—its Chinese consortiums, Franco-Teuton ententes, Anglo-Teuton-American "world trusts" to exploit Russia, international chambers of commerce and financial conferences—will tend to make industry international and promote international labor organization more practically rather than theoretically, as has been the case heretofore. Should imperialist nationalism assert itself it is likely to be caught in this international meshwork of capitalism. Or it is likely to tear it down, to its own destruction. The international expansion of capitalism is the greatest necessity of the latter, as events demonstrate; and all that is at odds with this necessity is likely to disappear before it. This means, ultimately the international triumph of industrial democracy.

All this will mean much to labor organization, especially to the I. W. W. and its principles and

forms. It is logical to suppose that the upbuilding of a greater capitalism will compel the upbuilding of a greater unionism—a unionism, not of trades, nor of industries only, but of international units, corresponding with international corporation development. This will be the I. W. W. opportunity for growth, for the I. W. W. has anticipated this upbuilding, in a measure by promoting international organization and affiliation; and, hence, will be in a position to profit from this new necessity for a new and better unionism.

There is much, in present day phenomena, to justify the ideals, principles and forms of labor unionism advocated by the I. W. W., especially is this noticeable in the influence of the I. W. W. on the marine transport workers of the world, who are turning away from the old unionism to it, in search of the new. This phenomenon is likely to be repeated in many other industrial spheres. So let the I. W. W., despite the "hard times," be up and doing!

"Do not weep" over these "hard times," "organize"! On to Industrial Democracy!

The Labor Movement of Greece

Compiled from the manuscripts of Geo. Katsolis and Joe Marko.

The labor movement of modern Greece is probably less known than that of any other country. It began with the introduction of capitalistic production.

Previous to this introduction the workers of Greece could be divided roughly into two groups. The first group were composed of the agricultural workers or peasants who were unorganized. The second group were the handicraftsmen who were organized into trades unions or guilds.

All tools of this period were adapted for the use of one worker. The agriculturalist used his tools unaided by big machines and implements. The handicraftsman used his tools and his shop in the production of his wares.

The biggest part of the towns people were handicraftsmen or their apprentices. So most of the townfolks were organized in their unions or guilds. Each street or section was occupied by a particular trade or craft and the individual houses and shops on that street were occupied by the individual artisans who used the shops to produce and barter in.

Even those trades that did not do their work in shops yet owned their own tools and were organized. The masons, carpenters, plasterers, sewer-men and longshoremen were union men though none of them carried cards. Their unions were local affairs and they knew each other by sight.

Yet they had a treasurer and held limited funds to help the disabled and aged members and to carry on the occasional struggle against the community government. In place of Union Halls they used coffee houses to meet in. It was the habit after the days work was done to go to the coffee house and discuss the gossip of the trade.

When a person needed a carpenter he went to the carpenters coffee house and so with the other trades. These coffee houses exist throughout the Balkans, Asia Minor, Egypt and northern Africa today and some of them function exclusively as meeting places for labor groups yet.

When the social surplus products of western Europe poured into these countries the many trades unions lost their prestige. The machine production of the west pitted against the hand production of the east was the cause of the falling away of each unions membership.

Thousands lost their little shops and became wage workers and others managed to hold their shops by adopting the use of machinery. The machines made competition amongs the former members of the union and this was against the principles of communal mutual aid which they had believed in so long.

The old forms of guilds or trades unions became meaningless and out of date. The old stable condition of things was changed. Wherever

the machines were introduced the field of production became a battle ground.

The wage workers did not understand the principles of the new mode of production and were beaten in their individual fights. In the great hard times thousands after thousands emigrated to western Europe and to America. Yet the army of wage workers increased continuously. Men of every rank denounced the competitive system but denunciation was as far as they could go.

No one could understand how the Bourgeoisie could flood the market with well fashioned commodities and sell them for a trifle of the price that hand labor must receive to exist. The mistake made by these dying unions was in not watching and understanding the evolution of the mode of production. They should have merged from many small local unions into big powerful industrial unions.

They failed to create a means (as an industrial research bureau) to investigate and study the working of the ever active social forces that were causing new methods of production.

By mastering the problems caused by the introduction of machinery they could have turned this knowledge to their own service. Not having this knowledge they could not hold together. Confusion was the order of the day.

Some of the workers who wanted to understand the new system came together at last and formed the Socialist party of Greece in the early nineties. Their idea was to get the old guild men together again with a new vigor and build up new unions on the basis of new scientific knowledge.

A socialist press was started and they put out pamphlets written in language similar to the law books or the holy bible. Their literature was full of ethical and moral ideas together with abstract logic but no scientific facts.

In short the socialists of Greece were far from understanding what it was necessary to get the workers to understand. They failed to put before the workers clearly the new economic structure of society. This knowledge was needed by the workers so that they could carry on a successful battle against the bourgeoisie.

After failing in their mission the socialist party turned their press into a vote catching machine. They became grand patriots and flag wavers and openly allied themselves with the middle classes. They helped them to enlarge the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

The Balkan war came on which resulted in the destruction of hundreds of thousands of workers. The miseries of this war heaped on the shoulders of the toilers created a rebellious sentiment but there was no organized attempt to express this rebel spirit in action.

The workers realized that something was wrong and that a betterment of conditions must be secured

but they were more fearful of trouble than desirous of bettering their conditions.

Still the sentiment of unrest has been very helpful in furthering class conscious education in later years. Some workers who had studied the labor movement in foreign countries had returned to Greece and with some of the more advanced elements of the newly conquered territory they built up a nucleus of an organization and carried on consistent propaganda. Since then a better understanding of the labor movement and the class struggle has invaded the minds of the workers of Greece.

Direct action on the basis of the class struggle did not show itself until three or four years ago. Organizations grew rapidly and the trades unions embrace over a hundred thousand members of which more than sixty thousand were affiliated with the Confederation of Labor. Under the organization of the trades unions many battles were bitterly fought and many victories were won.

The hours of work used to be from sunrise to sunset with five and ten miles of foot travel before and after the days work. With proper use of economic action it did not take long to reduce the working hours to eight and to raise the wages from two drachmas a day up close to twenty and even as high as forty a day. However the wage increase was of slight moment for the prices, kept even pace but the betterment in conditions will remain as a constant source of working class benefit.

In 1918 a movement was started to break off from the Socialist Party the reformist bourgeois element and was successful to some extent. The party remaining declared for the third international.

Small in numbers yet this communist element were the majority in the party when the split came. Their fighting spirit soon brought down the persecution of the Venizelos machine but the well organized and compact Communist organization was able to give a hard battle. The Confederation of Labor supports the revolutionary program of the Communist Party and is the greatest single labor factor in Greece.

Communists were arrested, imprisoned and ordered exiled. General strikes were declared demanding their liberty and industry after industry was tied up.

Every method possible was tried to break the strike. Strikers were arrested by the dozens, hundreds and finally thousands and thrown into prison. Strikers were drafted into the army and when they refused to obey the military orders to go back to work they were court martialed for breach of discipline.

As a result of the incessant strikes practically all of those arrested were liberated and the exiles allowed to return, but twenty or thirty of the most active rebels are still in prison.

The railroad workers have so far refused to affiliate with the Confederation of Labor and have failed to recognize or play any part in the past class struggles. Constant agitation however is having its effect on these workers and plans are now on foot to get these workers organized into a real industrial union of the railroad workers which, if successful, will place them in a better position to fight the reactionary classes and bring them into line with the Confederation.

The government is more afraid of this move than of any of the others that have taken place. They are using all their power to keep the railroad workers separated into their crafts and away from the Confederation.

All the radical elements of Greece are united in the fight and there is no split in the ranks of the workers. The Communists have the active support of all the advanced groups of organized labor and work hand in glove with the battling Confederation. The official organ of the Communist party is also the official organ of the Confederation. Both groups are trying to get the railroad workers to accept Industrial Unionism and join the revolutionists. Success in this aim is expected in the near future as the railroaders want to join but are held back by government persecution and their craft officialdom.

Perhaps the main reason for the unity of action among the radicals is the fact of the persecution. No one has joined the organizations

unless they were out for a fight so all the compromising and cold footed elements were kept out.

The Communist party of Greece is the heart and soul of the industrial movement. Also the political defeat of the Venizelos machine can be attributed partly to the skillful activity of the revolutionists.

The big failure of the Communist party and the revolutionary program in Greece has been among the peasants. Special endeavors have been made to establish posts for propoganda among them but the small number of men really capable of directing such work has held it back. It is to be hoped, however, that these posts will soon be established and the strongest hold of capitalist tyranny will be flooded with revolutionary literature and understanding. The reds are strictly on the job now and are successfully switching the currents of discontent into lines of social revolution.

The present administration has been feeling the weakness of its position and have started persecutions. The arrest of reds was resumed about two months ago and the country was immediately tied up in a general strike. As yet the outcome has not been decided.

There has been good work done in Greece. The struggle has been and will be a tough one. The workers there with the aid of international solidarity will carry the struggle out to a successful conclusion. The workers organized as a class will expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish permanent industrial communism.



THE WINNER

By John E. Nordquist

He played the game of chance called life;
Wrought with hardships toil and strife.
From the cradle to the grave
His efforts to the game he gave.

He played the game in honest style,
Knowing fraud not worth the while;
And bade his fellow players share
His fortune when the game ran fair.

He played his hand the best he knew
Tho oft times trumps were mighty few;
And if he lost a trick, well earned,
He kept his stride and never turned.

His cards are put away, the game is o'er;
Old father Time has chalked his score.
He played the game of life quite well;
He won the game, the records tell.

What has he won? perchance you ask:
He won the joy of a well done task;
His was the hand that smoothed the way,
That other men might better play.

He helped to educate the slaves
To free themselves from greedy knaves.
He fought to free humanity—
He played the game for you and me.

Johnson the Gypo

By Ralph Winstead

THIS here Gypo proposition reminds me of the old woman who had a peppy daughter. She used to moan and plead with the girl to change her state of mind and be a good girl. This old woman was faced with a condition of things, not a state of mind and the only way for to deal with conditions is by the use of tactics, not by using a line of appeals to be good.

Now there is one time honored tactic that has been used by old dames on their daughters since and before the human race had thumbs. This line of action was to turn the refractory young female over a bony knee and administer to the well being of her ideas by hand.

That ain't the only tactics to fit this particular problem by a whole lot but at least it has some advantages over appealing to 'em to be good. They got inside urges as to what they want and need and all the appeals in the world don't cut much ice in the face of a human urge. Tactics is what counts.

Now it's the same way with the Gypo proposition. These here pushel maniacs just naturaly got the same sort of nature as John D. Rockefeller and a lot of other humans includin' all of us. They wants to get rich quick and are goin' to listen to that interior urge to gather in the mazuma when the gatherin' is good in spite of any appeals to be good saintly wobs and travel the narrow path.

But mostly we have been playin' the part of the noble mother and been pleadin' with these here almost human Gypo birds to be good, and spurn the pitfalls of their evil ways. What we got to do is use a few tactics on 'em. Maybe spankin' would be justifiable but maybe it wouldn't get the goods as quick as a way that me and a bunch of other wobs tried up at Grinnon one time.

Of course, as I say, tactics is the thing to use and when tactics is decided on in a whole industry it takes a lot of organized action and workin' together that is a lot harder than just goin' around spoutin' about the humpbacked species that has ruined the organization and is now keepin' us on the bum. In order to put any real tactics across we got to have a real plan worked out and have got to put the thing over by co-ordinated action and not by sanctimonious prayers to stay away from the sinful contract and keep pure and undefiled.

One time blowed into Seattle with a short stake and as prepared to stick around town for a week or two. There was a good bunch in town and we lit out to take a little relaxation. Snowball Smith and me was roomin' together and was takin' on the said relaxation mostly in company. About the first stunt we done was to go out to Alki point and gather an eyeful along the beach. Of course these was before the short skirts made the beaches unnecessary for purposes of sight seein' but even

aside from this sight satisfaction we was both longin' for a salt water swim, and got it.

It was the next afternoon after this excursion amongst the dariq' dressers that I was walkin' down the slave market when I noticed on old man Moore's board a sign that caught the eye: "Wanted eight men to take contract bucking and falling. Details inside."

There it was, straight Gypo stuff. Chance to make a co-operative fortune right in my hand. Me—well, I looked around real quick to see if there was a hump backed Swede in sight and not seein' any I high balled right up to the room and got hold of Snowball.

Now Snowball is one of these here plugs that is never restin' with his trigger on safety. They ain't no neutral gear in his make-up. Snowball is always ready to go and further more after the goin' is a long ways from the start and gets rough, why, he ain't the bird to crawfish neither. Maybe he ain't exactly what you call an executive genius that can lay out and get others to carry through a big campaign but he don't need to ponder over no proposition for three weeks to see if it'll hold water. Snowball makes up his mind quick and stays with it.

