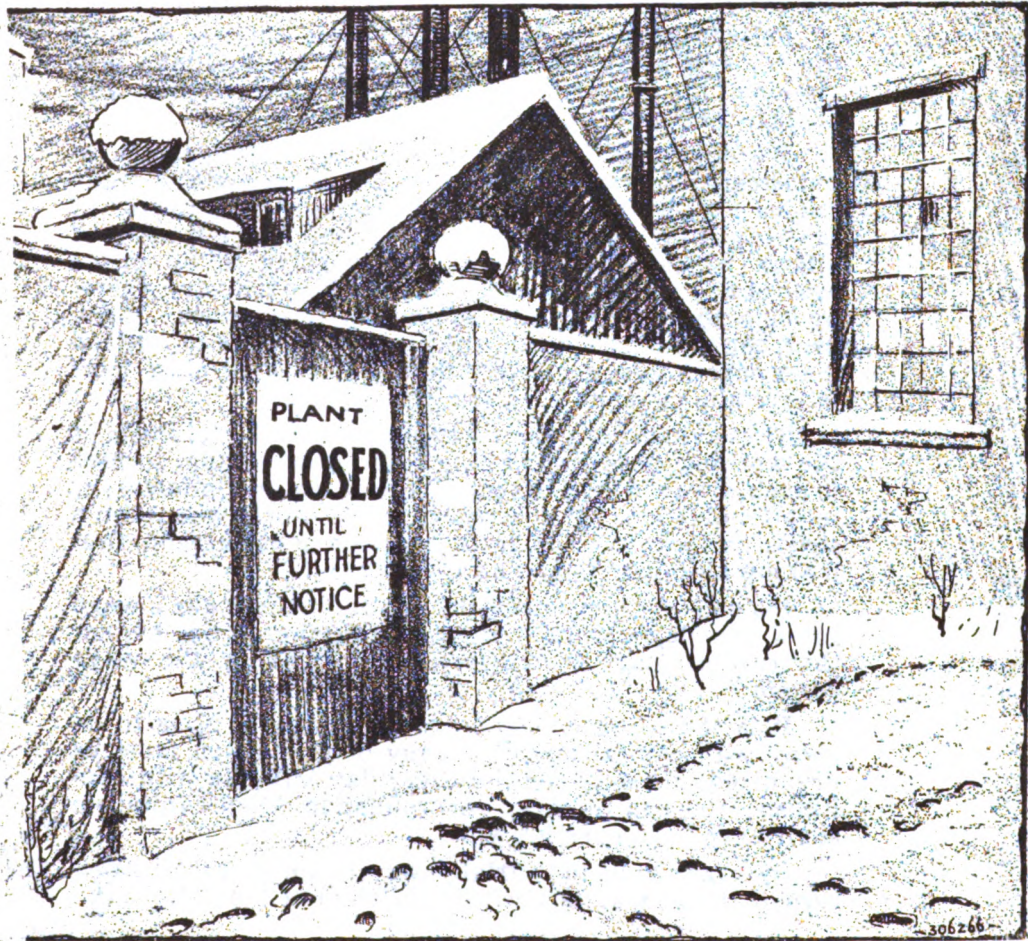


The One Big Union Monthly



THE FOOTSTEPS IN THE SNOW

TWENTY FIVE CENTS



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

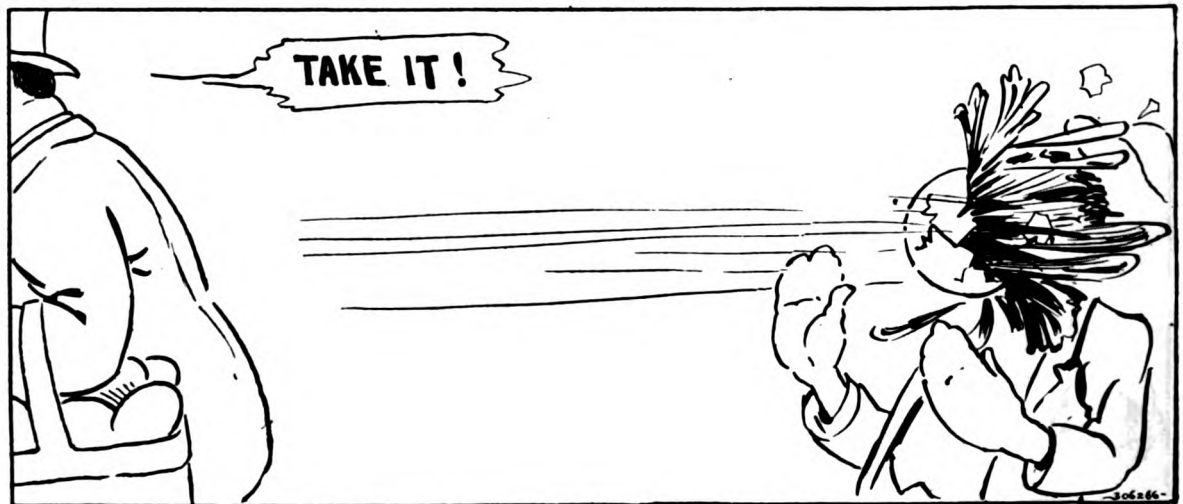




INDEX

	Page
The Footsteps in the Snow. Cartoon by Geo. W. Pardee.....	1
I. W. W. Preamble	2
A Choice Between Bad Eggs.....	4
EDITORIALS:	
The Elections and the I. W. W.....	5
Wrangel and the Bolsheviks.....	8
A Letter from Bolshevik Prisons. Photo.....	9
The English Coal Strike and the Press Censorship.....	11
The Industrial International.....	12
Shell Out! Cartoon by Dust.....	11
Socialists and Syndicalists in Italy. By G. Cannata	13
Things That Count in the Proletarian Revolution. By Jack Gaveel.....	16
Farewell to Ivy Hills. Poem by Burton Lewis.....	21
Go Organize Your Brother! Song by J. E. Nordquist.....	21
Woman's Struggle for Emancipation. By Mabel Kanka.....	22
Radekalismus Children Sicken of Communism. By M. Kaminiev.....	24
Efficiency in the Lumber Industry. By Joe Brennan.....	28
The Future of the Marine Transport Industry. By Tom Barker.....	29
The Workingman	30
He Grows the Apples and He Eats the Cores. Cartoon by Eff Jay.....	30
Shop Organization in the Metal and Machinery Industry. With chart by Fred Bowerman	31
A Voice from the Scrap Heap. By an Agricultural Slave.....	34
The Moscow Move for an Industrial International.....	35
Labor and the Up-to-date Pest Dispenser. Cartoon by Eff Jay	40
The One Big Union of Canada. By P. G. Anderson and C. G. Currie.....	41
The Possibilities of Unity. By Canadian.....	42
The Throw-Back. By Canadian.....	43
Studies in Red. By Card No. 247770.....	44
In Sunshine Land. By Robert Dunbar.....	44
The "Jerry." Verse by George Sutherland.....	45
The Prostitute. Verse by Nona Tatum Ziegler.....	46
In Movie Town. Verse by Sam Slingsby.....	46
Fall in Line. Verse by J. A. Stromquist.....	47
My Nearest Approach to Death. By Quasimodo von Belvedere. With the author's picture	48
The Referendum on the Third International. With resolutions.....	49
The Coming Industrial International. By E. W. Latchem.....	50
Dawn of the Industrial Age. By Covington Ami.....	52
General Strike in Roumania. By J. Wagner.....	53
An Appeal for Action from Hungary.....	55
The Mexican I. W. W.....	57
No I. W. W. Delegate at Moscow.....	57
The Foodstuff Workers. By Mabel Kanka.....	58
The Future of the I. W. W. A statement from Butte.....	59
The Defense Situation. By John Martin.....	60
General Headquarter's Bulletin.....	61
Special Meeting of the General Executive Board.....	62
Two Interesting Books.....	63
I. W. W. Publications.....	64





A CHOICE BETWEEN BAD EGGS

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

Subscription price, \$2.50 per year; 25 cents per copy; bundle orders, 15 cents per copy, non-returnable; express charges "collect".

Address subscriptions, business communications and remittances to **The One Big Union Monthly**, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

The Elections and the I. W. W.

When the election was over the daily papers published a map of the United States, on which the states with a democratic majority were printed in black while the others were left white.

It was a most startling map.

The Democrats had lost everything except a narrow fringe along part of the Mexican border, the Mexican Gulf and the Atlantic Coast as far up as Virginia.

While all of this area falls within the boundaries of the old slave states and the Confederacy, it does not cover all the Confederate territory.

It is to be remembered that in large parts of this territory the workers, who are mainly Negroes, are being robbed of their right to vote through intimidation and terrorism. So the black fringe represents mainly the will of the old slave owners, their descendants and the "poor white trash."

That is all the backing behind the Wilson administration, behind Attorney General Palmer and his unscrupulous Department of "Justice," behind mail-"confiscating" Burleson, behind the self-styled 100% Americanism hypocritically flaunted by this administration and the profiteers who have flourished under its reign.

The administration of the "Great Humanitarian" Wilson steps down and out in a whirlwind of corruption and infamy, failure and disgrace. Its fundamental policies, such as the 14 points and the League of Nations, the policies for which the country was dragged into war, are repudiated.

Further, the whole administration is under the shadow of the accusation for gross thievery, neglect and incompetence. Just as we are writing this the press comes out

with a head liner announcing that TWO BILLIONS of dollars have been lost, strayed or stolen while passing through the hands of the Shipping Board. The books fail to show where they went to. The explanation offered is that "the accounting system broke down" ! (Bank cashiers who are "short," please take notice.)

The Hearst papers and other papers are daily nagging that a billion dollars were stolen on the air craft program. And they are not prosecuted for slandering the government.

We have no interest in common with the capitalist press, but when they occasionally tell the truth about one another we feel that we can refer to these papers.

From the "Kansas City Star" we take the liberty to quote the following indictment of the Wilson-Palmer-Burleson-McAdoo regime:

WHY WE WENT TO WAR

A Few Facts Very Much Worth Consideration

Do you know the government spent from 1917 to 1920 36 billion 818 million dollars?

Do you know the total appropriations from 1789 to 1917 were only 40 billions?

Do you know from 1917 to 1920 the government collected in taxes 13 billion 99 million dollars and borrowed 24 billion?

Do you know that the government spent 150 million dollars building port terminals at Charleston, Norfolk and other places from which not a single ship sailed during the war?

Do you know the government spent 20 million dollars building a terminal up the river from Charleston which ships could not reach because the river was too shallow to float them?

Do you know that the government spent 120 million dollars building nitrate plants, but did not produce a pound of nitrate for use in the war?

Do you know the government spent 100 million dollars on tanks, powder plants, none of which produced any of the powder used in the war?

Do you know the government spent 100 million dollars on tanks, but that the first American tank reached France after the armistice?

Do you know the government spent one billion dollars on shells, but that only 17,000 American made shells reached our forces in France—about ten minutes' supply?

Do you know the government spent 117 million dollars on gas, but that not a single American made gas shell was fired by the American forces in France?

Do you know the government spent 478 million dollars on guns, but that only seventy-two American made guns reached our forces at the front?

Do you know the government spent 7 million dollars on a naval training camp in Virginia after the armistice was signed?

Do you know the government spent 70 million dollars on a powder plant at Nitro, W. Va., and sold it for 8 million?

Do you know the government spent 100 million dollars for a nitrate plant at Mussel Shoals, Ala., and that Congress has been asked for additional appropriations to make this plant capable of producing fertilizer?

Do you know these items and others like them—cited by Representative E. E. Denison of Illinois in a recent speech—helped to explain the size of the expenditures for which the people are paying today and will continue to pay for years to come?

It was this same government which held up the workers in the name of patriotism and not only drove them to war but almost forcibly took their money away from them in exchange for liberty bonds, even intimidating them into buying them "on the installment plan," by having the deduction made from their weekly pay by the boss.

It was in order to enrich these administration thieves and the capitalists they represent that the workers were intimidated and bullied into parting with their pitiful savings.

We are not enumerating these facts about the present administration in order to distinguish it unfavorably from the coming administration. If the Republicans had been in office there would have been no different story to tell. To state differently would mean to say that Democrats are immoral and unrighteous, while Republicans are moral and righteous. Such a statement would be laughed to scorn. As indicated by the illustration on page four by Fellow Worker Pardee, it is a choice between bad eggs. Or as pictured on our October magazine, the Republican and Democratic parties are the Right and Left wings of the

same bird of prey, with the other parties acting as tail feathers of the same bird of prey to steady its flight in swooping down on the workers. And the name of that bird of prey is **the capitalist class**. Whether the capitalist class seeks expression through a Republican or a Democratic administration, the story is the same.

Disgraced, covered with shame, and with pockets bulging with stolen goods, the old administration is about to retire, making no excuses, making no claims whatsoever to the respect of the citizens.

But there is one thing that it still prides itself on, there is one thing for which it thinks it deserves recognition and gratitude, and that is for having persecuted the I. W. W. and other so-called "Reds," and for having put them in prison and for keeping them there.

This administration, which has trampled all principles of morality in the dirt, as exemplified by above quotations from the capitalist press, this administration still has the hardihood to pose as moral preceptors and teachers to us I. W. W. men and to act as our judges and to imprison us for up to 20 years for alleged resistance to their nefarious policies, now exposed and condemned by an avalanche of citizens' votes.

Although hardly able, physically and mentally, to hang on to his job to the end of his term, President Wilson makes a last bid for endorsement on at least one point by refusing to release "political prisoners." Through this cruel grand stand play he appeals again to the passions of the masses deceived by the corrupt press to hate us, a last appeal to the vicious Ku-Klux, Knights of Columbus, American Legion, National Security League, American Defense Society and other 100 % organizations whose chief business it is to prolong the nefarious life of capitalism by persecuting the I. W. W. and their kind.

And this grand stand play is a howling success.

Across the chasm of political controversy, across the cesspool of infamy in which they have ducked one another for the last few months, exposing one another and telling the truth about one another, there comes the outstretched hand of Presi-

dent-elect Harding. **He, too, promises to show no clemency to political prisoners.**

Here, consequently, we have the missing link that connects the two adversaries, **their common hatred of the I. W. W.**

And why should the two parties not have this hatred in common? The two machines, the Republican and the Democratic, are both owned and controlled by one master, the capitalist class.

The American people has repudiated the Wilson administration. In fact, they did not care whom or what they voted for as long as they got rid of it. If our case were submitted to a referendum of the American people, we would also be overwhelmingly acquitted and released from our sentences and from the stigma of treason to the people. For in the cases where we were not simply "framed" upon, the most that we have done is to repudiate earlier what they have repudiated in the election. The election came too late only to repair much of the damage that our fellows foresaw and warned of.

The largest part of the American working class submits to the terrorist rule of the capitalists, whether the administration be Republican or Democratic, hoping to get by somehow, individually, leaving the rest of the workers in the lurch.

But we of the I. W. W., who have read and understood the inscription over hell: "You, who enter here, leave hope behind," we have no recourse except to practise solidarity with a view to saving ourselves from destruction.

Our main demands are:

Freedom for all class-war prisoners. Our persecutors, judges and executors say they do not know of any class war, nor of any class-war prisoners, just common criminals. But they know what we mean just the same, for in their black heart a voice whispers: "They mean the innocent men and women we are sending to prison simply because they oppose our criminal rule."

Stopping of all official persecution of all workers engaged in building a new and better society.

Again they say they know of no persecution. They only know of upholding the law. But the voice in their black hearts again whispers: "They mean the clubbing

and arresting and keeping in jail of men and women who by word of mouth or by writing or by distributing literature are trying to interest their fellow workers in the building of a new and better society."

Restoration of free speech, free press, free assembly and the same postal privileges as granted to other citizens. Our persecutors again say that these rights have never been abolished or even infringed upon by the government, but again the voice in their black hearts repeats: "You are sophists and conscious liars. You want to oppress and suppress the builders of a new society, and to that end you are using the law as a mask and justice as a club for the suppression of their efforts."

Will the new administration simply continue the white-terror policy of the Democratic administration?

We frankly state that we believe it will. We dare not hold out any hope to the builders of a new society. As far as a change of policy is dependent upon the inner motives of the capitalist class and their new political executive, there is no hope.

But as long as there is life there is hope.

The steadily progressing industrial collapse of capitalism with resultant breakdown of capitalist government in one country after another is changing the whole world situation.

America can no more isolate itself from these economic and political phenomena than it can isolate itself from solar and lunar eclipses or from spring, summer, autumn and winter.

The next few years will see tremendous economic forces doing their levelling work, burying old institutions, ideas and ambitions. The minds of men will be different in a short time, due to these economic changes. Then the people of America and other countries, subject to the white terror, will turn on the capitalist class and make them change places with us in the prisons or something still worse.

In the meantime the I. W. W. can do nothing better than keeping our case before the public by carrying it through all the courts, at the same time gathering economic power through industrial organization, thus becoming the chief factor in the coming revolution.

Wrangel and the Bolsheviks

It is literally true that the whole world heaved a sigh of relief the other day when the news came that the Russian Bolshevik armies had completely destroyed the governmental establishment of General Wrangel, taken possession of every inch of his territory and driven himself and a remnant of his army on board the ships to seek other shores as fugitives.

Wrangel was of the swaggering, aristocratic type that flourished before the Russian revolution, and if he and his crowd had succeeded, all their efforts would have been expended in re-establishing, as near as possible, the conditions existing under the rule of the czar.

But those who made it possible for Wrangel, as well as for Denikin and Koltchak and Yudenitch, to carry on war against the Russian people, the capitalists of Paris and London and New York and Chicago and other cities, the real backers of these monumental crimes and outrages against a people struggling for liberty and trying to establish justice and social order—they still unblushingly carry on, intriguing and planning other crimes.

We sincerely hope that the Russian people will be able to wind up the operations of the three other brigand generals who are camping with their bands on the western frontier of Soviet Russia, terrorizing the people, murdering the Jews, etc., in approved terrorist style.

As we are writing these lines the papers say that England is establishing trade relations with Soviet Russia, and that America will permit American business men to do business with Soviet Russia "on their own risk." Under these circumstances it is only a question of time when France will be compelled to cease to back up those who carry on war on Soviet Russia.

In fact, already at this stage of the game one dares say that Soviet Russia has come out victorious and forced all her enemies to desist from active warfare against her people.