So when I suggests to him that we become the original humpies and go scabbin' on ourselves just for a little fun and tactical experience, why, Snowball don't bat an eye but hustles his lid and we streaks for Moore's. Nobody had beat us to it so we got all the details.

Eight men was wanted to sign a contract to fall and buck a full section of timber up at Grinnon which as you know is a sort of steeple jack outfit up in the Olympics off of Hoods Canal. The ground was level we was told and the timber was good. The rate was 60c per thousand and we had a bunk house all to ourselves.

The company furnished the tools but we had to do the saw filing. We was to eat in the company boarding house and they would deduct the board bill at the pay off. We could draw only fifty per cent of what our log scalein' called for till the job was finished. Everything in regular Gypo style.

Snowball did most of the talkin'. He made rapid estimates with greedy eyes at how much we could clean up in the summer. I almost got in earnest on the finance end of it myself. It sure sounded good the way he mentioned the thousands of dollars.

Moore agreed to hold the job till we got six more fellows to go in with us and so we set out to round up six good wobs that was willin' to mar their perfectly good reputations in order to put the Gypo game in bad at Grinnon. We had a hard time. Some of our best known wobs sneered at the idea and told us we was just lookin' for an

excuse. But we kept travellin' in spite of little set backs and raised a crew.

The eight of us signed on and got our John Hancocks on a big contract that was goin' to make or break somebody. Then we separated and rustled our clothes and spent the night listenin' to advice not to go and tryin' to explain why we was goin' to the bunch, but they wouldn't pretend to believe us. Faint hearted wobs never went Gypoin' yet is my claim. The pressure was awful, but we stuck it out. A fellow's friends and fellow workers can always be depended on to state the right and wrong of things. Right and wrong I always claims is matters of gettin' results.

Next mornin' we grabbed the boat for the first lap of the trip and after changin' into busses and back onto boats a few times we made the landin' at Grinnon. We was met by the time keeper with a speeder and made the trip up over the steepest known loggin' track in the country and that is sayin' a heap.

We didn't see where the nice level ground mentioned in the sacred contract was comin' in but we sure enjoyed the scenery which is sure pleasant in this section.

Mountains and valleys with clear tumblin' rivers and misty clouds hangin' half way up can sure wipe out the memory of a lot of squalid misery found in more civilized sections. Somehow they make a fellow feel that life is big and not exactly centered about himself.

And this feelin' is most necessary to get real action these days. Most of us like to stick our chests out about two inches further than is necessary for deep breathin' and seem to forget that there are others in the world that might be just as wise—as the big center of things—me. There is a lot us that has got to learn to think and act according to the biggest benefit to the greatest number instead of in the way that our own ideas points.

We made the camp alright and found a bunk house fixed up for us that was pretty fair. The boss give us the icy eye as if he was only in on this Gypo proposition by compulsion but the manager was all smiles and explained to us over and over that he had only left his office work in town to come up and see that we got a good start.

Of course we was grateful. We even told him so. The grub was good too but the flunkies set it down before us with a bang and the cook looked cross-eyed at the whole bunch of us. Sure a guy must have to suffer a lot from just wantin' to make a few lousy dollars via the Gypo route in some places. I even commenced to be scared somebody that knew me would write it up for the Worker and demand that I turn in my card. Such would have sure ruined me for life but then I been ruined more than once anyhow.

Well, we went out and looked over the ground. It was level, too. A fine bunch of trees in a level valley that just seemed to happened along by accident in the steep canyons. Then we organized

ourselves. Snowball was elected to do the filing and the Bull buckin' and the rest of us scattered out in the trees.

I started in with the fallin' gang not knowin' anything about this end of the loggin' game and we dropped the first tree fine except that the blamed thing hooked up and it took us most of the day to get it down where we could look at it.

Then we done better. The manager came around and found all of us sweatin' and puffin' so he went off to town satisfied that he had solved the problem of bustin' up these here pesky wobs by makin' 'em take an interest in the work: Yeah, we dona better. In the afternoon me and my pardner dropped three fine big trees, every one of 'em with high, grade timber in 'em—number one flooring stock, but the blame sticks dropped on stumps and was busted all to hell. It was sure tough but I cheerfully took the blame as I didn't know much about the fallin' game anyway.

When I looked over the rest of the crew's work I commenced to think that I had picked the biggest bunch of green horns that could be found in the whole organization. Not one of 'em seemed to know as much about fallin' or buckin' as I used to.

The newly elected bull bucker came around to me and he pulled his face into a sorrowful twist and explained that we wasn't makin' more than three or four dollars a day and was a dullin' a lot of saws.

This of course was awful news as it meant that maybe we wouldn't make that young fortune we was a lookin' for here. I promised to speed up and we did manage by workin' a little overtime to drop another fir, but it was punky.

The funny part of the whole thing was that we didn't seem to improve as the days went by. Some of the gang got lazy and wouldn't drop as many trees as they should and then they would blame Snowball for bein' a bum sawfiler but I couldn't see anything wrong with his filin'.

The boss dropped around and looked over the work we had done and I saw him goin' away with his hat off and him a scratchin' his head. He appeared to be plum puzzled by our progress. In the meantime I got friendly with the blacksmith's helper and he told me that the boss once carried a card in the early days and that there was good bunch of wobs that had been sent down the road to make room for us damn scabs.

You bet I got real friendly with that helper. I made it a point to see that he wasn't handlin' any hot irons when I happened around. Well, we stuck to this job for a month. Things went from bad to worse. I commenced to lose faith in the co-operative movement when it comes to gettin' work done. We didn't seem to have the right spirit for work no matter which way we tried to bring it out.

Still I learned a lot about fallin' trees but the fallin' pardner didn't seem to think so. He said that I couldn't hit even the ground more than

once out of three times without him. Well, I thought if he was so wise I would try my hand at buckin'. So we made the switch. 7

I went on with a big Finn that agreed to show me how to buck. But I soon wished that I hadn't done it. Buckin' is even harder work to my notion than fallin', besides I was no good at it and didn't seem able to learn much. About every time that I got a real good log about half bucked out, why, somethin' was sure to happen to the wedges and the blame log would split. I must of spoiled a lot of 'em that way but I learned how to buck 'em off square at last but the bunch decided to let me buck on the split ones about this time so I didn't get any real practice at that.

In other ways, however, things went fine. For instance the cook finally seemed to get over his grouch and was real friendly. He came out and looked over our job and even got jolly about it. Then we sort of decided to take it easy anyway. About this time, why, we got a good bunch of papers and magazines up and it got so it was harder and harder to tear ourselves away from the literary field. We enjoyed discussions on a lot of highbrow topics and sometimes when the job got irksome we took a hike up on some of the hills and looked around.

Maybe I am a little off on the subject but I sure admire the scenery in the Olympics. The more I saw of it the more I admired it. Finally it got so that it appealed to me more than even the buckin' did though I admit that that was sure fascinatin'. It certainly was wonderful to get way up on the mountain side and look down on the riggin' crew a sweatin' and strainin' like little ants down in the valley while the donkeys would shoot steam like these little peanut roasters on the pop corn stands in town.

Oh, it was a great life. I could see where there was all sorts of temptation to be a gypo. I commenced to think that I would like to do this regularly.

The good grub and the pleasant companionship sure didn't make none of us feel bad either. Snowball said that he wore a full inch off of some of the saws just to keep himself busy about the shack while we was out on the job but I think he was exaggeratin'.—I never did think that he always told the whole truth about some things especially about how hard he worked but I will say that he changed the looks of some of them saws alright.

All good things come to an end at last, however, and one day the scaler come up to scale up our cut and see where we was at. He come out on the job unexpected but as it happened three of us was workin'.

He started to work scalin' the logs and seemed to grow real excited. He didn't stop, however, to make any remark to us but kept on all day. Well, he stayed with the job and so did we. When he

got finished he come over to tell us about it. He was so mad he was almost happy.

"Well, you birds have sure got away with somethin' this time," he tells us in our bunk house the night he finished. "You have been here thirty days and have eat up four hundred dollars' worth of grub. You have knocked down and mutilated a million feet of timber, whether from pure cussedness or because you are damned fools, I don't know and no one can prove. But I sure have a bright suspicion because none of you look like plum idiots to me."

"The foreman wrote into town advisin' the manager to abrogate the contract a couple of weeks ago but then the manager had an idea he was still opposed to the contract system. Now I know what he was opposed to, alright."

We all asked him what was wrong. We wanted to know if he was goin' to get us fired from our good job. In fact we made him feel that we sure enjoyed the stay up there but that didn't seem to help him any. He went away madder than ever. I heard later that he had three shares of stock in the company.

The manager came up and told us that our contract was not worth a damn and that the quicker we got out of camp the better he would be pleased. He said that if we wanted to collect the money for the trees that we had put down we could bring suit and see what we got.

We pulled out and blew into Seattle but so far none of us has taken up the matter of our legal rights to pay for our work. And on the other hand I saw the boards down at Moore's chalked up heavy for buckers and fallers workin' by the day at Grinnon right away after we hit town.

Tactics, I claims, will get the goods where dealin' out the sneers and peddlin' the holy solidarity stuff only makes a man feel ashamed and unnatural but don't stop him from wantin' to obey that inner urge. In fact some of the looks I got up in Grinnon made me think that maybe I was a superior bein' and not in the crude and unsophisticated circle of common workin' stiff.

Providin' that I hadn't already known better I feel sure that that idea would have got stuck in me somehow or other. It's funny that way. Everybody is always ready to believe that he or she (especially she) is different from the rest of the people. You know the line of bunk I mean and how if you shoot it out just right, how it always gets results.

Well, Gypos don't want to get no chance to think that they are different from you and me. Just use a few organized tactics and the humps on some of the loggers' backs will look like a camels that has been through a famine worse than a term in the Spokane City jail in a free speech fight.

Suppose we just get together and put across a few tactical manoeuvres on these birds and see that they don't obstruct the progress of the organization any more. That is my idea.

Women, War and the Class Struggle

By Mabel Kanka

A WOMAN delegate to the International Women's Conference delivered an anti-war speech the other day in the heart of Wall Street.

The conference to which she had been a delegate was composed of women from Austria and Germany as well as from their late enemies and neutral powers. They met to lay plans to enforce peace.

This fact alone is remarkable when we consider that women usually follow in the beaten trails and seldom blaze new ones for themselves.

But it matters not what problems the International Womens Congress seeks to solve it is fairly safe to say that it is predestined to failure. It begins by dividing the human race on the basis of sex, and has no concern with economic or social problems.

Is it any wonder then that the majority of women are still blind to the light that is flooding the earth? They have been taught to think in terms of sex when their only hope lies in the obliteration of sex barriers and the recognition of those of class.

They propose to refuse to aid in any manner whatsoever the successful prosecution of wars by refusing to take the places of men called to the front. They propose, in other words, to take the same stand that the conscientious objector took during the late war.

And have they forgotten with what ruthless brutality the state sought to stamp out every vestige of individual conscience in these objectors? Did these women raise even a feeble protest against these outrages? If it is women who bear the major burden of wars were not these objectors fighting the cause of women as well as of their own individual conscience? And what was his reward? Of course it is true that the majority of people are always saved in spite of themselves. They never accept a new idea until they have burned at the stake a few of the early advocates of this new idea. But the women who framed this resolution must have known as well in 1916 that they bore the burden of war and that it was in their power to stop it as they did in 1920.

The success of this undertaking depends largely on the ability of women to stand together when the next war comes, when the shrieking hysteria of war again engulfs the world, blotting out every vestige of sanity and reason, she is expected to remain calm and unperturbed. Amid the blare of trumpets and waving of flags she will stand like a pillar of stone blocking the path of the marching feet on their way to the battlefields. Can a more brilliant or impossible dream be imagined?

Just at the beginning of the late war one of our prominent suffragists issued a statement in which she said "Patriotism is the supreme virtue." As long as such ideas permeate the very air we breathe we must expect mothers to lead their sons to recruiting stations and cheer them on their way to the battle fields. As long as the germ of patriotism, as represented by nationalism, is taken in with the mother's milk, just so long will there be wars, and as long as wars are fought women will sacrifice their sons whether willingly or unwillingly.

The roots of war lie not only in the mind of a perverted humanity but they extend much farther back and are rooted in the fountain of all social evils—private property. Abolish private property and you will have destroyed the eggs of war. Patriotism is a product of the state which in turn rests on private property.

Any such movement based on the assumption that the interest of one woman is necessarily the interest of all others and that women should stand together as a sex regardless of class lines is a gross deception to the woman of the working class. She has nothing in common with the parasitic woman of the aristocracy. Her interests are bound up with those of the workers, both men and women. And it is on this basis and this basis alone that war can be abolished.