This fact deserves to be engraved in golden letters on the pages of history. It marks

the first decisive step in the defeat of world capitalism.

On the other hand, as the bourgeois papers have already pointed out, it means that revolution of the Russian kind has reached its culmen, for as a condition of commercial peace the Bolsheviks are said to have consented to desist from financing and supporting bolshevik propaganda in other countries.

Far be it from us to try to tell the Bolsheviks or the Russian people what they shall do, or not do in these matters. If they consider the interests of the Russian people best served in that manner we are inclined to take their word for it.

The world revolution will take care of itself without the Bolsheviks trying to extend their sphere of influence over the workers of other countries. Or, rather, the workers of each country will solve their own problems in their own particular manner striving for a common aim: to put the actual workers in possession of the means of production and distribution, with voluntary international assistance.

Even from another view point we greet with intense satisfaction the establishment of relative peace in Russia and the return of normal conditions of life.

Under the stress of necessity, surrounded by enemies from without and within who have tried to wreck the revolution, the Bolsheviks as the ruling party have drifted more and more to a system of "red terror," which in its turn would sooner or later have provoked counter-revolution and reaction.

Space does not permit us to go into detail, but in this office there is enough material on hand, most of it gathered from Swedish Syndicalist and Young Socialist papers and particularly from a report of a commission of Swedish metal workers who went to Russia to see conditions in behalf of the Swedish workers and to report on them, enough material, we say, to fully substantiate the charge of red terror.

We will only mention that the Swedish workers were so wrought up over what they have learnt, that the same workers

standard political economist, but we feel inclined to defend his name against the Bolsheviks.

The I. W. W. program is a practical working program based upon some of the fundamental principles of Marxian philosophy. In contradistinction to the Bolsheviks we recognize the necessity of continuity in economic evolution. Continuity is one of the fundamental laws of all nature, and it is just as necessary in evolution of systems of production and distribution as it is in the development of the child from an embryo into a fully developed human being or in the development of a tulip from the bulb. The skipping of a single stage, a single process, in either case means death. The same applies to economic evolution.

Not that it would be necessary to painfully go through all the experiments of higher developed countries. In the nine months in the mother's womb the child goes through a synopsis of the whole past evolutionary history of organic life. In the same manner the Communist society foretold by Marx and others should be allowed to be born. The Bolshevik method savors of ignorant brutality rather than Marxian scientific procedure. Instead of ordering economic changes much the same as an American chief of police orders the arrests of Wobblies, they should, like the I. W. W., strive to teach the people how to take possession and how to carry on production and distribution through industrial organizations. When that is done there will grow up as reflexes, just as Marx says, the political institutions suitable to the new economic conditions. We do not deny the Bolshevik government's right to exist. It is the reflex of the chaotic economic conditions of the revolution. But it should not get the swell head and interfere with economic evolution and natural laws and make them subordinate to the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

On the strength of this reasoning we maintain that the Russian Bolsheviks have no right to ram their doctrines down the throat of the workers under the false label

of Marxianism. They have no right to pose as possessors of all the truth and, on the strength of it, to tyrannize their brothers who do not happen to share their opinion, in Russia or other countries.

We have no doubt that among those executed there are many enemies of the workers who deserved no better fate, but we are equally sure that many sincere builders of a new society have been sacrificed by the Bolsheviks on the altar of ignorance and fanaticism and thirst for power, or brutal passion sanctified as "fidelity to the revolution," as for instance in the massacre referred to above.

We are also sure that a large part of the people in Bolshevik prisons are where they ought to be for the welfare of the people, but on the other hand it is evident that hundreds of workers are imprisoned simply because they belong to another shade of "red" than the Bolsheviks themselves.

If that is Marxianism we want none of it. But it is not.

We join with the Swedish workers in demanding a speedy revision of all the cases of so-called "contra-revolutionists," and that they be set free in every case where it is proven that they have been persecuted only because they are of a different shade of "red" from the faction ruling at present.

If that is not done we fail to see the difference between the Lenin-Trotsky regime in Russia and the Wilson-Palmer-Burleson regime in America, as far as the workers are concerned.

This they can so much better afford to do as Wrangel is now down and out, and the danger of bourgeois counter-revolution is practically past.

The dictatorship should, the sooner the better be replaced by a democracy that will release all the latent power of the people.

"The voice of the People—
Is the voice of God"—
They say—
Poor God.

—Covami.

The English Coal Strike and the Press Censorship

We have saved the English coal strike to the last moment, waiting for news, but none has come that is of any importance. The other day we saw a few brief lines that the strike was settled and that one of the leaders "of the late coal strike" had been made a member of the cabinet. We have interviewed the other editors, but none of them seems to know anything of importance.

The coal strike is one of the biggest events in all labor's history and if we get no news it is a sure sign that there are

certain things happening which the capitalist class controlling the American press does not think fit to tell the workers of this country.

There is one piece of news, though, which indicates which way the wind is blowing. Lloyd George has officially announced the resumption of business relations with Soviet Russia. This may partly be due to Wrangel's defeat, but there is no doubt that the pressure of the coal strike had a good deal to do with the tractability of John Bull.



The Industrial International Shall it Become a Reality Now?

In another part of this magazine you find the call for an economic international emanating from the participants in and the sponsors of The Third International. As will be gathered from reading that call, the leaders of that political international are reaching out for control of the economic movement also. This was to be expected. It does not hurt the I. W. W. members to keep track of every move made in this field, because it is the only field in which we are really interested.

But the I. W. W. does not want an industrial international that is tied up with, or subordinated to a political international. What the I. W. W. membership and the Syndicalists of most countries desire is a purely industrial international.

Under these circumstances it is highly gratifying to be able to announce that the I. W. W. has received a cabled request from Europe to participate in what appears to be such a timely move.

For the present we are unable to give any details beyond what is contained in the following official statement of the case prepared for publication:

In the issue of Solidarity of November 6th, an outline was given on the Economic International which is to convene on January 1st, called by the Third International.

Since the information came to hand, we also are in receipt of information showing that there is a call sent out to the various revolutionary economic bodies for a conference which is to convene on December 15th at Berlin, Germany.

At this time we do not know whether this is a move to have a preliminary conference before attending the one called by the Third International, or whether it is a move to have an international separate from the Third International.

The Swedish Syndicalists and the German Syndicalists are apparently behind a move for a separate international, free from all political bodies, and news items in German papers state that the above conference has also the backing of the Spanish and Italian Syndicalists, but this is subject to question.

GEO HARDY, Gen. Sec.-Treas.

ROY BROWN, Chairman G. E. B.

The call for a purely industrial international has arrived since and reads as follows:

TO ALL SYNDICALIST WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

Dear Comrades:

In the organ of our movement in Germany, "Der Syndikalist," we have just published an appeal to all revolutionary Syndicalists to meet together in an

INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS!

The necessity of a close alliance of all comrades for the purpose of deciding on a positive line of conduct and for the forming of distinct plans for the carrying out of international economic action is fully recognized by syndicalists in all countries.

The development and shaping of economic and political affairs in Russia, the leading statutes as expressed by the Third International have made it obvious to us that true Socialism can never be realized by party power, but purely and solely by widespread action on an economic basis, born out of the mind and will of the international working class itself.

The war has cut us off for so long from our comrades and made international intercourse impossible. But now let us clasp hands again! Our congress is of most imminent importance!

From day to day the disintegration of capitalism becomes more evident, nevertheless the governments are preparing for new wars. The misery of the people increases to overflowing, whereas in all European countries population is decreasing at a fearful rate. Men, women and children drop daily by life's wayside and an international catastrophe is at hand. Immediate action is called for to—consciously and conscientiously—build up the structure of a new socialist society. The protoplasms of the free communist society of the future must be created simultaneously in all countries according to the principles of revolutionary syndicalism.

Not only the mental training of the masses must be aimed at; we must also imbue the educated mind with our ideas and we must awaken all intellectual forces to work together for the accomplishment of the end in view, for the laying down of fundamental principles for joint action enabling us to overthrow capitalism and abolish the state.

The International Syndicalist Congress itself is to take place early in the coming year, 1921. But to do really good work it will be necessary to arrange a preparatory conference—and this as soon as possible. To reduce the costs of delegations, especially for the sake of our German and Austrian comrades, who have to take into consideration the present low standard of German money, we propose that this conference should take place in Berlin in December.

The syndicalist-anarchist organizations in Holland, Scandinavia, Spain and Italy are already in sympathy with this plan, and several delegates who have returned from the Moscow Congress have pledged us to invite all comrades to this international congress.

We therefore beg you to discuss the question without delay within your own organizations, to forward us your addresses as soon as possible and to let us know your decisions, so that we can make the necessary arrangements without loss of time. We will let you know the date and all particulars referring to the above mentioned preparatory conference as soon as details are settled.

Lodgings free of cost will be arranged for.

Yours fraternally,

Die Geschaefts-Kommission der
Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Syndicalists).
Berlin O 34, Warschauer Strasse 62.

Socialists and Syndicalists in Italy

CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS UPON A SUPPOSED "COLLAPSE OF SYNDICALISM"

By G. CANNATA

In the last two numbers of the "One Big Union Monthly" I illustrated the recent metallurgical workers' agitation in Italy with some descriptive matter, without entering into any critical considerations on the relative merits of the labor and socialist organizations involved in the struggle. The ninth number of "The Communist" features an article entitled "The Collapse of Syndicalism," which is so barren of all concrete facts and so unjust in its conclusions to the Italian working class, and the syndicalist element in particular, that I feel it incumbent upon me to illuminate the writer of said article, confident that in a spirit of objectivity and fairness he will dutifully say his "mea culpa" and promise to at least read some informative journals before he writes again on the subject of syndicalism.

* * *

The supposed "collapse of syndicalism" in the recent Italian upheaval may conceivably have taken one of two forms; first, syndicalism as a philosophy of the proletarian advance to power may have failed to develop in the workers of Italy or in their syndicalist militant minority the "will to revolution," or secondly, the deficiencies of syndicalist tactics may have led to the exhaustion and disintegration of the workers' forces, causing the revolutionary wave to recede and then break in full defeat. I shall treat these two suppositions with some documentary evidence to support my statements and also touch briefly on the attitude of the Italian Socialist Party during the crisis.

The Syndicalist Action

To any one who has read the objective and unbiased accounts of the recent events in Italy from the pen of Hiram K. Moderwell and others in "The Freeman," "The Nation" and "The Liberator," it is evident that the seizure and occupation of factories in the metal industry was the spontaneous act of the workers in that industry, to which the Italian Syndicalist Union, the Communist-Anarchist Federation and the Shop-Councils faction of Turin supplied an enthusiastic support and a definite plan of action, which would have brought about the social revolution in Italy. The whole agitation had been syndicalistic in character; the bourgeois order had been attacked "at the point of production" and the capitalist state had been reduced to a condition of impotent neutrality. Premier Giolitti later declared in the Italian senate, in answering objections to his policy by reactionary members, that it would have taken **the entire military force of the nation** to capture and garrison the occupied metal factories alone, meanwhile leaving the rest of the country absolutely unprotected from revolutionary action. The consciousness that the social revolution could have been easily accomplished under the exceptional circumstances was universal; even Enrico Malatesta, one

of the most fiery insurrectionary leaders of modern times, declared in his official organ "Umanità Nova" that a revolution was possible without the shedding of a single drop of blood. (See One Big Union monthly of Nov. 1.)

The logical development of the situation demanded the extension of the seizure to the entire productive organism of the country; this was rapidly being accomplished; in two weeks the workers had installed themselves in the possession of immense tracts of farm-lands; lignite-mines; iron ore deposits; transportation systems; textile, rubber, shoe, macaroni and other factories. Preparations for the military defense of occupied establishments and against possible governmental coercive action were being scientifically carried out. The writer for "The Communist" is probably an ex-member of the Socialist Party of America, whose political history records no "insurrectionary" event of graver proportions than a good-sized foot-ball riot; today, bedecked with the Magic Mantle of Moscow, he presumes to lecture the proletariat of Italy on insurrectionary tactics; this very same proletariat, which under **syndicalist** leadership, had prior to 1914 held sway over Milan, Parma and other large cities for days at a stretch and counted among its captives in the struggle a **general of the Royal Italian Army**. He expresses doubts as to their resourcefulness in the following brilliant passage:

"The notion, that all the workers would be sufficiently well organized and that all the workers would develop sufficient revolutionary consciousness to act as a unit in the seizure of industry, is of course so utopian that argument against it is unnecessary."

Does the writer for "The Communist" suppose that the Italian workers are absolutely devoid of all energy, all capacity for such action as a certain situation may require? For his enlightenment, I shall quote from a private letter of an eye-witness, which is highly pertinent to the subject of the "coercive powers of the capitalist state" and the capacity for action of the Italian workers:

"I have been to Turin, in which city more than 600 factories had been occupied by Sept. 23. The preceding night a regular field battle had occurred between the workers and the Royal Guards. There had been a funeral of two proletarian victims; the authorities are always careful on such occasions to keep their mercenaries within doors. This time several of them were seen along the streets. Someone insulted them; another threw a stone; and still someone else commenced to fire, and the battle was on. It was 4 P. M. when the firing broke out and the struggle lasted till midnight. * * * * *

All the Royal Guards were thrown into action; they entrenched themselves in front of the occupied factories and opened fire; the workers fired back, forcing the Guards to retreat in disorder in several cases. Every house became a stronghold and every factory a fortress. The workers were having the best of it.

"The firing continued. Many women employes distinguished themselves by their energy and cour-

resented bitterly the interference of that unprincipled, colorless and immoral person—the professional politician.

How did the Italian Syndicalist Union receive the compromise? We reproduce from its official organ "Guerra di Classe" of Oct. 2, 1920, irrefutable evidence of its bitter resentment; it refused to have its members participate in the ratification-referendum; it did everything in its power to prevent the execution of the compromise; it refused to evacuate the factories occupied by its members and proceeded to occupy others; it flung in the teeth of Giolitti's government the following proud challenge, which will remain as a historical document in the annals of labor.

Called to the office of the prefect of Milan, to announce their stand on the settlement, the Executive Committee of the Italian Syndicalist Union, through its general secretary, Armand Borghi, declared itself in the following terms:

"We have come here fully conscious of the nature of the communications which you were to impart to us; we could easily have foreseen from the events of the last few days, and we have come solely to tell you in so many words what we could have signified by refusing to appear. We must begin by protesting vigorously at the idea that the government could even think for a minute that we would consider discussing "the workers' demands," or recognition of the betrayal of the workers consummated in the Concordate of Rome. The Italian Syndicalist Union, while the metallurgical agitation had a purely economic character and the situation had not been compromised by the manoeuvres of parliamentary politicians, considered the struggle on a plane with all similar labor struggles. It presented its demands and participated in the preliminary discussions with the employers together with the other labor organizations. But since the occupation of the factories, by us desired and propagated, "Mr." Giolitti has seen fit to intervene to find a solution for the situation, without, it is understood, counting on our co-operation in his efforts to fool the workers once more. All this is logical and natural, but we protest against the mere supposition that we might render ourselves voluntary accomplices after the accomplished fact. The I. S. U. is an organization with power, prestige and numbers sufficient to act independently in the effort to defend the interests of its members and will never subscribe to a ministerial solution that victimizes the workers.

"It is necessary that 'Mr.' Giolitti be informed of this fact: that his settlement is not, and never will be, binding upon our membership. Rather than participate in the joint-committees of control, the I. S. U. declares expressly that it will sabotage in every way possible the application of this form of factory-control. The I. S. U. considers itself free to take any action which will defend and preserve the conquests of its membership and of the entire proletariat, preventing especially that scabs shall be compensated from the fruits of the labor in the occupied factories.

"But, above all else, the I. S. U. declares that the proletariat has already placed on the order of the day the great historic demand for its integral emancipation and the practical demonstration of its capacity to bring about the new communist order."

The Italian Socialist Party

I shall now ask to be enlightened by our Communist cousins upon some very strange phenomena in connection with the Italian Socialist Party. This

GIOLITTI e D'ARAGONA vincono la battaglia e sono colpe feroci.
La potenza fascinatoria del traditore della patria fa piegare gli industriali, che da

passaggera...
...oleranno (tutto o tardi) la stretta della rivoluzione trionfante.
ALICIO

La risposta dell' U. S. I. al governo

Fin da martedì il Prefetto di Milano aveva fatto chiamare al suo gabinetto i rappresentanti dell'Unione Sindacale Italiana per un abboccamento relativo all'agitazione metallurgica. I rappresentanti dell'Unione Sindacale Italiana se ne stavano però a Sesto Ponente per un Comitato Nazionale e non poterono aderire subito al invito loro rivolto. Solo oggi l'abboccamento ha potuto effettuarsi.

Si sono recati in Prefettura verso le ore sedici gli organizzatori Antonio Negro, Alibrando, Giovanetti, Turini, Scipione, Mondani, Costaso e Borghi Armandi.

Il colloquio è stato breve e animatissimo. Il Prefetto ha comunicato ai rappresentanti dell'U. S. I. che aveva incarico di interpellarli se essi erano disposti ad intavolare le trattative sul memoriale da essi presentato, subordinandolo al concordato già stipulato a Roma nei giorni scorsi e se l'U. S. I. preferiva di avere una sua rappresentanza nelle Commissioni paritetiche da nominarsi per la formulazione delle proposte che devono servire per il progetto di legge sul controllo di azienda e per l'applicazione per le parti disciplinari del concordato di Roma. Il Prefetto ha soggiunto che se i rappresentanti dell'U. S. I. lo vogliono, possono impegnarsi per ciò che riguarda le richieste di ordine sindacale del memoriale di Roma, senza prendere impegni per ciò che riguarda il controllo di fabbrica.