It is high time that the women of the working class awoke and ceased to follow such will-o-the-wisps as equal suffrage and the like and instead of looking at things as a woman, see them as a member of the working class. Then and then only will war and all its accompanying horrors be abolished.



Tramping the Northwest

By G. R.

ALTHOUGH many of the saw-mills, logging camps and mines of the Northwest have ceased to operate, there are few unemployed hangers-on in this part of the country. When out of work, a man generally takes to the road with the hope that somewhere he will find a kind-hearted master who will let him use a job for a while.

Automatically he becomes a tramp, a bum or a hobo—whichever term seems the most fitting to the average respectable citizen. Normalcy, wherever that may be, surely has been passed a long time ago but to judge by the large numbers of tramps and bums on freight trains and in the jungles we are still on our way.

For the enlightenment of those who always think of the tropics, waving palms, monkeys and coconuts when they see the word "jungle" a few words of explanation might be in order. The jungle of the migratory worker and the thousands of city workers who now also are bums and tramps is far from being as romantic as the name suggests. It is mostly always located near the stockyards or refuse dumps of the small towns, this being the only place where the citizens will tolerate the undesirable hobo.

Coming into a small town during harvesting or fruitpicking time one can always tell at a glance if there is a jungle near the town. If the citizens do not allow the bums to "jungle up" the appearance of the men who stand around the streetcorners waiting for a job to turn up is often terrible. They are unkempt and dirty, with dirty and greasy shirts and overalls. Not being able financially to stay at a hotel, they must sleep outside and often there is not even a place where they might wash themselves. Under these circumstances it is impossible to keep clothes and body clean.

Where there is a jungle, the general appearance of the men is entirely different. If one has no razor or soap, needle or thread, there is always some fellow-bum who will gladly help him out so that he can wash and shave and patch his clothes. They can pool what little money they may have and cook up a nourishing meal, and one can often see a lowly bum sharing a loaf of bread bought with his last dime with some tramp who has just dropped off a freight, broke and hungry. Real christianity and good fellowship? Go amongst the hobos in the jungle and you will find it.

The businessmen of many of the towns out here have spent time and money on tourist parks for the accommodation of the traveling members of their own class, and, incidentally, to induce them to linger for a few days and spend some of their hard earned cash, but they do not show any consideration whatever for the bum.

Of course, the bum only comes around to build railroads, and highways, cut and bale hay, harvest and thresh, pick fruit and do hundreds of other things which could not be done without him. It would be unthinkable for the business men to set aside a place for the bum with some shelter against the elements, and with pure drinking water.

Ever so often, though, the tramps and bums must be shown that they exist only by the grace of the Chamber of Commerce. The town marshall is ordered to "clean up the jungles" and with his thirtys gun he will perforate John D's oil tins in which the tramps had washed their clothes. With both feet he will jump on to the smaller cans which had been used for coffee, stew and drinking cups. He will look at the frying pan, and if he doesn't decide to take it home with him he will do his duty and fire a shot through the bottom of it, also.

The next tramp who comes along will curse awhile and then will patiently look for another jungle outfit. He will string along the torndown piece of haywire again that had served as a clothes line, and again shirts and underwear will flap in the wind and mulligan and coffee will boil on the rearranged fire place.

I am a bum, too, and I am sitting under a railroad water tank waiting for the "manifest," the fast eastbound freight. The lights of the town have long ago died one by one, weariness overcomes me and I doze off only to arouse myself again to listen for the sound of a train.

Suddenly the grinding of brakes brings me to my feet and I hurry down the long string of cars to find a place to ride, passing car after car locked and sealed. Slowly the train begins to move and gather speed. At last I reach a coal car loaded with square timbers which has an open space on one end. A bum looks down at me over the side. "Is there room for one more?" I shout at him. "Always room for one more" he says, and I swing on.

When I try to lower my feet into the car I find that the floor is covered with human forms. Carefully I pick a place to stand amongst the bodies of sleeping men who look like a heap of corpses in the dim starlight. The fellow I spoke to asks me for a cigarette and we stand quietly among the heap of sleeping humanity at our feet while the train pounds through the night.

Daylight at last, and one by one the sleepers arise and work arms and legs to overcome their soreness and cold. There are young bums and old bums, natives and foreigners, and also two colored tramps. There is little conversation; waking up on a freight train penniless and not knowing what the day may bring is rather depressing.

The sun comes up and the spirits rise a little.

Two young fellows, one of whom wears the button of the American Legion, ask about the next stop. The question of course is: "Can a fellow eat there?" An old timer who has been there says that the baker is good for a loaf of bread and that the old Dutchman who runs the butchershop is alright too. "If we can get some bread and bologna, we'll be fixt for our breakfast," in relief exclaims the young fellow with the button of the Legion, "but if the butcher is a Dutchman I'd better take off my button before I bum him."

* * *

All day long the freight has crept through the dry, sunscorched desert. All day we have traveled without food, and we do not know when nor where our next meal will be. Slowly the train crawls onto siding, a whistle sounds in the distance and a passenger train pulls up alongside of us. We gaze through the windows of a dining car and almost within reach we see a white tablecloth, shining silver—and food. A portly gentleman and a plump, middle-aged lady are evidently enjoying their evening meal very much. ("Overfed parasites!" grumbles the fellow who stands beside me). A slim young girl daintily toys with her fork while a waiter hovers nearby, ready to be at their service.

Two blasts of the whistle and they glide out of our view again. A fellow jumps off the freight to pick up a couple of slices of bread thrown out through one of the windows of the passing train and clammers on again. Slowly we pull out onto the main line and we settle down to some more shaking and jolting.

* * *

"Hello, there, Fellow Worker," a cheery voice greets me as I drop into the jungle of an Idaho town. Glad to see someone I know, I walk over to shake hands with a Fellow Worker I had known on the Coast. He is one of those out on bond, with a penitentiary sentence hanging over his head, but to judge by his appearance he has not a care in the world. We sit down to speak of the things wobblies will discuss whenever they meet.

He had been reading when I came and I pick up the book lying in the grass. Ballad of Reading Gaol, by Oscar Wilde. Think of it! A man as good as condemned to years in the pen reading such a book and still not in the least depressed. "Here is a verse that would well apply to Fellow Worker Everest of Centralia," he says and he reads out loud:

"They hanged him as a beast is hanged:
They did not even toll

A requiem that might have brought
Rest to his startled soul,
But hurriedly they took him out
And hid him in a hole."

I speak of his own case, but he only smiles. "You know," he says, "a county jail is rather a noisy place, there is always a bunch of fellows and you don't get much opportunity to read, but I think that in the pen it will be quiet and I will have the chance to read many of the books I have always longed for. I can study undisturbed and I might come out with a better education than I have been able to acquire so far."

I sit up and ponder. Here is a workingman, bright and intelligent, with the soul of a poet, a better man morally, mentally and physically than those who wished him condemned. His only crime has been his desire to help the workers in the logging camps to better their conditions and to preach the gospel of industrial freedom. And yet there are millions of workers who would not even read the outcome of his trial, nor would they give a thought if this man is sentenced to years in prison. His name is known only among his friends for he is only one out of many.

"You can have this book if you wish," he says, interrupting my thoughts. "There is a train coming and I don't like to miss it." Cheerily he bids me goodby and swings his packrack over his shoulder. Out of such stuff wobblies are made.

* * *

Nothing to ride but the tops or the rods, every car is loaded and sealed—and so we take to the tops and sit on the running boards. A brakeman makes his way towards us from the engine. "Tickets, boys," he sings out. "Tickets—only red tickets are recognized on this train." We all have our "tickets" and one fellow gives him copies of the "Solidarity" and the "Worker." He sits down to chat a while and then resumes his walk towards the caboose.

Presently we pass a westbound freight, and a bunch of bums wave at us from the doors of open box cars. "Some go east and some go west," as the famous butcher used to say. No one seems to interfere much with the bums traveling on freight trains and blinds of passengers now-a-days. The powers that be do not seem to like bunches of hungry men to congregate anywhere and they seem glad to see the bums keep traveling. Strange, is it not? Never before were they afraid of tramps, bums and hoboes. What may be the reason?



On the Top of the World

By A Rebel Girl

(An interview between a Business Magnate and an Office Microbe).

B. M. (Ringing a bell on his desk). "It's a pity, I'm sorry for the kid!"

(Enter a uniformed errand boy of about sixteen years, pale and spindly but good-looking, seeming to bubble over with suppressed eagerness).

B. M. "Sit down, John."

O. M. (Looking surprised and rather scared). "Yes sir."

B. M. (Turning over a pile of letters on his desk as though only half attending to the boy). "I am afraid I must inform you that we, er—we must dispense with your services." (He looks up suddenly at the boy with a searching glance, catching the expression of alarm and the paling of the young face before him. He is evidently sorry. There is a framed picture of his own baby boy on the desk. He looks at it thoughtfully).

O. M. "May I ask why, sir?"

B. M. "You see, John, I hear from several different sources that you are . . . Well, not exactly lazy, but that your heart is not in your work.—You do not seem to care to do more than you are bound to. (Squaring his shoulders pompously). We always make is a point to have young men of ambition with us.—Young men who are not afraid of a little extra work after hours—who have the interest of the firm at heart. (A kindly look takes the place of the self-satisfied pomposity). John, you are aware of the fact that I am not usually bothered with these small office details. You would under ordinary circumstances be discharged by the head clerk and I should hear nothing whatever about it. But I have always taken a personal interest in you. (Suddenly moved by a kindlier impulse than he has felt toward any member of his office force for years). "Tell me why you don't work harder—with more enthusiasm.—Perhaps (Seeing the boy's look of relief)—perhaps we can keep you on even yet."

(John's cheeks are burning, he speaks slowly, a curious mixture of relief and wounded pride in his voice).

O. M. "Thank you, sir. I—er—don't know, sir. I thought I was doing all I was paid to do."

B. M. "That's just the trouble!—You give the minimum amount of effort possible, only enough to keep you on the payroll.—As I said before, we want young men with the interest of this business at their heart."

O. M. (Looks up slowly into his master's face. His expression is that of a hurt child, but slowly the color deepens, the full lips tighten, the wide blue eyes narrow and grow steely, his hands clench at his sides. It is the dawning of manhood, the cruel dawning of manhood and womanhood that comes to many of the boys and girls who go out

into business world! Suddenly he flings discretion, fear, servility, to the winds. He is a man, speaking to another man, and with an unconscious gesture of defiance he speaks).

"Why should I have the interest of the business at heart? I am here because I must eat, because my people must eat, not because I like it or chose it!

"Why should I be ambitious here?"

"Why should I want to rise amidst the dust and grime and stagnation of your wealth? They are all dead here, or dying—dying for want of sun and air and life. Dying in all this ugliness—for what?"

"It is hell here! My arms are strong as steel—and I carry bits of paper here and there in the grey canyons! My eyes are keen and far-seeing, and I peer over dead, dead files! My mind is burning with new hopes, new dreams, new desires, and I jump up and down eternally to the tinkle of a bell! There is a great power blazing within me, tingling like fire in my blood. I could conquer the world, all that, I dream could be mine—and I earn my living here, licking stamps!"

(A long silence follows. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the boy's squared shoulders droop; the shining glory of triumphant youth dies out of his eyes; his hands unclench and lie passive on his knees. He is obviously terrified at what he has done. He is thinking of his mother's sorrow should he lose his job, his sister's feeling of disgrace and shame should they hear of his mad outburst before the great, successful man who is kind enough to patronize him. He speaks at last).

O. M. "I'm very sorry, sir. Please, excuse me. I—I—hope you won't discharge me, sir. You see, there's my mother and sisters—and—I'll try to do better."

B. M. (A look of almost sorrowful disappointment on his face). "All right, John, I'll disregard it. You can stay on a week or so and see how things go. Now take this, er—'bit of paper' in to Mr Larsen." (Hands him a document).

(John stands at a little distance irresolute, not understanding his master's sudden termination of the conversation or the new note of kindly contempt in his voice).

O. M. (Wistfully). "Thank you, sir."

B. M. (Already engrossed in the correspondence on the desk). "All right, John!"

(John goes out, closing the door very slowly and softly behind him).

(B. M. looks up at the closed door, tapping his fingers thoughtfully on the glass desk top. Then he turns to the picture of his son).

B. M. "Stick to your guns, son—for God's sake stick like hell! That little chap was on the top of the world just now—but he'll never get there again!"

Book Reviews

Sherwood Anderson's *Poor White* (B. W. Huebsch).