Hanno interloquito brevemente Antonio Negro e Alibrando Giovanetti per stabilire esattamente i termini delle questioni poste dal Prefetto; ed il segretario dell'Unione Sindacale, Armand Borghi, ha fatto a nome di tutti la seguente dichiarazione:

«Non siamo venuti qui prevedendo di quale natura erano le comunicazioni che la S. U. I. ci doveva fare, era facile prevedere da noi lo svolgimento degli avvenimenti politici e sindacali di questi ultimi giorni, siamo venuti per avere la possibilità di dire a voce ciò che avremmo per i signori anche con un semplice ripeto del colloquio richieste. Dunque necessario che le diciamo subito qui che noi protestiamo indignati per il solo fatto che si sia potuto pensare da parte del governo che si potessero ancora discutere dei memoriali da parte nostra e per questo ancora ci si potesse proporre di riunirci e avvalorare con la nostra firma la trattativa che è stata chiamata il concordato di Roma. L'U. S. I. quando la vertenza metallurgica si presentava nei contorni di una competizione a fondo economico quando la situazione era in bianco e non era stata pregiudicata né da trattative né da con-

cordati né da espedienti di politicantismo parlamentare, ha considerato la vertenza in faccia alla stessa strategia delle molte altre vertenze di carattere sindacale. E presentando il suo memoriale e intervenendo ai primi momenti delle trattative, ha dimostrato anche la sua volontà di discutere unitamente ad altre organizzazioni di classe, ma intervenendo il fatto nuovo della conquista della fabbrica da noi voluta e propagata, il signor Giolitti ha voluto trattare e risolvere la questione, e che egli non abbia tenuto su di noi per turbare il proletariato è stata cosa logica e naturale, ma che oggi ci chiama a renderci complici volontari del fatto compiuto è atto contro il quale protestiamo. L'Unione Sindacale Italiana è una organizzazione che ha forza, numero, prestigio, diventa quindi inesorabile per potere trattare di sé i problemi che riguardano le proprie manifestazioni per tutelare gli interessi e non ha mai messo lo spolverino alle turbepature ministeriali.

«È necessario che il signor Giolitti lo sappia, egli non ha impegnato né altri con lui e non impegnerà ulteriormente le manifestazioni dell'U. S. I. Lungo dal reclamare l'intervento proposto nelle commissioni paritetiche, l'U. S. I. dichiara anzi e espressamente che saboterà in ogni modo possibile le applicazioni del controllo di fabbrica. L'U. S. I. è rimasta libera della propria azione e vi resta non sottoscrivendo nessun concordato e difendendo per tutti le sue manifestazioni metallurgiche le conquiste economiche che già appartengono a tutto il proletariato e impedendo anche che colle filate dei lavoratori che hanno prodotto nella fabbrica conquistata vengano compensati i crumiri che non hanno partecipato alla lotta.

«Ma sopra tutto l'U. S. I. dichiara che il proletariato ha ormai posto all'ordine del giorno il grande memoriale storico della sua emancipazione integrale e della sua capacità realizzatrice e dell'ordine nuovo comunista.»

Dopo questa dichiarazione il colloquio è stato interrotto. Il prefetto ha dichiarato che comunicherà al governo e resterà dell'abbeccimento.

The answer of the Italian Syndicalist Union to the Government.
Reproduced from "Guerra di Classe" of Sept. 25, 1920.

organization is affiliated with the Third International; still, two-thirds of its parliamentary delegation is openly hostile to the idea of a proletarian revolution and a working-class state. What this group of professional politicians desire is a revolution which shall place the state power in the hands of the Italian Socialist Party as a political unit. We reproduce below from the Oct. 2, 1920, issue of "Guerra di Classe," a statement of Lenin taken from Pravda of Moscow, which the Syndicalist Union purpose brings to the attention of the Italian Socialist

Party. "The events in Italy must open the eyes of the most obstinate; Turati, Prampolini and d'Aragona are sabotaging the revolution in Italy at the moment in which it is beginning to mature." Moscow is learning in October, 1920, what the Italian syndicalist has known for the last ten years. For every minute that the preponderantly reformist politicians are allowed to stay in the Italian Socialist Party, the Third International owes an explanation to the Italian Syndicalist Union, which is a member, and has always done its revolutionary duty.

What did the maximalist wing of the Italian Socialist Party do during the exceptionally favorable days of the recent Italian crisis? Did they attempt to "destroy the capitalist state" and "capture the state-power for the workers?" We believe not; Hiram K. Moderwell tells us that they called for a special session of parliament to legalize the seizure which the workers had already carried out. There was no typically communist action in the recent struggle; anything of importance that was accomplished was the result of spontaneous proletarian energy and syndicalistic leadership. Why this apathy and lack of resourcefulness and decision on the part of the latter-day Napoleons and Bismarcks of the proletariat?

At a recent Congress of the Italian Socialist Party held at Bologna, the question of the formation of soviets came up. The motion finally passed provided for the tentative "formation of soviets in the securely socialist municipalities." The brilliant syndicalist theoretician, Prof. Enrico Leone of the University of Bologna, also a member of the Socialist Party, recently delivered the following opinion on the character of the future soviets in Italy:

"In the soviet there must be a place for anarchists, syndicalists and revolutionary socialists as political elements. I consider dangerous the restrictions which would place such an organization under the control of the Socialist Party; this restriction would evaluate the soviet in the eyes of many of its ardent friends—who would be excluded without serious motive—while because of its very make-up, the Socialist Party would facilitate the access to its ranks of open enemies of the method which gives it birth, thus compromising its future. * * *

"The soviet must have an autonomous and active life, resting as upon a natural foundation on the labor unions (the Confederation of Labor, the Syndicalist Union, the Peasants' Federation, etc.) and upon those select revolutionary forces which organize in view of the elections to the soviets.

"Otherwise we shall be building on sand."

Direzione: via Broletto, 11 - Milano
 Tel. 2111 - 2112 - 2113 - 2114 - 2115 - 2116 - 2117 - 2118 - 2119 - 2120 - 2121 - 2122 - 2123 - 2124 - 2125 - 2126 - 2127 - 2128 - 2129 - 2130 - 2131 - 2132 - 2133 - 2134 - 2135 - 2136 - 2137 - 2138 - 2139 - 2140 - 2141 - 2142 - 2143 - 2144 - 2145 - 2146 - 2147 - 2148 - 2149 - 2150 - 2151 - 2152 - 2153 - 2154 - 2155 - 2156 - 2157 - 2158 - 2159 - 2160 - 2161 - 2162 - 2163 - 2164 - 2165 - 2166 - 2167 - 2168 - 2169 - 2170 - 2171 - 2172 - 2173 - 2174 - 2175 - 2176 - 2177 - 2178 - 2179 - 2180 - 2181 - 2182 - 2183 - 2184 - 2185 - 2186 - 2187 - 2188 - 2189 - 2190 - 2191 - 2192 - 2193 - 2194 - 2195 - 2196 - 2197 - 2198 - 2199 - 2200

TELEGRAMMI

21 settembre.
 Operai stabilimenti Sampierdarena Genova, paesi limitrofi, approvano ordine del giorno. GIOVANNETTI.

22 Settembre.
 VERONA - Terzi invaso colonificio Veneziano oggi conquistato colonificio Crespi. Movimento prosegue compatto. Ribellione generale concordato. Fiom. VECCHI.

23 Settembre.
 TERNI - Operai Elettrocarbonium Terni, hanno preso possesso stabilimento. Impegni tecnici amministrativi, adrezione compiti movimento. Iniziativa prima vendita di carboni. Legazione estende nuovi impianti carboni e linoleum. MOTTA.

24 Settembre.
 PIETRALIGURE - D'accordo astenersi referendum. SODI.

25 Settembre.
 PORTOFERRAIO - Operai astenendosi referendum decisi resistere. CARLI A.

28 Settembre.
 Operai resistono compatto intendendo non restituire stabilimenti prima di aver ottenuto pagamento giornate occupazione. VECCHI.

Reproduction from "Guerra di Classe" of Oct. 2, 1920, showing telegrams announcing further factory occupations and refusal to participate in the ratification-referendum.

Our Communist writer feels extremely proud of his monopoly of the theory of the "proletarian state" and "the central directing organ of control." May I not suggest that in the mind of the Italian syndicalist there is a conception of a "PROLETARIAN state," somewhat different and perhaps superior to his Russian model of a "proletarian STATE?"

In conclusion, I wish to voice a suspicion which animates syndicalists in general and the Italian syndicalists in particular. We express our great admiration for the Lenins, Trozskys, etc., who have proven their attachment to an ideal by a tenacious adherence to principle through long periods of persecution, oppression and personal suffering. We admire their evident ability, born of assiduous and earnest intellectual labor, and glorify the impersonal and honest leadership which they have furnished the undeveloped but heroic Russian masses in a situation of unbelievable difficulties and hard-

Continued on Page 49)

GUERRA DI CLASSE

"Gli avvenimenti d'Italia devono aprire gli occhi anche ai più ostinati: Turati, Prampolini, e d'Aragona, sabotano la rivoluzione in Italia nel momento in cui essa comincia a maturare"

(Da "La Pravda" di Mosca).

Ancora sull'anitazione

Questo è stato approvato: E sono questi in un articolo che parla per modo la necessità della rivoluzione. Questo però che in un articolo della Pravda di Mosca.

Lenin's famous statement in "Pravda" reproduced in "Guerra di Classe" of Oct. 2, 1920. The d'Aragona here mentioned by Lenin, and by him called a saboteur of the revolution, is the same d'Aragona who figures in the Moscow call for an Industrial International, printed elsewhere in this issue.

Things that Count in the Proletarian Revolution

By JACK GAVEEL

There is much talk about "proletarian dictatorship," "organization of proletarian organs of production and administration," "a peaceful or a violent revolution," "armed insurrection," "economic action," "politicians, politics and political action," "communists," etc., etc.

The I. W. W. as a revolutionary movement representing the most advanced thought of the times can only justify its existence as such by an orientation among those ideas, some of which are the manifestations of vital tendencies and currents in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, while others stand for lines of action worthless or even harmful to the revolutionary movement and ultimately doomed to failure. We must examine these ideas and pass upon them our verdict. Only in so doing can we live up to our great principles and traditions, nay more, in this action lies our only hope for continuing as an organization.

Politicians, Politics and Political Action

What is a politician? A politician, according to the original meaning of the word, is a person charged with looking after the public welfare, a legislator therefore, who passes laws with a view to most intelligently and harmoniously regulating social and industrial relations. A man like that should be a sociologist, acquainted with the facts of this branch of science, so that by an understanding of social forces and their laws he can rise above those laws and as their master shape them to his will in such a way as to benefit mankind most. So much for what a politician should be.

When we examine the facts of history, however, we are told an entirely different story. Never since the beginning of class divisions in society, have politicians cared for or worked for the public welfare and safety. On the other hand, they have always with might and main fought for their own selfish interests and those of their masters, the ruling classes. It is true that they have always given the masses the most glowing promises in regard to what they would do for them if once at the helm of the ship of state. However, these fine words and glittering phrases were quickly forgotten as soon as political ambition had been satisfied and political position attained. Gustavus Meyers in his "Great American Fortunes" shows abundantly how since the settlement of America all its leading politicians have shamelessly deceived, betrayed and sold out the people of the United States to their lords and masters, the American money kings. Look up the dusty and yellow volumes of the American archives dealing with that country's political history and there, carefully hidden away from the gaze of the public eye, you will find the record of the huge swindles foisted on the people in the name of "political liberty," "democracy," "the land of the free," "the home of the brave," "full dinnerpail," "trust

busting" and all the other empty catch words which have always been such a convenient and inexpensive means to keep the herd in submission.

For bribes of filthy lucre all the "great and public spirited" American politicians have made a present to the Money Hog millionaires of all the people's valuable mineral and timber resources, city franchises, waterways, railways, etc. For the sake of dirty, yellow gold they have made a commodity out of the law, selling out to the highest bidder. By these their actions they have enslaved the lives of the people of a whole nation to the will of the Beast, the American plutocracy.

And the facts of current American political history, do they tell a story in any sense different? Today just as much as ever the politicians elected on the strength of the ignorance of the people sell out these same people to the financial lords of the nation. Injunctions against strikes, the declaration of war in obedience to the dictates of the Money Bags and against the wishes and aspirations of the people, allowing workers to be lynched, shot and murdered by the thugs of capitalism without any interference of any semblance of law whatsoever, all these well known facts prove the corruption of the politicians without a shadow of doubt.

The booze ring, the crime ring, the vice ring, the brothel, the stick-up, the gambler, the gunman-thug,—capitalist politics need them all for the success of its dirty scheming. By the protection and encouragement of institutions and human beasts such as these, filthy, rotten, capitalist politics spreads broadcast drunkenness, murder, bloodshed, disease, insanity and general degeneration.

Capitalist politics is a gambling with the lives of the workers and the stake played for is the wealth created by these workers.

All through history glory-hunting, money-mad, humanity-trampling politicians have been highly instrumental in causing the poverty, misery and oppression of the masses, in creating bloody internal strife and dissension and in wrecking nations and empires.

If the workers at any time gained shorter hours, higher wages, better conditions and more happiness, this was the result of their own organized efforts and never of the actions of the politicians.

Thus arises the question: "What have workers to expect from politicians, politics and political action?" and the answer is: "Nothing but a dog's existence." For as long as workers lack industrial liberty, political liberty is a sham. True, "we all have the vote in this country." But how can workers enslaved industrially and therefore forced to work long hours (a condition which makes impossible any substantial thought) be expected to vote intelligently, with an understanding of new and revolutionary and therefore much thought-requiring

questions such as their position in society, their needs, etc. And, to break off the thread of the discussion for a minute, suppose the workers were educated as to their position in society, their needs, and so on, would they then still vote in the approved capitalistic style? Would they still use their political power via the route of capitalist parliamentary action or would they not rather organize on the economic field, vote in their union halls and use their political power on their jobs. To resume the thread of the discussion, it is on the industrial bondage and resulting ignorance of the workers that politicians have always counted in their schemes to use the workers' for their own and their masters' ends. On it they have built the delusion of political liberty, through the aid of which they have induced their slaves to vote for everything that the whole rotten system of capitalism stands for. It cannot be denied that all this plundering, despoiling and wrecking of a great nation's people has at bottom not so much been the result of the actions of the politicians as of the ignorance of the workers. For without the consent of the latter the politicians would have been powerless and history would have been written differently. Yes, IGNORANCE has been and is still the cause of the workers' misery and degradation. And IGNORANCE is chiefly the result of the workers' INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY. Of course, there are other contributing causes for this ignorance, such as the systematic and organized poisoning of the workers' minds through the capitalist press, platform, school and pulpit, but these causes are only minor ones, and the fact remains that PROLETARIAN IGNORANCE is chiefly the effect of INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY. Without INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY there is no POLITICAL LIBERTY.

The whole question, therefore, becomes one of

ECONOMIC DIRECT ACTION

conditions and EDUCATION. Let us look a little deeper into this most interesting and most important question. The theory is advanced by the prostitute apologists of the capitalist system, that the workers are mentally and physically unfit. According to this dogma the capitalists rule in virtue of their mental and bodily fitness. If such were the case the struggle of the workers for the overthrow of the wage system would be hopeless and doomed to failure. What is more, there would be no struggle at all. However, facts point to another situation. The capitalists are, no doubt, the fittest economic class today in the sense that they are still perpetuating themselves as a class. However, does this fitness reside in the individuals of that class or is it not rather the result of given economic conditions over which the capitalists themselves have no control and to which they fall heir at their birth? It is the result of conditions. The economic structure of present-day society is of such a nature that it grants to a few a monopoly on all things, including education, irrespective of whether these few are fit or unfit, whereas to the many, no matter how fit in

body and mind they may be, is denied everything. There is sufficient knowledge existing in the world today to make all people happy. However, this knowledge is held back from the workers. Such a state of affairs is a total reversal of the natural law of the survival of the fittest. Capitalist society perpetuates the unfit and useless and eliminates the fit and useful.

If then the fitness of the capitalist class consists therein that economic conditions favor that class and the unfitness of the workers in that these same conditions are against them, nothing is easier for the latter than to change these conditions in such a way that by this change they will be benefited not only in increased social consciousness, greater political and economic power, but also, and finally, in the abolition of class divisions in society.

The first thing to be done is a reduction in the hours of labor. This is the I. W. W. program. According to this program this reduction of hours is to be made and is being made not by throwing ourselves on the mercy of politicians but by economic direct action, i. e., by as complete a general strike of the One Big Union of all the workers as possible. In this way action is left in the hands of the workers themselves. This is real political action. Is it a wonder that with such a plan of action politicians of all shades curse us and their masters, the capitalists, hate and despise us? Yes, they can see the age-long spell which they have cast over the workers breaking and their end as parasites in human shape near.

Direct economic action then, to reduce hours, change economic conditions, giving the workers a chance to think, to develop a proletarian social consciousness, responsibility and sense of power, to devise tactics for the overthrow of capitalism and to acquire an ever-increasing economic and political might, DIRECT ECONOMIC ACTION as exemplified by the general strike or a general lockout against the employers, this is the greatest weapon in the hands of the workers. Compare to this stand that of the yellow Socialist politicians. What have they ever done for the workers? Their entire energy has been wasted on airing their "philosophical" wisdom and on vote catching. Never have they made a move to organize the workers on the job or paid any attention to long hours. Yes, the question of hours has entered in their platform but what good will shorter hours do the workers in a political platform? These things have got to be taken by the workers on the job. That is what the I. W. W. does. And that is how it is that the I. W. W. appeals to the workers. The Socialists have been telling us that they want an intelligent vote, but how can they expect an intelligent vote without paying the least attention to the material conditions of the workers? We do not think, however, that the Socialist politicians desire an intelligent vote. No politician, no matter of what shade, appreciates an awakened social consciousness in the working class. An intelligent vote might turn out to be a vote in favor of voting in THE UNION HALL and on THE

JOB. Such a vote would abolish all ballot-box-parliamentarian action and, incidentally, political pie cards.

Although striking for shorter hours and higher wages is invaluable as a means for increasing the workers' intelligence and will as such be used with ever greater frequency, still it must not be imagined that by striking for shorter hours and higher wages we can at last eliminate all surplus value from the product of the workers, thereby automatically abolishing production for profit and capitalism. Under capitalism the conditions of the labor market, the fluctuations of the law of supply and demand in obedience to the influence of the introduction of labor saving machinery will never allow of this.

However, the fact remains, that striking for shorter hours and higher wages as a means for increasing proletarian intelligence and power is highly important. It is one of the weapons in the arsenal of Economic Direct Action. It is one of the weapons to be used in the war for the abolition of capitalism. There are other weapons, but about these later.