"At the corner of Main and McKinley streets and just beyond the place where three old buildings were being torn down to make room for the building of a new hotel, appeared a man who attacked, not the piece work prices at the corn-cutting machine plant, but the whole system that built and maintained factories where the wage scale of workmen could be fixed by the whim or necessity of one man or a group of men. As the man on the box talked, the workmen in the crowd who were of American birth began to shake their heads. They went to one side and gathering in groups discussed the stranger's words. 'I'll tell you what,' said a little old workman, pulling nervously at his graying mustache, 'I'm on strike and I'm for sticking out until Steve Hunter and Tom Butterworth fire Ed Hall, but I don't like this kind of talk. I'll tell you what that man's doing. He's attacking our government, that's what he's doing.' The workmen went off to their homes grumbling. The government was to them a sacred thing, and they did not fancy having their demands for a better wage scale confused by the talk of anarchists and socialists."

This and the consequent strike in which "three men had been killed and ill-feeling engendered in hundreds of silent workers" is what took place in Bidwell, Ohio, where Hugh McVey, the principal figure of Anderson's book—if Anderson with his attention to the small-hearted and the commonplace ever has "principal figures"—came to spend his life and to give to the community his inventions: the corn-cutting and plant-setting machines and the apparatus for unloading coal cars. In its delineation of the progress of a small town and the inception therein of capitalism, this story is the story of America.

McVey, "poor white trash" of Missouri, born of a sluggard father to whom the flow of the Mississippi River suggests only the wash of liquor down his sullen throat, dozes away his childhood in a stupidity from which he is provoked only by the scholastic ministrations of a motherly woman who teaches him to read and write, and toward his twenty-fourth year comes to Bidwell, Ohio, a town of twenty-five hundred population and rich soil, and leisurely if not altogether kindly lives.

Here the prophetic figure of Judge Hanby sounds a clarion call of the industrialistic era imminent, and the need for the coming generation to develop the instincts of the fox and ant. Oil, gas and iron are discovered, railroads are "pushed out across the plains . . . At Cleveland, Ohio, a precise, definite-minded man named Rockefeller bought and sold

oil . . ." Then arose the Morgans, Carnegies, etc., who were "merchants glorified and dealt in giant things, in the lives of men and in mines, forests, oil and gas fields, factories and railroads . . . From all sides the voice of the new age that was to do definite things shouted at them."

It is in this atmosphere that Hugh McVey who, to rouse his mind from what seems to him a fatal nebulosity which he dimly resents as an inheritance from his "poor white" ancestors, takes to the handling of concrete things, mathematically; investigates mechanical problems. Love, family domesticity—are parts of life in which, he thinks, he is not about to figure, and his awakened, active mind first concentrates on a device which will save people from the slavery of creeping over fields; creeping over fields and manually setting plants—creeping year in and year out until their heads sink in their shoulders and they give way to their children who are able to crawl with intelligence just sufficient to drop a potential cabbage into the soil.

This device is perfected—though afterwards it proves a failure—and McVey's mind—a product seemingly of the age rather than of hereditary traits—proceeds to nurture germs of other mechanisms. And all these inventions are promoted and marketed by the first and second generation; of capitalists in that microcosm of America which is Bidwell, Ohio.

There is no "story" in this book. Indeed, as a story of even an incomplete development of an individual (Hugh McVey) "*Poor White*" is somewhat hazy. This is characteristic of Anderson—it is indicative of his viewpoint which is but temporarily concerned with one person and with the character and spiritual "aura" of that person, and which then goes on to the mass. If he is always in perceptible sympathy with the individual, he is essentially and closely in sympathy with the mass. One by one, impartially, he takes up a harness-maker who is crazed by the advent of machine-made harness; Ezra the cabbage-farmer who resents the invention of the plant-setting machine which will do away with his slave-driving of his family over the fields all day and night; Steve Hunter, a nervously incipient young capitalist; Jim Priest, an uncomplaining farm work-beast who drinks and laughs away his leisure; Tom Butterworth, the father of future generations of hard-headed promoters; for female figures: young Clara Butterworth, roaming about unable to digest the newly acquired intellectualism of three years at a provincial college; Kate Chancellor, an upshoot of the sporadic "independent" woman of that generation . . . All these figures are at once soft and arresting, soft because of Anderson's semi-obscure, inclusive pity.

This is only a fictional description of the development of capitalism in America—of the growth of village to town, town to city, the machine displacing the craftsman and the involution of lives lost, harmed and ruined, through the mental and the machine cog. Better artistic work Anderson has done in his "Wineburg, Ohio," and to art "Poor White" has only the relation that is in all narrative of suffering, poor-spirited humanity, and in the simple transmission of the dank aroma clinging to people who, all their life, lie close to the soil.

But here, as in his "Marching Men" Sherwood Anderson is the prophet—and not only the prophet that he is, in clear-eyed Judge Hanby, but one who believes, with a sober gladness, that "... in extending the invisible roofs of the towns and cities to cover the world, men cut and crushed their way through the bodies of men in making way for the newer, broader brotherhood into which men are some day to emerge."

Jean Cutner

Engineers and the Price System; Thorstein Veblen. B. W. Huebsch Co. \$1.50.

The winds of post-war radicalism have blown many strange doctrines through the revolutionary camps of the world, but perhaps the weirdest is the theory that the same revolutionary methods that succeeded in a primitive, loose-knit agricultural country can turn the trick in a modern, close-knit industrial community, and that a political party can put together what a mass uprising has ground to pieces. It is the rose colored dream of the old Persian:

"Ah Love, couldn't Thou and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits, and then
Remold it nearer to the heart's desire?"

"Russia did it!" has been an inspiring slogan, but the hard fact confronts us that the industrial countries have not done it; that every attempt at revolution in the industrial countries has failed, up to date, from the Hungarian coup to the Spartacide revolt. Magnificent idealism and courage have come down to defeat because revolutionary strategy was not adapted to the material facts.

How will the revolution occur in an industrial country? To be more definite what are the requirements for a successful revolution in the United States of America, the most highly industrialized country in the world?

The answer is given very convincingly in the latest book by Professor Veblen, his "Engineers and the Price System," just off the Huebsch presses in New York. In this compact little volume of 168 pages he lays down the necessary course of action for a successful revolution.

What is Revolution?

We hope that no timid reader will be excited by this word "Revolution." Professor Veblen uses

it—oh, so gently and dispassionately. He is just talking quietly, as a social scientist pursuing a line of impersonal inquiry, and he gives a very mild and colorless characterization of revolution which will not thrill the person who is looking for thrills. Revolutions are merely, according to Veblen, the doing away with absentee ownership of industry. Which only means the elimination of the business man and all his works from control of the means of life, and the substitution thereof of industrial administration by producers. That is all. There is nothing about the proposition which should ruffle anyone, except perhaps the "kept classes" as Professor Veblen calls them.

This happy change will be made any time the producers draw together and so decide, providing they carefully work out a plan for the systematic and continuous operation of the industrial system without any temporary breakdowns. And here is where the technicians and the trained workmen are more important than all the spell binders and martyrs. For on the continuous operation of this complicated industrial system depends the life of the population and therefore the life or death of the revolution. Few persons realize by what a slender cord hangs the life of a highly industrialized country from day to day. Unlike Soviet Russia this country is so interdependent industrially that the whole system will stop like a clock if a few essential parts cease to function.

Why the Engineers Are Necessary?

Without a clear cut plan for the operation of the industrial system as one well balanced whole there will be no revolution, but only revolt, breakdown and return to reaction. Therefore the revolution becomes essentially an industrial affair, in fact a problem in industrial engineering. This still holds true even though the partisans of the old order offer military resistance, for in the words of Professor Veblen, "warlike operations today are also substantially a matter of technology, both in the immediate conduct of hostilities and in the still more urgent work of material support and supply." Since all this is the case it follows that the technical engineers are absolutely essential to the carrying through of the revolutionary program for they are the only men who grasp the technical problems involved. They are the general staff of the industrial system.

This was not so in the old days of handicraft and small gauge production, and therefore the revolutions of the fervid times of old were as different from those which will come in the future as an old mill wheel is from a modern turbine. In those ancient times of a hundred and fifty years ago the technical expert was in his infancy, but times have changed, and since the dawn of the last generation industry has become so specialized and interwoven, that only the trained industrial scientist can understand in detail how to keep its parts working in harmony.

The American industrial system today consists of hundreds of thousands of industrial units,—mines, mills, factories and farms, all feeding material into each other for further fabrication, and bound together by a complicated network of rail and waterways. So interdependent is industry with industry that the whole system in effect is one industry, which, like a clock, continues running only as long as all its parts are functioning. If anything serious goes wrong with several essential parts the whole thing comes to a standstill. Without the unremitting supervision of the industrial experts, the system will not run, and will, as a matter of fact, foot up to just so much junk.

Technicians Hold Balance of Power

This startling statement will cause no surprise to any clear headed industrial unionist who is accustomed to look industry in the face, but it is in sharp contradiction to the views of a certain class of impulsive persons who call themselves revolutionists, and who say that the technicians can safely be left to the future, and later on corralled and assigned to work—after the revolution. Veblen shows that there would be no time to wait, that if the technicians are not on the job from the start the revolution will be a fizzle, for there will be no production of the means of life, which will mean death for the population and failure for the revolution.

The technicians hold the balance of power. Without them the new system cannot be put through nor the old one continued, and any time they so desire they can start the revolutionary ball a-rolling. To quote the writer:

"A general strike of the technological specialists in industry need involve no more than a minute fraction of one per cent. of the population; yet it would swiftly bring a collapse of the old order and sweep the time-worn fabric of finance and absentee sabotage into the discard for good and all."

And further he adds:

"The industrial dictatorship of the captains of finance is now held on sufferance of the engineers and is liable at any time to be discontinued at their discretion, as a matter of convenience."

Of course the author does not fall into the error of leaving it all to the technicians. He says that the aggressive support of the railroad workers and the trained workmen in the great basic industries is absolutely necessary to the revolutionary program. The technician is emphasized only in proportion to the part he plays in industry.

Point of View of Technicians Changing

'All this sounds very fine,' the reader may say, 'but is it not hopeless to expect any revolutionary action from the technicians?' Professor Veblen deals carefully with this much mooted point and says very frankly that the majority of the technicians are still quite docile in their attitude towards the Vested Interests, and that nothing may be expected

on a large scale "just yet." But he shows that a change is progressively taking place in the attitude of these men; they are more and more being weaned away from their old time allegiance and many are now beginning to think of themselves as something alien to the business interests whose servants they are.

More and more the technicians and the business men are being divorced from each other. The evolution of both industry and finance are responsible for this. On the one hand the specialization of industrial science makes it impossible for an outsider, such as the commercial man, to understand it, and on the other the specialization of commerce so absorbs the business man's attention that he is unable to comprehend problems of a non-commercial nature.

Consequently while the business man is dependent on the technician for the operation of the industry from which he derives his profits he is unable to understand him or his work, as he could in old times when the problems were less complicated. And the technician sees the business man more and more as someone who contributes no useful knowledge or labor to the carrying on of the industry, and who, in fact, figures in industry only as a holder-back of production. The technician sees the industry under his direction as something capable always of producing far more than the business man allows him to produce, for reasons of market. Furthermore, the ultimate decisions in all important industrial questions are up to the business man, and not to the engineer, and the technician sees these decisions foolishly guided by the light of the business man's own ignorance.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the first, called "Sabotage," in which the author tells how the conduct of business today is essentially a question of skillful sabotage, of holding back production in order to bring higher prices or to cause disadvantages to competitors, regardless of the disturbances that this interference makes in the operation of the industrial system. All this the technician sees, and it is alien to his instinct of workmanship.

More and more some of them are beginning to see that "commercial expediency has nothing better to contribute to the engineer's work than so much lag, leak and friction. The four years' experience of the war has also been highly instructive on that head," he says. And they are beginning to see that the "material fortunes of the civilized people lie loose in their hands."

Revolutionary Preparation

It will not be necessary for all the technicians to take part in the preliminary work that must be done in preparing for the big move. It will only be necessary for a few thousand technical men to draw together to work out the industrial plan. First of all there must be careful industrial surveys, tabulating industrial resources, such as all the in-

dustrial plants in the country and the available personnel. Since the scrapping of the business system will require a realignment of industry and allocation of labor it will be necessary to plan how this industrial equipment which has been surveyed will be utilized. Then will follow studies of the main lines of waste under the present system so that steps can be taken to prevent them. This will be necessary, for the new industrial regime must be superior to the old or the rank and file of the people will not put up with it, the writer logically asserts. With the information that will be obtained a skillful publicity drive can be made to win the understanding cooperation of the trained manual workers who are equally necessary to the putting through of the program.

All this was written by Veblen and published in magazine form two years ago, though it has not been issued in bound volume till this year. Since then the prospects for an aggressive movement by these twin forces of productive industry are still brighter than they were when he wrote. Radical papers are giving more and more space to articles by industrial engineers criticising business management of industry. Two of the most brilliant of these, from the pen of a well known industrial engineer, ap-

peared in the One Big Union Monthly last fall. But what is still more significant than mere educational propaganda, a distinct movement has started for an actual joining hands of the engineers and the rest of the working class. A start was made at the Unemployment Conference of Greater New York last spring and as a later development several independent unions in that city have decided upon an industrial research program with the collaboration of a certain group of engineers. And the Industrial Workers of the World have more definitely declared themselves for a thorough-going industrial program of this character.

The long expected crisis of the capitalist system of production is at hand and the time has arrived for the bungling and sabotaging management of business to go. Professor Veblen's book is doing valuable service in focusing attention on the concrete problems involved and as such should be pushed to the limit among all intelligent producers, especially among the technical men who are now more ready than ever for persuasion to a program of action because the job tie that binds the servant so tightly to his master is being snapped in the present industrial depression.

Art Shields.



CIVILIZATION

Julia C. Cooms.

When man first rose erect, and looked upon
His kind; and sought to give command,
What grief and misery we all had missed
Had there but been a noble, guiding hand!
Not one divine; one that could keenly feel
The biting sting of human taunts and blows,
And knowing, lead that infant race
In ways of pleasantness and paths of peace.

When man first gained that noble title Man,
How vastly changed would be our history's page,
Had there but been one noble, guiding mind
The terrors of race travail to assuage.
A mind to teach the purity of love
And set a type of parenthood uncursed
To raise the standard of World Brotherhood—
A kinship, barring lust and sordid greed—
That feels the wound deep in another's breast—
That, seeing joy, rejoices with the glad.

And yet it could not be. Nature's stern law
Decreed that man should cut his tangled swath
From savagery up—a weary tedious path—
To gain, in years yet in the distance dim
The jeweled crown, washed by all nations' tears,
And purchased by the blood of countless slain,
And written there, in hand-wrought tracery
Is Unity, Peace, Prosperity.

WOBBLES

At a conservative estimate about ten thousand wobs have made the can in the last five years.

Now comes Thos. Mott Osborne, most noted of authorities on prisons and prison life and tells us: "Generally speaking prisoners are on a higher plane than the general run of the public."

Scientific! Cause and effect!

Speaking of that higher plane brings to mind the remarks of an old cell mate up for white slavery. "Jedge," he said, "you shua ah wrong givin' me six months on this reedickless chahge of whaite slavery. Why Jedge jest look at the gal! She's blacker'n the ace a' spades!"

Men headed south for the winter will be glad to know that the Dixie highway is completed. Better walking. Incidentally: how many of you spent thirty days helping build it?

A major has invented a mob-subduing gas and is going to try it out on 200 Philadelphia policemen. He claims it puts the victims to sleep and they wake up in half an hour just as always.

Why try it on policemen? There is no difference in their mental processes awake or asleep.

The Ku Klux Klan closed five swell hotels in Texarkana, Tex., because they employed negroes in the kitchens and dining rooms.

We bet the owners of these hotels are highly indignant over interference with their constitutional rights to exploit whoever they please.

American Legion heads visit France.
Strange! Not many of the boys want to go back.

Gary, Ind., is much incensed at the idea of starting a Ku Klux Klan there.

"The idea," they say, "here we are with eighty per cent of the population composed of foreigners and negroes. Ku Klux Klans are only good where American sizzorbills predominate by at least fifty-one per cent. Use same sense!"

Fellow Worker King George seems to be having a hard time of it. His annual deficit this last year was \$225,000 which had to be paid up out of the old fellow's savings.

Another argument for thrift. If he hadn't saved a bit against hard times where would he be?

Soviet Russia is about to fall, says Gregory Alexinsky, member of the latest Constantinople anti-bolshevik quorum. In quantity of falls to date, Soviet Russia is far ahead of Niagara.

"Al" Gruman, boxer, says he loses his fighting pep when he does manual labor. If that's the general rule the unemployed should be quite peppy.

The Industrial Revival in Europe is in full swing. At Milan, for instance, a printing firm has just put out and exported 90,000,000 forged bank notes.

"There is no question," said Attorney Frank Comerford, "that the I. W. W. is the nucleus of the Red Army in America. I have absolute information that it has arsenals at central points throughout the state (Illinois)."

Now if we only knew where they were—

"1921 will reward fighters" is a business slogan. Ach, mein Gott, what if the workers should take to acting on that principle.



The Workers of the Near East

By Joe Marko

In a circular of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the chairman, G. Zinoviev, gives out ten distinct points. One of these points was on the Eastern question, and he declares: "The Communist International made its first success in its work among the people of the East. The Baku Congress of the peoples of the East was undoubtedly of a great historical importance. The coming congress of the people of the Far East will also play its part. The Third Congress will have to discuss the Eastern question not only theoretically as it did at the Second Congress, but also practically. The victory of the World Proletarian Revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia. Each proletarian communist should know this" and so forth...

The Eastern Peoples

Who are the "Eastern Peoples"? Here Zinoviev uses a Roman mode of expression. In those Roman times the countries situated east of Rome were called Eastern or Oriental People. They comprised all the borderland of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, all the borderland of the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea; they are included in the Balkan peninsula, Southern Russia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Caucasus, Persia, Central Asia and as far as the Himalaya Mountains, including Hindustan; they were called the Orient, and the land beyond the Himalaya Mountains was known as the Far East.

The Near East always pointing towards the Farther East, was a place of much strategic importance. The power that controlled this highway could dominate over all the East. The peoples of northern Africa, that is of Berberia, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, and those of Central Africa, though not situated in the East, have modes of production and ideas much the same as those of the Orient.

These people are also regarded, at present, as part of the peoples of the East. The Eastern People constitute the major part of the population of the earth (1,000,000,000). They inhabit the vast track of land from the Atlantic Ocean in Africa to the Pacific in Japan and from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean.

East and West

The workers of the West, or Occident, differ from the workers of the East. Their difference is the mode of production. Now Zinoviev informs us that "the victory of the World Revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia." This is valuable information, a scientific declaration. It reminds us that the revolution already exists full-fledged in the west, but we, the working class of the Occident cannot get the benefits of the revolution as long as we are unable to properly under-

stand it, unable to size up our present position in industry, and are unconscious of the class struggle and indifferent to its world-wide application of revolutionized modern industry.

So long as we refuse to adopt new forms of organization to meet this ever-changing industrial system of production; so long as we support and cling to aged, obsolete, reactionary craft unions; so long as we forget the economic struggle, and instead keep ourselves busy by movies, baseball, churches and the bourgeois patriotic institutions, there is no possibility for the working class to realize the fruit of the Revolution. Our dominating idea should be abolition of the wage system, and to this point alone we should direct all our activity.

Now, what kind of a revolution do the Eastern peoples want to have? What kind of a revolution is it that Zinoviev and Co. over there and all the I. W. W.'s over here are continuously talking about? This revolution is an Industrial Revolution and it starts with the Machine.

The Machine Age

And what is the machine? Everybody in this country knows what the machine is. And this well-known machine is a starting point of revolution in industry and it makes useless the workman who is handling a single hand tool.

All fully developed machinery consists of three essentially different parts (writes Karl Marx): the motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism and the tool or working machine. The working machine is part of machinery with which the machine-factory, Industrial Revolution, started. And to this day it serves as a center of revolt wherever a handicraft process is turned into an industry carried on by machinery.

On closer examination of the machine tool we find many altered tools used by craftsmen, with mechanical differences from the individual workman's implement. The increase in the size of the machine and in the number of its working tools calls for a more massive mechanism to drive it; and this mechanism requires a mightier motive power than that of man power.

Anyway, man primarily acted as motive power. Later he thought to use a horse in his place. But horse-power was not satisfactory because he had a head of his own and was costly, so the man sought to use other means. Wind power was inconstant and uncontrollable. Water wheel power was dependable on account of the change of seasons and was insufficient for the increased size of gearing; and it was essentially local.

Not until the invention of Watt's second and so-called double-acting steam engine was the prime motive power found that begot its own power by consumption of coal and water, the power of which was entirely under man's control, which was a mo-

bile means of locomotion, and which was an agent universally applicable in mechanical industry.

As we have seen, the working machine did not exterminate the tools of many workmen but organized and incorporated them into groups, a working-machine, which necessitated the transmitting mechanism and that in turn necessitated the motor mechanism.

This radical change in the mode of production in one sphere of industry involved a similar change in other spheres as in agriculture and mining. The means of communication and transportation had to be suited to the modes of production of mechanical industry, this being accomplished by a system of river and ocean steamers and railways, etc. But the huge mass of iron that had now to be forged, welded, cut and bored demanded, for its part, titanic machines. They had to construct machines to make machines. The most essential condition for the production of machines by machines was a prime-motive power capable of exerting any amount of force and yet under perfect control. Such a condition was already supplied by the steam engine. This enabled collective machinery to be introduced and an organized system of groups of single machines became more and more perfect.

The Revolution in Industry

An organized system of collective machines to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automaton is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have, in place of isolated machines, a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories and whose Herculean power, at first veiled under the slow and measured motions of his giant limbs, at length breaks out into the fast and furious whirl of his countless working organs.

This is the Revolution of Industrial Production. It is called revolutionary because it has changed completely the economic structure of society. This is a new mode of production entirely different from that of the old. Several thousand horsepower centralized in one automaton moves at once many detailed machines in which are incorporated various kinds of countless tools which work collectively and which are run with but few attendants.

This gigantic operation is in need of immense raw material and so the implements of production, in agriculture and in mines, are revolutionized. This huge production was in need of transportation facilities, so the means of transportation were revolutionized. Did the output of the factories need to be sold at distant lands: railroads and steamers were constructed. Everything was changed to harmonize with this new centralized, revolutionary process of production.

This machinery, the most powerful means in increasing the productiveness of labor became, in the hands of capital, the most powerful means for exploiting the workers.

Workers Change

But the psychology of the workers is also in the process of a complete change. The individual hand product is no longer the regulating principle of social production. No longer is there vital need for the use of human motive force. The use of natural forces is replacing it. The conscious application of science is the order of the day. Gradually all skill has passed on to the machine. The workman now is only an appendage.

Industry operates by means of associated workers, or workers in common, hence it is of a co-operative character. The working process is, of technical necessity, dictated by the instrument of work itself. The regulating factors of social production are now diverted into the hands of groups of workers the members of which are scientists, industrial technicians, managers and laborers.

Class Division

Now society is divided into two classes—the employing class and the working class, and they have nothing in common. The employing class owns all the means of production and finance. The position of the workers is different. They produce everything and have nothing. They had not even a real, practical labor union, to meet the ever-deteriorating and degrading conditions.

For many years there had been a dire necessity to launch a labor union. This new union had to be patterned not from the old hand tools and the old detail system. It had to be patterned from the machine, from the revolutionary industrial system, from the new mode of production.

New Unionism

The industries being international, this new union had to be international, and the position of the working class being entirely different from that of the employing class, this new union had to found itself upon the rock of class-consciousness. This new union should now have an industrial general staff (Industrial Research Bureau) formed of scientists, chemists, mechanics, electricians, technicians, and industrial managers in order to watch the increasing revolutionization of industry and the workings of the social forces, and to give shape to the tactics of the Union accordingly.

With such a labor union proletarians could meet their opponents. It is my opinion that this was the directing factor for the foundation of the Industrial Workers of the World. The Industrial Workers carried on a splendid and far-reaching educational work among the much-oppressed, over-reviled and long-persecuted foreign workers, as well as among Americans. They organized successfully the unskilled or common laborers of the factories. The I. W. W. organized a number of successful strikes at McKees Rocks, Paterson, Lawrence, Ispwich, etc. In this way the message of industrial unionism was given to large numbers of the eastern workers of Europe and Asia. They were the greater part of the strikers. These fellow workers certainly under-

stood solidarity, and under the banner of the I. W. W. they fought bravely and with great patience carried the strikes to a successful end. When these eastern workers strike, they surely shake the whole economic structure to its foundation.

The I. W. W. and the East

They were mostly Italians, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Jews, Bulgarians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Hindoos, Persians, Turks and Caucasians. Through these experiences the Industrial Workers soon found out that though the mammoth machinery is an essential agency of big-scale production, the main strategy lies with basic raw material and market highways for the finished goods. It turned its activity towards organizing the agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners, railroad and marine transport workers, and did quite a bit of organization in all of these fields, not only in North America but in Central and South America as well.