Communist Politicians

I would refer the readers of the One Big Union Monthly to an article in the issue for October by John Sandgren, dealing with the motives which actuate the Communist politicians. Readers of the O. B. U. Magazine, who have not read this article yet, should busy themselves to secure a copy of the October issue of the One Big Union Monthly. Anybody in doubt as to the intentions of the Communist politicians will no longer be in doubt after reading this article.

Is a politician, is an intellectual under the necessity of taking on a job, say digging coal or firing a boiler? Are politicians and intellectuals benefited by the installment of life saving and health preserving devices in mines or by the reduction of the hours of labor that a locomotive fireman puts in keeping up the steam in the boiler of the engine? Who is forced for the betterment of the conditions of his existence to go to jail, to face the noose of the mob and the gunman on the picket line? The intellectual, the politician or the worker? Have workers on one side and politicians and intellectuals on the other side anything in common?

Politicians and intellectuals have been the curse of the working class. Pretending to stand for the interests of the workers, they have used their pretensions as a cloak for their selfish ambitions, for their desires to satisfy their thirst for power and self-glorification at the expense of the workers. Imagining that the workers needed their "superior intellect and intelligence," they have expected the masses to look up to the "lofty height of their intellectual stature" in mute awe. And no matter what name they have given themselves, in spite of all their ultra-revolutionary utterings, the story has always been the same. Their secret slogan has always been **TO HELL WITH THE WORKERS.**

It is one thing to shout **ONE BIG UNION**, it is

another thing to produce the evidences of your sincerity. If the Communist politicians and leaders were sincere in their approval of the I. W. W., then why not join it? The answer is that the I. W. W. does not admit to its membership intellectuals of the type of the "Bolshevist" politicians. It only admits useful producers. Even its official positions are held by wageworkers. Therefore the Industrial Workers of the World offer the Communist politicians absolutely no inducement for the quenching of their mad thirst for power. True, the "intellectual" Communist might go to work and take on a hard day's labor entitling them to membership in the I. W. W. But this in spite of their enthusiastic assurances of "common interests with the workers" is entirely out of the question. Such an absurdity is below the dignity of an intellectual. Yes, they say: "We have interests in common with the workers as long as the workers are willing to support us on their backs. Never do common interests go so far as to make us take a job in a mine, the stokehold of a ship, on a skidway out in the woods or in a harvest field pitching wheat. Never, never, NEVER.

With the I. W. W. closed to them and their emotional craving for power and notoriety not in the least abated, something must be done quickly. So let us wave the red flag of American Bolshevism, at the same time shouting **One Big Union**, mass action, armed insurrection and all the other phrases suggesting the essence of revolutionary spirit and catering to the sentiments of a certain section of the American working class, which is no doubt sincere and earnest but deluded and misinformed as to fundamental principles.

The above tactics may deceive the working class members of the Communist Party, never the Industrial Workers of the World, however. We understand the motives of the Communist politicians and we trust that before long the working class supporters of such glory and political job hunters as the leaders of the Communist Party will wake up and join a real proletarian revolutionary organization, the I. W. W. We can see the Bolshevist politicians losing out fast. We can see them lined up in our imagination, eagerly stretching out their white and slender lady hands to the workers, appealing out of eyes shining bright with the fever of desire, their voice trembling with dire apprehension that may be, after all, they will have to forego the emotional delight which consist in being looked up to as the "terrible leaders of the bloody American revolution." The whole affair would be ridiculous if it was not so disgusting. It puts us in mind of the "Parlor Bolshevists." Among these Bolshevism is one of the latest fads, a toy-thing for faded and denatured tastes and appetites to play with and receive new life from and above all a means to "kill the ladies."

Let it here be stated again that an intellectual has nothing in common with a worker. Not in capitalist society, anyway. The society of the future will be a different thing, because here the intellectual will

be given a chance to use his intellectual propensities for the good of the community instead of for his own selfish interests.

Organs of Proletarian Administration of Industrial Functions

The above subject has provoked a good deal of discussion lately. It has been said, and rightly so, that the I. W. W. has so far been nothing more than a fighting organ in the class struggle. Even now many members think that the I. W. W. suffices in its present shape and that all the workers have to do after capitalism collapses is to go on producing and appropriate the whole product of labor.

Those who make the claim that the I. W. W. has to be something else than just a mere fighting organ for better conditions point their finger to Russia as an illustration of the fact that workers without an organization capable of continuing the administration of industrial functions (clothing and feeding the people) after capitalism collapses, will encounter serious difficulties in establishing an industrial democracy. Under the heading in this article of "Economic Direct Action" the strike for shorter hours was given as one of the means of proletarian emancipation. It was remarked at the same time that there are other weapons in the arsenal of economic direct action. Let us now consider some of these weapons. One of them is the "Organization of Proletarian Organs of Industrial Administration." Remember that we have an industrial administration now. But it is based on the exploitation of the workers and therefore fails and fails in ever greater degree to feed and clothe the workers.

In any organization, whether a human body, an army or a society, the parts subserve the interests of the whole. But before the parts can function in such a way as to make possible the existence and activities of the whole organization, there has to be a centralized directing agency. In the animal body the brain, the centre of the nervous system, takes the place of the directing agency. Without its guidance and direction no intelligent action on the part of the other organs of the body would be possible. The legs, the arms would move any old way blindly, and might therefore just as well take the organism TOWARDS its enemies as AWAY from them, AWAY from its food as TOWARDS it. The same argument applies to an army. The different companies, regiments, battalions and divisions would not know whether to retreat or advance, whether to start firing, go on firing or quit firing if it was not for a directing agency, in the case of the army the general staff.

When we come to deal with the task of the organization of the workers for the taking over of the administration of industrial functions, one of the most vital questions is that of centralization. When we consider the different groups of workers in the industrial world and watch them as they are engaged in their productive activities, we have not the least doubt that the miner knows how to dig coal, the longshoreman how to load and unload freight, the brakeman and switchman how to switch

cars, the teamster how to take care of his horses. However, what good does the knowledge of how to take care of and handle their respective tools do all these workers if say in the event of a sudden collapse of capitalism they would not know how much of their products was required, who stood in need of these products, how to ship them, where to get the raw materials, where to look for storage, etc.?

What does all this mean? Let us take the case of an army once more. Without a general staff to direct the actions of the individual units in such a way that the most successful operation of the organization as a whole can be secured, the army would be useless. The general staff is enabled to secure the army's successful operation because in it centers the information of what is at all times going on in all the units of the army. It therefore has in front of its eyes a living map showing the condition and requirements of each unit. On the strength of this wide comprehensive view and accordingly it takes measures working out to the benefit of the whole. The organs of the animal body function on the same principle. The brain is at all times in touch with the needs and requirements of each organ and answers the needs of all with a watchful eye always on what is required for the functioning of the whole.

The workers before being able to administer to the needs of society industrially must create a central organ of industrial administration that will at all times be in touch with the needs of all the different groups of workers, so that by a possession of such a knowledge it may organize production and distribution in such a way that the people of the nation may be properly housed, clothed and fed. The organization of proletarian organs of industrial administration has this for its object. The greater the efficiency of the workers along these lines, the smoother and the less violent will be the transition period. One of the reasons for this is that if the workers can show a world which has become exhausted and desperate under the crushing burden of capitalism that a proletarian administration of society's needs is far superior to that of the capitalists, the force of social opinion alone will be sufficient to prevent an excessive and social disturbance.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

This question is to be considered. The dictatorship is one of the other weapons in the arsenal of economic direct action. No matter how much we might desire the revolution to be bloodless and without violence, no matter how well organized the workers may be and equipped for the historic task of destroying the system of capitalism, the latter will never give in without a struggle. The dictatorship will be forced on us. Even if we all quit work and leave the workshops, still that does not put us in possession of the latter, neither does it give us the key to the warehouses of the world. This the Italians understood in their latest move. Hence the presence of their red guard in front of the factories.

We do not care where our dictatorship, our Red Guard will come from. We know, however, that it will be there as it has always been in the historic battles of the working class all through history. The dictatorship and the red guard were on their posts, earning immortality, in the Paris Commune and again in the heroic battles of Spartacus and Eunus. Need Russia be mentioned? One more thing need be said here. Out of all the proletarian

weapons mentioned none is so fundamental as the strike for the changing of the workers' economic conditions. It is on increased proletarian social consciousness and intelligence following from this tactic that the use of other proletarian weapons in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is based. For let us not forget that knowledge is power.

Farewell to Ivied Halls

By BURTON LEWIS.

You turnkeys of the college walls,
Hear my last farewell!
You kicked me out of your ivied halls,
And ticketed me for hell;
But whether your robes or my overalls
Will win, only time can tell.

I bought me drinks at your secret spring
By tending your sacred fire,
Till I puked at the perfume of mummied king
And decomposed desire.
Now I'm glad of a job where the riveters ring,
And my tongue is not for hire.

Not without pity in my guts,
Not without a tear,
Like a nurse feels, leaving the wards of the nuts,—
Relieved and regretful and queer—
But I sigh not so much for you pimps and you sluts,
As my own youth spent too dear.

Take down your mossgrown Veritas,
You buggers of the tombs,
And hang up "Madame Profitas"
Amidst your Gothic glooms:
"Dead girls (for the costly cheeks of brass)
Lie bare in our private rooms."