The capitalist class has large fields from which they obtain raw materials and in which they market the finished product. Two of these fields are Asia and Africa. The Industrial Workers tried hard to penetrate into Asia by every possible way. At last a way is created to get in through Soviet Russia. The Red Trade and Industrial Union International has created a connecting link with the Oriental Workers.

Revolutionary Success in East

The workers of the East did much for the World Revolution. They did their part by helping the Red Army to defeat the army of Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. They made the shores of the Black Sea darkest black for the enemy. Not only did they annihilate the enemies without, but they also overpowered and crushed the bourgeoisie within their own boundaries.

While their brother proletarians in Finland, in Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary were compelled to be separated from Soviet Russia and subjected to untold torture and persecutions the workers of the East established Soviet after Soviet and became an integral part of the glorious workers' republic. Look at the map. Tartaria, Bashkria, Caucasia, Kirghizia, Turkestan, Bokhara, Khiva, Afghanistan, Persia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia—all of these vast and productive countries are now Soviet governed by the workers of the East.

Some time ago they held a Trade Union Congress at Baku. 1800 delegates represented them, proclaiming officially their loyalty and solidarity to the working class of all the world. Only a few months ago there was convened another congress of 1200 delegates of the women of the East. They also declared their revolutionary loyalty and solidarity. Thus they became real strength for Soviet Russia.

Geography of the Near East

Asiatic Turkey is a peninsula washed by five seas. It comprises Asia Minor, Syria, Palestina,

Arabia and Mesopotamia in an area of about 650,000 square miles. Its distinctive features are: a series of high plateaus in the interior, sloping from 2000 feet at the western edge to over 4000 feet towards the eastern border; several mountain ranges traverse the region longitudinally rising in the north to over 8000 feet and in the south to over 10,000 feet. There is a deeply indented western coast line with a fringe of protecting islands and, with deep gulfs affording plenty of harbors.

In contrast, the bleak north coast on the Black Sea has few harbors and no islands, while the southern coast is marked by a broad bay and a deep gulf and a number of landlocked harbors. The rivers, though numerous, are of no great importance, and only a few are navigable for a short distance from their mouths. Along the course of the rivers vegetation is rich, aided by alluvial deposits to the soil, brought down by the streams as they pass through mountain gorges.

Lack of Modern Machines

Asiatic Turkey has no transportation facilities. The highways are in bad condition. Only the west has limited railways and the mileage of all existing railroads is not much over 2000 miles. Lack of transportation facilities leaves the country in a primitive agricultural state.

With the introduction of proper methods of cultivation and modern farming implements, the land is capable of producing many times more than that which is now raised. For example, take the Moosh plains. While these plains are wonderfully productive and rich in soil and climate for raising crops of all kinds and every acre is fit for cultivation, yet no more than one-third is cultivated. The method for breaking up the new ground is slow.

A wooden plow on wheels is used to which often eight or ten yoke of oxen or buffalo are hitched, with a man sitting on the yoke of each team and a man behind to guide the plow. Each furrow turns so slowly that the amount plowed each week would not equal a few hours' work with an up-to-date plow and a strong team of horses. Then, the furrows are never very deep.

Resources

This plain which is located in the Kharput and Moosh provinces is a place of much industrial importance because of great mineral and agricultural resources. The river of Iris (Yeshilimak) and its branches flow through this region and water the picturesque vineyards and gardens which fill up this plain. It is a most fertile plain, densely inhabited, which yields very rich crops of grain and cotton. Besides, it produces barley, rice, tobacco, opium, silk, linseed, fruit, butter, wool and mohair.

Its mineral resources are great. The famous copper mines of Afghan Maaden and the silver mines of Kaban Maaden are in this district. Next is the Cilician plain. This plain is watered by three rivers: Saihun, Jihan and Berdanjaj which spring from the Taurus, Anti-Taurus and Amanus mountains.

It has been estimated that there are in the lower plains of Cilicia 800 square miles of cultivable land, all stoneless, alluvial soil. Between the lower plain and the mountains lies another tract of country composed of shallow valleys and low, rolling hills containing 600 square miles. There is no richer soil in all the world than that of the lower plain, and besides this 1400 square miles there are great tracts of country in the foothills of the mountains at present neglected or covered by forest.

There is a great production of cotton, a large proportion of it, ginned, spun and woven right on the spot, and part in raw products exported to Europe. Besides cotton, Cilicia produces wheat, sugar cane, barley, oats, Indian corn and sesame.

Fruit of infinite variety and fine quality is grown in great quantities. There can be noticed a considerable quantity of modern machinery, such as ginning machines, spindles and weaving looms. Several flour mills and a good many steam and gas engines, also, pumps and a few thousand reaping machines, steam ploughs and threshing machines are to be seen.

Invasion of Machines Begins

Twenty years ago it was customary for 70,000 agricultural workers to visit Cilicia annually for the purpose of assisting with the harvest. They came from all parts of the northern mountains within a range of 200 miles of Aduna and returned to their homes after three or four months of work with sufficient money to keep them in home necessities for the rest of the year. This annual migration has ceased within the last few years, because the resident population, aided by steam ploughs, steam threshers, and reaping machines are now able to undertake the labor themselves. One horse drawn reaping machine, which can be purchased for 75 dollars is said to do the work of forty men.

Next comes the vast tract of land of Konia, in size about 10,000 square miles, which is irrigated by a canal cut from the Lake of Bayshekir to Shumla near Konia. This land yields huge quantities of wheat, cotton and flax. 40 miles north of the city exists a large salt lake (Tuz-go!) which supplies the necessary salt and on the eastern shore of the same lake in the ridge of Khodja-day coal and iron ore of excellent quality crop up at a dozen points in totally neglected abundance.

The Cradle of Civilization

Next is Mesopotamia. This land lies between two rivers—the Euphrates and the Tigris. Sir William Willcocks estimates the land which can be irrigated as 6,000,000 acres which will yield annually 2,000,000 tons of wheat and 1,000,000 hundred-weight of cotton and a fabulous quantity of other products. His proposed scheme of construction divides the works into six divisions.

One of the divisions, the Hindu branch of the Euphrates was completed in 1913 and was in suc-

cessful operation. From Bagdad through Bussora down to the Persian Gulf, the land is very rich—all alluvial. The chief product of this district is dates. It is the general opinion that this product alone is as high as 100,000 tons a year. Other products are wheat, barley, rice, fowls, drugs, wool, dressed lamb skins, hides, gum, bitumen, coal, carpets, ebony combs and saltpetre.

The western and northern part of the peninsula is very fruitful, producing an immense quantity of figs, raisins and tobacco. The province of Trebizond exports nuts, beans and tobacco. Amasia is famous for its apples, Castamoni for its prunes, Tocat for its pears and grapes, Sivas for its honey and Diarbeku for its large melons which attain to so large a size that as a rule two melons form a mule load. Silk cultivation is extensive in the provinces of Brusa, Smyrna, Amasiz, Kharput and Sivas. The province of Brussa also exports opium, gum and grain, but its great staple is the long, silky fleece—first class tiftik or mohair, the produce of a famous breed of goats that feeds the mills of Bradford and Norwich in England.

The Wool and Mohair

What is known as the Angora clip includes the produce of Beybazar, Argash, Geredeh, Boli, Castamoni, Eski-Shehir, Sivri-Hissar and other neighboring districts. The best hair comes from Beybazar, the second quality from Argash, and only the third from Angora itself. The finest quality is obtained from the first clip of the kid in its second year, the next best from the wether, and the worst of all from the male. Goats fed in woody and mountainous districts lose the best fleece, but the clip of those pastured in the plains, while shorter and less silky, is all gathered at the clipping.

Fruits and Timber

The western coast contains also olive orchards and vineyards that produce much olive oil and wine. They ship to Europe many goat hides and sheep skins, and as for fur—there are mink, fox, rabbit, wolf and bear skins. The number of date trees at Bussorah and in the immediate neighborhood is said to be no fewer than 8,000,000, all lining the river to a depth of three miles beyond which on either hand the country is desert.

One-tenth of Asia Minor is covered with forests. In the neighborhood of many of the villages of Castamoni, Trebizond and Van districts is found a considerable quantity of Circassian walnut timber, some of the trunks being of enormous size upon which are knotty growths that make them of great value. Cedar trees grow there which are remarkable for the durability and fragrance of their wood. Oak, hickory and similar hard woods are found in large numbers. The lumber workers use the water wheels only in sawing the logs into boards. No steam power is used. Planing, ripping, squaring, joining—all these are done by hand tools with the application of man power.

Mining

Asia Minor is very rich in minerals, coal, anthracite, copper, silver, chrome, antimony, zinc, sulphur, emery stone, marble, porphyry, amianthus, iron, lignite, manganese, lead, salt, salpêtre and meerchaum. Absence of railroads and lack of modern processes of production hinders and in many localities makes the working of the mines impossible, and yet some mines are so rich that they have been working them for thousands of years.

For instance, take the Kaban-Maaden of Kharput—a silver mine which has been worked for a long time and produces 30 pounds of silver daily. Or take the Arghana-Maaden at Taurus mountain—a copper mine which has been worked in a rude way for thousands of years and is known to be one of the most valuable in the world. It produces 750,000 dollars in ore per month. The ore is smelted at Tocat in Iris (Yeshillimak).

The industry of this town is the production of copper utensils wrought out of the metal mined in the Arghana Maaden. Merchaum mines of Eskishir are the largest producers in the whole world. Half way between Diarbekie and Kharput extensive copper deposits are in existence that are being worked in three places to some extent. Other copper deposits are known to exist but they are not developed or have ceased working. For instance, half way between Castamoni and Ineboli is a place called Kuri containing a copper mine which was supplying the workmen at Castamoni for a long time with metal. The workers fashioned copper utensils and shipped them all over the land. In later years, finding the American-made copper cheaper than the local product, they commenced to buy American copper, consequently the miners closed down the mines.

That shows in itself that metal mine workers of America with the modern process of production can produce many times more than their fellow miners in backward localities.

Now let us take in the iron region. It commences in the middle of the Black Sea coast range and extends beyond the lake Van. In some places iron ore of such richness and purity has been struck that the blacksmiths of the villages have been using it for years in their work without having it smelted. In those mountains, there is no end of lead, zinc, and other minerals. It is said that during the insurrection, the revolutionists secured all their bullets from some wonderfully rich lead deposits in the neighborhood of Van.

In the neighborhood of Bitlis is a sulphur mine and two days out of Bitlis is an immense marble deposit jutting out of the mountain—not only white, but dark red, green and black.

Coal, Salt and Oil

Then take the coal deposits: They are of unlimited extent and can be found everywhere and the quality of the coal is said to be as fine as that of Cardiff. In the province of Castamoni is a coal

mine which is called Zongauldak, 30 miles inland. It gives a considerable amount of coal and is easily worked.

In the same province is a place of much importance by its salt mountains, the name of the place being Kiangre. When they are idle, the transport workers of the land (caravans) hit this mountain and load up their freight animals with the salt and distribute it throughout the country.

As for oil—there is a very large oil territory in the neighborhood of Mosul, in the valley of the Tigris, which has been known for centuries. As long ago as the reign of Alexander the Great the people used the seepage for lubricating purposes, for liniments and for fuel. Petroleum is, for the present, the most important of the raw materials. Reconnoissance of the oil fields has been conducted by the agents of the Standard Oil Co., and by British officials. The results have not been made public, but enough is known to lead to the belief that extensive deposits may yet be revealed by deep drilling. The oil fields on the extreme southeast, in or near Persia, have been largely developed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. In fact, it may be said that the control of these valuable deposits was one of the many causes of the late European war.

Eastern Spirit

It is only a matter of time for the people of this rich land to become Industrial Workers. They are the ones who will complete the Revolution. The eastern workers know the blessings of industrial machine production, but, unlike the western workers, they do not tolerate the capitalist. They hate to see the parasitic class rolling in luxury while they, the producers, are at the point of starvation.

This is a thing they cannot bear. The solidarity of the people of the East does not easily permit them to suffer their fellow man to starve. The guiding spirit is: An injury to one is an injury to all. In case of calamity, or of famine, they starve all, without exception. They possess great patience and long endurance.

Industrializing the Revolution

One thing they need to learn from the West, and that is how to produce on a big scale, collectively, with the use of modern machinery. This knowledge they do not possess but can gain through Soviet Russia. When these people undertake that, then the abolition of the wage system will be an accomplished fact. The feasibility of this plan depends on the possibility of constructing machine factories owned and controlled by the Workers' Republic. Then the raw material can be switched into workers' factories and supply these people with the finished goods.

It is my opinion that this will be one of the keys which will unlock the gates of the western penitentiaries and liberate our fellow workers from where they have been incarcerated so long.

Need Skilled Workers

This extension of the machine production cannot be fulfilled by the parasites, nor by the politicians—this is a task for the Industrial Workers of the World. Every rebel scientist, chemist, electrician, engineer, mechanic, and industrial technician—the workers who know something of the management of industries should volunteer and go to the land of Soviets and register his actual service in the construction of the proletarian civilization. For where your work is, there will your heart be also.

Hear what Tom Barker says: "And I tell you that you can fight the American boss from Russia, by building a proletarian civilization that will demonstrate to the workers of the whole world how stupid they are to tolerate the wage system in capitalist countries. Industrial Unionism is coming into its own in Soviet Russia.

"In this country every ton of iron ore and every extra truck of coal is a nail in the coffin of capitalism."

Fellow workers! Let us set aside our selfishness and let us fight for solidarity and welcome every sacrifice for the Union. Let us give comfort to each other and mitigate the severe persecution. Is there any other thing, sweeter, nobler and more honored than service which is rendered for the welfare of the working class? Let us enforce whole-heartedly the edicts and dictates of the pro-

letarian class. Let us have a universal, unified society which will be the result of a standardized system of production all over the world.

The Modern View

The biggest men of all the East—Socrates, Aristotle, Aristonicus, Eunus, Spartacus, Jesus—were all praying and fighting for the abolition of division lines and were delivering beautiful speeches during their love-feasts, and at their common tables, for the unification of thought and the ennoblement and enlightenment of all mankind. The biggest men of the whole West—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Haywood, Debs, Thompson, McKinnan, Doran and others delivered lengthy speeches and wrote scientific books, above all they fostered and participated in working class action.

Working class action is now the order of the day. Getting the facts of industry and laying out plans for that action is the absorbing task of the moment. That the workers of the east will take up the task of industrial organization is assured. They are already on the job.

Long live the working class of the West! Long live the workers of the East! Long live the Red Trade and Industrial Union International! One world, one mode of production. One great Union of all the workers. Long live the Industrial Workers of the World!

A Volunteer on the Siberian Front

By John Korpi

WE WERE on board the "Rose City" whose destination was Portland, Oregon. We had just pierced the thick wall of smoke, mist and dust from the city of San Francisco and were passing through the Golden Gate. The weather was ideal, such as can exist only in California.

The brownish mountains rising to either side of the ship loomed threateningly like mountain lions watching the unknown dangers of the glowing West. With the exception of one passenger, everyone on the boat was admiring these powerful-looking masses of earth. This one's gaze was fixed on some other distant object.

He attracted my attention for the reason that he appeared very discontent, staring into space, with his hands shoved into the pockets of a dyed United States army overcoat. Then he leaned against the railing. Slowly he raised his arm and pointed toward the brownish-red West. I could plainly see the tears chase each other down his youthful cheeks. Seeking for an opportunity to speak to him, I soon received one.

At once I noticed that he was very reticent, and was slow to speak of himself. It took some time

before I gained his confidence. He told me he had been fighting in Siberia.

I inquired how it was that he, being so young, was taken into the army and sent to Siberia. "Like all the other Americans I was the victim of mad patriotism," he answered. "If you had been in Portland during 1917 or thereafter, all that you could have heard would have been cheering for war and patriotism. This spirit prevailed in the churches, newspapers, schools, theaters, on the streets, in the work shops and everywhere."

"I was nineteen when the bolshevik revolution in Russia took place. At that time a systematic campaign was carried on in America in opposition to Soviet Russia. In the winter of 1918 the cry, "The Bolsheviki are the allies of the Kaiser," echoed everywhere and in addition to this there was the general belief that these bolsheviki are brutes and destroyers of all civilization, the corruptors of the family, the annihilators of property..."

"My blood began to boil against these outlaws, having heard and read this kind of news. I wished that I was older that I might fight.

"It turned out that during that winter volunteers

were called for to go into Siberia. I made application and was accepted."

I asked him to relate what he saw there and what he knew of the bolsheviki.

"Oh, my God, if I could make you and the rest of the workers understand what I saw, suffered and endured on the Siberian front during the twenty months that I was there, it would be sufficient to cause the working classes of the whole world to rise and fight for bolshevism."

Suddenly he stopped speaking, took me by the arm and said, "Come with me to my wife and little son. There I shall tell you more."

Their stateroom was the cheapest they could get. In it sat a girlish Russian mother, nursing the little tot. My friend introduced himself and his wife saying, "I am W. J. Turnbow and this is my wife." I received a hearty handshake and at the same time she put an eager question to me: "Do you speak Russian?" But before I could answer, she continued, "That doesn't make any difference. I have learned to speak English."

"Oh, now I see," I remarked, "You have found a little wife for yourself on the Siberian front. Is she a bolshevik as well as a Russian?"

"Yes, she is the daughter of a peasant in the province of Omsk. It is they whom we should thank for the fact that we remained alive, for they furnished us food and shelter. They became our best friends. Oh yes, my wife is a bolshevik like all the rest of the workers and peasants in Omsk, and I must confess that in spite of the deficient school system of Siberia, my wife possesses more knowledge than I have although I am the product of the American, ultra-patriotic public school."

We talked of schools and the eagerness for learning that is found among the Russian workers. When we got round to the story of Siberian campaigns Turnbow said, "I am sorry that I cannot remember everything in sufficient detail. I think that it was in April 1918 that we were transported to Vladivostok. Upon arriving there we were placed in miserable barracks which had been constructed for temporary use only. The officers reported to us that any moment we might expect an uprising instigated by the bolsheviki. Every imaginable scheme was used to retain and build up in us a counter-revolutionary spirit.

"The Russian workers treated us very kindly. From them we received food and shelter and whatever we needed. They became our good friends who tried to do their all to get us to understand that they had nothing against us and America. This is what they always told us: 'Let us settle our own difficulties in Russia. We do not wish to disrupt the peace of other countries... All we want is bread, land and freedom... He who does not work should not eat.' They would say, 'You are the sons of American workers, don't raise your guns against your fellow workers... Don't shoot us.'

We got hold of leaflets explaining the Russian Soviets. They were printed in many languages.

In these leaflets the Russian workers most sympathetically appealed to the proletariat of the whole world to cease this war against the working class of Russia.

"In June 1918 a detachment of American, Canadian, French and English soldiers arrived in Vladivostok. It appears that there was a common agreement among these different nations that each send 8000 troops, except Canada who sent 3000 men. At this time there were something like 70,000 Japanese soldiers in Siberia.

"The capitalists of the whole world allied themselves to overthrow Russia, and at the same time the revolutionary workers of the world began an open as well as a secret defense in behalf of Soviet Russia. This sentiment spread rapidly and universally. It penetrated even among those soldiers who were taken to murder the defenders of Soviet Russia. Those of us American soldiers who were on the Siberian front became the warmest friends of the bolsheviki, instead of becoming their enemies.

"The first bloody act which we saw was in Vladivostok, during the last days of June 1918. The "white" troops of Semenov and the "death battalion" of the Japanese horribly murdered people in great numbers. The object of this slaughtering was the disposing of every active supporter of Soviet Russia that was in Vladivostok at that time.

"How well I remember the horrors of that night! I saw how the Japanese soldiers rushed into the homes of the peaceful Russians, tortured and slaughtered them by the hundreds; all were killed whom they suspected of being delegates to the Soviet. The funeral processions of those Russian workers will long be remembered by the surviving Russian workers as the "red funeral."

"This funeral took place on July 4th, 1918. In spite of all the opposition by the military officials, early that morning the peasants and workers were crowding the streets of Vladivostok. Seventeen thousand workers marched in the funeral procession, singing their revolutionary funeral songs.

The Russian soldiers whose duty it was to disband the funeral processions, upon arriving at the cemetery and seeing the large number of workers and peasants there, refused to interfere with the funeral and announced their unity with the revolutionaries. At once a large number of them with their arms and ammunition joined the red army. A new workers' and peasants' soviet was formed at the graves of their fellows.

"This act jarred the prejudiced patriotism of us "American Volunteers." We saw the innocent workers murdered... Was it to commit like violence upon those innocent workers that we were taken into Siberia?... We talked and sought an answer to this question.

"Kolchak's government was declared the "All-Russian" government in October 1918. Kalmikoff, Rosanoff and Semenov acted as agents of Kolchak. We Americans were taken there to guard the rail-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

roads under the control of the Japanese and Kolchak—therefore indirectly to conduct war against Soviet Russia.

"We were transferred frequently and so, in the winter of 1919, the division that I was in was transferred to Omsk. There we met unexpected suffering and horror. There were no houses for the soldiers and the peasants sternly refused to take any into their homes. Frequently snowdrifts were the beds of the Kolchak soldiers. The American troops were in a favored position. We had good, warm clothes, and the peasants knew that the United States had not declared war against Soviet Russia. (They did not know of the secret scheming), and so these peasants, wherever it was possible, made room for us. I and several other American boys lived at the home of a peasant; here we received whatever he had; but the peasants did their best to inform us what they knew of bolshevism...

"Frequently we got into a conversation with prisoners of the World War that were brought to the Siberian front. They were in a pitiable condition. For years they had fought either on the eastern or the western fronts, or on the Italian front, where they had already suffered.

"Having been taken war prisoners they had to further experience the horrors of the prison camp... After all this they were dragged to the Siberian front, where there was little left of them. They were covered with rags held together by bloody, dirty bandages... With all our strength we tried to help them. Many of these poor devils were shot by the French because they would not fight the Russian workers.

Turnbow paused, then went on with the recital of his own tale:

"We heard that war prisoners of the various nations that were taken to the Siberian front numbered about as follows: 5000 Germans, 100,000 from the Austrian Empire, 90,000 Hungarians, 15,000 Turks and 2000 Bulgarians. This makes a total of 212,000 prisoners who were distributed to the various parts of Siberia to fight the Soviet Red Army.

The desire for battle, in this kind of an army, was entirely exhausted by misery and despondency, and very frequently there was suicide among their numbers. Many wounded themselves so that they would not be able to fight the red army. In large numbers they surrendered to the red army, as well as deserted their own companies and went over to the reds.

"In the winter of 1919, while I was in Omsk, Kolchak's government began to conscript all the men from 18 years up. At the same time it also conscripted all the cattle, grain and means of transportation. This was the death blow to the bloody government of Kolchak, for it caused all the peasants throughout Siberia to plot for the overthrowing of the Kolchak government.

"Instead of the young men and the workers surrendering themselves to the Kolchak government, they formed red guard divisions throughout the whole of Siberia, and began secretly to plan with the Soviets for the overthrow of Kolchak.

"The Omsk government was overthrown in the fall of 1919. The armies of Kolchak, the allies, and Japan retreated to Irkutsk. My wife and I were moved with them. There we saw the red



A Group of Siberian Students Under Protection of American Troops

army display unparalleled bravery. Much inferior in arms and numbers to the Japanese forces, the red army attacked the Japanese and drove them out of Irkutsk and took possession of the whole territory.

"The American soldiers were taken prisoners by the reds, but we were set free because we did not take part, nor did we desire to take part in the slaughtering of the workers. The officers of the red army gave us their protection.

"Because of the advance made by the red army, we were forced into Habarovsk where, on the 31st of January, 1920, took place that famous Tripitsin attack upon the Japanese. Tripitsin was a young, learned and powerful Russian revolutionist who was among the last of the exiles of the Czar's government.

"He became probably the best known and most able leader of the Siberian red army. He chose for his staff five young revolutionists, none of them over 23 years of age, who, like himself, had been banished from Russia because of their revolutionary ideas. One of them was a young writer who later became one of the commissars in the province of Chita, Nina Lebedeva. I have a picture of her in which she appears to be still a young girl.

"The red troops carried on surprising guerilla warfare in which individual bravery and strength were manifested which created fear and horror in the Japanese ranks. A large number of Japanese troops fell here. In this manner they seized a bit at a time until they had cleaned out the Kolchak army and the Japanese for 500 miles north and west of Amur, and until they finished their work by capturing Vladivostok.

"Upon our arrival at Vladivostok, the reds had captured the city and were in power there. The workers sent their committees to the American army officials to learn their attitude toward the workers' socialist republic.

"These officials were unable to give a definite answer, for were not the plans of the Morgan trust for the exploitation of Russia defeated? Siberia was now in the hands of the peasants' red army; besides, the red army had become a favorite of the American soldiers.

"The representatives of the workers told us: 'We are not hostile toward America, nor toward the American workers; nor do we wish to disturb the American soldiers. We want peace and we want to settle our own affairs here in Siberia. We know that the Japanese army is preparing for an attack upon Vladivostok. Do not join them.' Our officers promised neutrality as before.

"It was in the first days of February 1920 that the Japanese again captured the city. They had about eight or nine thousand men which greatly outnumbered the red army. The red army was literally mowed down. In the harbor were the battle-ships of the Allies and the Japanese, and opposite to these, on a distant hill, were the cannon of the Japanese. The reds fought on the streets to pre-

vent the Japanese from entering the city. During this struggle there was a minor demonstration put on by the American soldiers. Some fled with their arms to the red army, to fight the Japs.

"Be that as it was, the Japs took the city. Over a thousand red soldiers fell in this battle. The Americans received permission to return to their camp. None of them were punished for this military crime which they had committed. This was due, possibly, to the fact that there could be found no one to pass or execute a sentence. The American "volunteers" had become "reds," and were ready to prevent this sentence. . . . But not one newspaper mentioned one word about this.

"At the same time that the American invasion of Siberia ended, also ended the activity of the expeditionary forces in Murmansk and Archangel. On February 15th we were taken aboard ships and were informed that we were on our way home. We surely were in our glory, and shouted for happiness. We did not care to see any more of the miseries of Siberia. There were 1200 of us, of whom 80 were negroes. Many besides myself had made the acquaintance of Russian women. We had along with us over a hundred women who were the wives of soldiers.

At this time of the year the harbor of Vladivostok is frozen over with thick ice, therefore it was necessary for an icebreaker to make a passage for us, and we made slow progress. The heating system of the ship was in bad order, so the women were forced into closed holds without any bedding to sleep on, without heat and with very little food, thereby suffering from cold and hunger. Bitterly we discovered that the hatred for bolshevism still existed in the officers, even on our supposed homeward journey. We were not permitted to see or care for our wives. We were told: 'What do you care for these d— prostitutes. Let them rot in their vomiting and dirt in the hold of the ship. Then the bolsheviks will make a good feast for the fish.'

"But we had suffered enough to take steps to protect ourselves and our wives. Quickly an alliance was formed, many of the negroes joined. We took the following notice to our officials: 'If the wives



Homeward Bound

of the soldiers are not given better care, more food and heat before 10 A. M., we shall be prepared to take control of the ship ourselves.' We got what we asked for, and the officials did not dare to start any kind of investigation regarding this demand.

"The soldiers and their wives had to be satisfied with thin broth, beans and bones, and poor bread, while the officers ate chicken, fruit and wheat bread. We made another demand and were successful in this also. We got better food, but now we were near the landing place.

"But instead of being taken to the United States, we had been taken to the Philippines. When we were taken on land at Manila, we were separated into small groups and each group was under a guard, and these groups were returned to the United States one at a time. The group to which I belong was placed on board for San Francisco in August 1920.

"It happened that during the whole trip from Manila to Frisco, I was permitted to stay with my wife. Upon landing at Frisco, I asked for transportation to Portland, Ore., where I enlisted, but I was denied this. From my back pay \$1.50 per day was charged for the board of me and my wife, during the journey from Vladivostok to Manila—for the thin broth and bones. The officials ate chicken and dessert—it is probably for this reason that they were charged only \$1.25 per day.

"After this service of two years as a volunteer in the army of the United States, I stepped into the streets of San Francisco with my wife—penniless, ragged, without money and without work. Three weeks later, my wife gave birth to a child. Now and then I had work for a day—then further hunger and despair.

"If ever I shall get another fever for war, it will be only when I can "volunteer" into the red army of the workers."

Gary, the Home of Steel and Efficiency

By Steel Workers' Press Committee

GARY, Ind., presents to the highest degree a picture of what modern industry really is. In Gary from the time the big iron ore carriers pull alongside the docks till the finished product, steel is ready for the rolls and factory work of different machine shops, there is coordinated industrial effort.

The steady stream of material from Clamshell to Bunker through the bull dog crusher to the belt elevator and on to the charge bunkers and into the roaring greedy blast furnaces is one interdependent operation.

Each man and each department is dependent on proper functioning, on the efficient work, of all the rest. This is modern industry with its basic principle.

No one process can get along without all the other processes working in harmony. The workers in the industries have developed this vast industrial machine. The expert workmen with the aid of the unskilled have built up this wonderfully productive thing which the capitalists own and control.

Exploitation Means Misery

The reason for the misery and unemployment among the workers of Gary as well as elsewhere is because they do not control and operate the industry they have built on the same lines that they built it on. They constructed the machine from plans for the purpose of increasing efficiency and coordination in production. Today the steel trust does not allow efficiency and coordination in production because it does not bring them profits to do so.

The workers of Gary are not concerned with the profits of the steel trust. They are only concerned with getting the big working apparatus to moving so that they may work and gain the returns from honest work.

How can this be done? The Industrial Workers of the World have a plan for the operation of industry so that each industry will do its part by fitting in and working in harmony with all the rest for just one purpose—efficient production.

This plan can only be carried out by doing away with the unnecessary capitalists that only keep back production. This plan demands as a first step the formation of industrial unions.

Craft Unions

Why are craft unions useless as fighting machines against the boss in Gary? Every worker who was through the big steel strike in Gary knows why the strike failed. Craft unionism depends for its success on being recognized by the owners of industry. It depends on the power of the craft unions to make the boss recognize the union.

The steel trust is stronger than any craft unions can ever be, even when they go out on strike together. The failure of the steel workers' fight was because of insufficient support by the rest of the unions. There was no coordination of effort on the part of the A. F. of L. to help the striking steel workers.

The I. W. W. Way

In union methods as well as in industrial processes we must have each part coordinating its action with all the other parts in order to get re-

sults. Craft unions do not do this. There is no true centralization.

Gary must organize itself along the same lines that the industry functions on. All the workers in the steel mills must be organized in one union. The technical men, the chemists that test the ore and determine what amount of each sort of material should go into the charge, all of the useful workers in the plant, whether salaried or paid by the hour, should be worked on to join the union.

Gary alone cannot beat the steel trust. The workers in the whole industry must be organized on the same industrial lines as Gary before anything can be done that spells success. We do not have to fight for recognition from the boss. We don't want the recognition of the boss. We are concerned with getting enough power on the job so that we can get along without recognizing the boss ourselves. We organize the men on the job whether the boss likes it or not.

If a strike fails to get results we go back to work and carry the strike right on to the job with us. A fifty per cent organization in any industry by the I. W. W. gives us control of that industry so far as the boss is concerned.

Controlling one industry is not sufficient. We must control and centralize all the industries into one big union of the workers. Then when steel workers strike there will be behind their efforts enough power not only to win concessions from the boss but to put him out of business altogether.

Gary Today

Today the workers of Gary are working two and three days a week. This is the record of the men who have jobs. The ones without work have not even this much occupation. Capitalists won't allow the industries to function. They won't open up the plant because they cannot make profits from the work you want to put in. They will cheerfully let you starve rather than run the plant without profits.

Checks issued August tenth showed that the

average wage for two weeks for those employed was from fifteen to twenty dollars. The prices of commodities necessary for life are maintained at a high level. Rents are exorbitant. Food bought by parasites from toiling farmers as cheaply as possible is sold at high rates. Gary is in the strangling grip of capitalism.

There is but one way out of the misery that is bearing down on every steel worker. That way is to organize the steel workers whether they are employed or not and when the organization is strong enough lock out the bosses in the biggest and last steel strike in the history of the world.

Dangers in Disorganization

To attempt this before the organization of the workers is complete would be the greatest folly. We must have enough of the working class organized and enough industries under our control so that there need be no break down in the industrial life of the country. The great danger to the working class in this industrial country is in being unprepared. You know that when the giant cranes are broken down the process of the making of steel is interrupted.

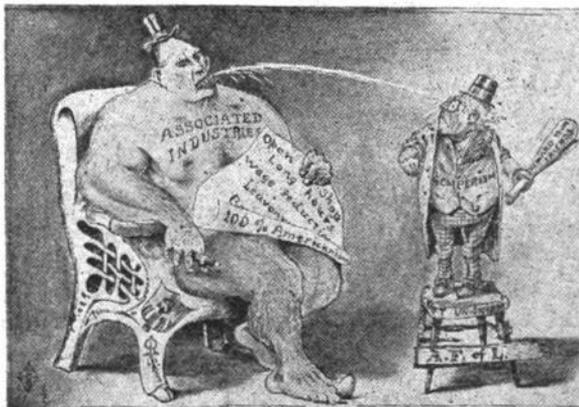
So if in the whole industrial process of the country one of the parts of the productive machine breaks down and the workers are not prepared to fix it the entire machine is liable to go to ruin.

Industrial Unionism

An industrial union, however, is the best method for fighting the daily battles with the boss. It is the best method of making unemployment less bitter for the workers. It is in the final struggle the only weapon that can be used in industry to insure the carrying on of the work of the country so that men can live.

Let us organize the steel mills of Gary worker by worker so that, when the hour of battle comes again, we will know our strength and the masters can be set out in the cold.

Let us make Gary a stronghold of steel and industrial union efficiency.



Gompers' Reward

MUST IT BE EVER THUS ?

THE people of this world are generally accredited with growing a forelock of wool for the special use of spell binders, who continuously pull it over their eyes. As the world has progressed along its devious route to its present glorious wage slavery this little shock of wool has been of exceptional value, first to tom-tom beating medicine men, then to numerous successive clans of mystic salvation makers, from the barterers of celestial bliss to the peddlers of protective tariffs, full dinner pails and a "workers' friend" policeman.

Among the more recent apostles of the bleached wool blinder are those sanctioning gentlemen who kept us out of war, sugar and work, but not for an instant out of jail. And the workers have fallen for it. The working class has again and again proved to be the most susceptible of all animals to the gentlemanly art of the spell hinder. It voted for one Woodrow Wilson, because he kept us out of war, and sang psalms of praise for him six months later at the delight of prospects of being plunged into the slaughterfest, to battle for the lords of creation: the money lenders.

During the war the workers adopted the war cry, "All power to the politicians," on the theory that giving the politicians power to run everything their own way without criticism would make it easier to "win the war." (?) Any form of criticism was denied as an attempt to commit treason. Even the charge that the millionaires were fattening at the public expense was greeted with cries of "pro-Germanism." Now, when these same charges of graft have been proved, the grafters weep on the shoulders of the press and get absolution, in true medieval style, for the price of a campaign contribution. But the workers, they have not been absolved. The charges which the workers put forth, against the war, against the profiteers, who mulcted the workers and soldiers, have been proved, but the workers who dared make the charges have not been set at liberty.

The workers, arrested for "obstructing the war" by telling the truth about that gigantic revel of murderous imperialism, are still in jail: not all of them, but many. Arrested and held for months, incommunicado, at the behest of spies and perjurers, they were finally tried and convicted, on specious charges, by unfair judges and jurors who boasted of their prejudice, they still lie in jail.

Fifty-five men were arrested in an unwarranted raid on the I. W. W. hall in Sacramento. Forty-four were convicted on charges which were so empty and contemptible that the workers could find no better defense against them than a contemptuous silence. They are still in jail, though there is none today who would care to try to prove their guilt.

Seventy of the victims of the Chicago trial are still in jail, on charges of obstructing the war, charges, which were hardly considered in their trial. The trial was decided on the question of the right of the workers to organize into a union whose ultimate aim was the establishment of a new form of social intercourse. Their arrest and conviction was based on the belief (so we are told) that they were dangerous to the prosecutors of the war.

Six of the workers, arrested over four years ago in the Kansas oil and harvest fields, on technical charges, are still held in Leavenworth.

There are many hundreds arrested in this same era of war hysteria who still lay rotting in the jails of this "free country!" The profiteers who have been proven guilty of plundering the government, of hindering the progress of the war for their pockets' sake, have never been threatened with jail. The spies and dynamiters, proven agents of the enemy of the government in the war have been turned loose. Only the industrial prisoners remain. It is time some effort was made to get them out. A general drive for amnesty must be made, and made so effectively that it will take effect.

The smug, capitalistic politicians who have hoodwinked the workers with promises, must be made to realize that their promises have some binding value. The republicans promised a restoration of civil liberties. Let them restore these men to the outdoor air, let them restore the right of the people to free speech and freedom of opinion. If they do not, let us make them realize that there are some people in the world who believe in those rights. Let us make them see that we can take those rights, those rights that have been fought for before now.

The capitalist politicians are liars, spell binders, hypocritically seeking power to do the will of capitalism, and the only way to secure the restoration of those fundamental rights for which our forefathers fought, is to bring pressure, effective pressure to bear, till the workers are released and the rights of the workers are restored.

September 4th is amnesty day. Organize to make demonstrations on that day which the bosses will remember. On that day manifest the strength of the movement for amnesty, and let the masters see that we want our people out of jail, and want no more put there. It is high time the hypocrites were called, and some definite assurance obtained that the workers have the right to live, and carry on their plans for the future in this country, and in all countries.

All together, fellow workers! Make September 4th the day for amnesty to all who suffer for us in prison!

General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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