That working woman with clear, bright eyes,
Truth, barely had mentioned your shame,
When, aping the part of the bosses' spies,
(But safe from the class war's flame)
Selling your mouldy merchandise,
You gave her a dirty name.

Now we have the kiss of her warm red lips,
Our band of rebel slaves,
In garrets of communist comradeships,
Where the workers' red flag waves;
And the breed between her unbought hips
Shall conquer across our graves.

Go Organize Your Brother

By JOHN E. NORDQUIST.

Air: "Just Break the News to Mother."

The class war fierce is raging
Upon industry's field,
And the fellow workers fighting
Quite oft' their life must yield;
They die fighting for the union
And for the rights of men—
They give their lives that other men may live.
But though our heroes perish
Their principles remain!
And we who live must carry on the fray.
We must organize the workers
In ONE BIG UNION GRAND,
For comrades who went west, to us did say:

CHORUS:

Go, organize your brother,
Unite with one another;
When in ONE UNION GRAND you'll stand,
The world you will command.
You know there is no other
Real union for you, brother;
The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
Wants you to join today!

The master class is gath'ring
For the last foul, fierce attack,
Their greedy jaws are lath'ring
To stay on labor's back,
But the toilers now awak'ning;
Are bound to dump them off
And take the world to use for labor's own.
Can't you see the mighty army
That labor musters now
In every mine and mill and shop and field.
They have joined the ONE BIG UNION—and are
united now;
They've heard the voice of those who passed
away:

CHORUS:

Woman's Struggle for Emancipation

By MABEL KANKA

Now that the battle which women have waged for many years for the right to vote has been gained, what has been accomplished for woman?

The majority of these women, who waged this long and bitter fight, have hardly had time yet to view the effects of their achievement.

The question to be asked and answered is: **Have the women wage earners** been benefited by this triumph?

One of the chief arguments of the suffrage advocate was the economic serfdom of women. It was pointed out to her that she was a slave and the fact that her husband also was a slave was completely ignored. But will the ballot in the hands of women emancipate her any more than it has emancipated man? Those of us who have already become disillusioned know that it will not. We know that the women of the working class are slaves, but we know, too, that the solution of this evil lies not in the ballot box but in the union hall.

The equal suffrage movement has been highly responsible for the bitter feud which has sprung up between men and women in the industrial as well as the political field. Women were led to believe that as men were their enemies, it mattered not that they worked side by side in the same shop during long hours for starvation wages. Their enemy was not the one responsible for these conditions, whether it be a man or woman. But her enemy was her fellow slave, even though he was oppressed as much as she.

The place of women in the industrial history of the world has been practically ignored, due partly to this feud which existed between men and women, partly to the fact that the male historians sought to ignore them, and partly to the fact that women themselves have been so busy gaining a foothold in new industrial pursuits that they have had no time to tell of their achievements.

It is often charged, and usually with great bitterness, that women are taking men's jobs. That they are crowding them out of industries, and a casual view of any industrial plant seemingly would affirm that accusation. Women have penetrated to the very heart of industrial life, as was proven by an industrial survey taken as far back as 1900. This survey revealed the startling fact that of the 303 separate occupations found in the United States, women occupied places in 295 of them. The only occupations in which no women were found engaged were United States soldiers, sailors and marines, street car drivers, foremen of fire department, apprentices to roofers, helpers to steam boiler makers and helpers to brass moulders. So the fact that even twenty years ago women were employed as longshoremen, quarrymen and other occupations requiring great physical as well as mental strength proved that women had really become a factor to

be reckoned with in industry. And that any person or organization that failed to take them into serious consideration was doomed to failure in the solution of economic problems.

While it is true that women are invading more and more the fields which had heretofore been considered as belonging particularly to men, men have in turn been replacing women in the occupations which had been considered as women's special field.

The textile industry, the oldest known aside from agriculture, belongs by its very nature to the domain of women, just as agriculture can be truly said to be man's special field. Yet present day statistics prove that the number of men engaged in this industry far outnumber the women. Before the home workshop was replaced by the factory the women carded the wool, spun it into thread, wove the thread into cloth and finally made the cloth into garments. The men had neither time nor inclination for such work.

Then, when the capitalistic system came and factories were established, it was still the women who were employed in this work, only under different conditions.

It was women labor that made the establishment of the factory system of production possible. In America colonial governors refused to issue permits for the erection of factories until they were assured that women and children only would be employed and that the men would not be taken away from their agricultural pursuits. Most of these permits were granted on the strength of the plea that it would give employment to the idle women and children. It was for this reason chiefly that the early vagrancy laws were enacted in the colonies, to force the women of the working class into the textile factories. For they were enforced largely against women? The introduction of the spinning jenny, which required a greater speeding up process which the women were unable to endure, caused that their places were taken by men, mostly foreign immigrants. The women then turned to other industries, which had not yet reached the highly developed machine stage, such as shoe and cigar making.

The first cigars were made by the wife of a Connecticut farmer in 1801, and this new industry soon became an important factor in New England life, the men raising the tobacco and the women making it into cigars to be sold at fairs and other places of amusement. And it was not until nine years later that the first cigar factory was established. Even then only women were employed.

The question of why women are becoming more numerous in industrial life and why they are continually entering new fields of activity has been the cause of many bitter controversies. But the ratio between the number of unmarried men and

women and the increase in the number of wage-earning women is seldom taken into account. Today, with the unstable industrial conditions, the average man of the working class refuses to assume the responsibility of a family, consequently another woman is denied the right of home making, so she takes up an industrial career, thereby becoming the competitor of the man who under a sane social system would have been her co-partner in establishing a home.

A woman being paid less than a man for the same work is usually preferred to her male competitor. Whether or not she is as efficient the man is a matter for debate.

However, this in part can be attributed to the fact that she has been so grossly discriminated against by her male competitors. They have denied her admission to their unions and her grievances have been ignored; she has been treated in most cases as an enemy rather than as the fellow slave which she was. Then in spite of all this she has been bitterly denounced when she failed to support the strikers from which she herself would derive no benefit since she was refused admission to the union. It is true that it is oftener far more difficult to interest women in labor conditions or make them see the advantage of organization than men, but this is not because women are any less intelligent than men, but because her traditions and entire outlook on life is different.

When a man enters industry he knows roughly speaking that it is for life. There is little hope of escape. He may enter other fields but he is sentenced to some form of activity for life, and consciously or unconsciously he knows this. But the woman, on the other hand, has always the hope of getting married and escaping the clutches of the industrial monster. So it would not be entirely wrong to say that she is more interested in getting a husband than she is in bettering working conditions. This is not a condemnation, it is simply nature. And in spite of all the derision that has been hurled at this declaration by our suffragette sisters, woman's place is in the home. And when the industrial democracy comes, striking off her chains as well as those of her male competitor, making it possible for her to fulfill her natural function, that is where you will find the natural woman. Instead of being long-shoremen and quarrymen they will be what nature intended her to be, not an industrial slave but a wife and mother.

Is it any wonder then that seeing themselves discriminated against, refused admission to the trade unions, which the men had built up for their own protection, that they grew bitter? They saw themselves receiving less pay than the man for the same work, without any hope of redress. Is it any wonder then that in this state of mind she clutched at the banner of equal suffrage as a child clutches at the fleeting sunbeams, and fervently came to believe that the redress of all her wrongs, both economic and social, lay in the ballot? And with this weapon once secured she could sever the economic chains

that bound her. And so she suffered persecution, jails and every other torture which pioneers in any field must undergo. And she gave the best of her energy to this long and bitter struggle, proving that women can fight just as fiercely and bravely for what she believes to be right as men can. The only thing that was wrong was not her courage or her bravery but simply that she was besieging a fort that had been abandoned by those who went in advance of her. She was fighting to gain a weapon that had already become obsolete in righting the wrongs of the oppressed.

After many years of this delusion men were discovering that the rulers of the world had given them a paper knife, urging them to use it for fear that they might discover the steel sword. They have discovered that the only weapon which the ruling class fears and therefore the only one that is potent is industrial organization.

The problem of women's status in industry is a problem that she herself must solve. And even the most sincere and enthusiastic must soon see the futility of trying to combat political machines and purify legislatures by means of the ballot. They must see that the thing that the masters of society fear is not ballots but economic power. "So every Bondman bears within his own hand the power to cancel his captivity," said Brutus. And this is equally true of the wage slave of today, whether man or woman, and that power lies in economic organization of the entire working class, regardless of creed, race, color or sex. The only barrier recognized by the I. W. W. is the barrier of class. "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," says our preamble, which makes it apparent that the real enslaver of woman is not the man who works beside them, although they do receive higher pay. Their real enemy is the system of society which permits such conditions to exist.

We have ample proof that we hold the solution to the emancipation of the working class. That proof lies in the hundreds of our fellow workers now serving long prison terms, while many others are lying in jails under indescribable conditions awaiting trial. And this for no other reason than that they urged the workers to forget their petty differences and join hands into ONE BIG UNION of the entire working class. To the women we make a special plea. We know you are slaves. Join hands with us and we will strike off your chains and set you free.

THE WAY TO SPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IS TO SPREAD THE LITERATURE OF THE I. W. W. IF YOU CANNOT MAKE SPEECHES OR WRITE ARTICLES OR ORGANIZE, YOU CAN ALWAYS HELP OUT BY TAKING HOME A BUNDLE OF THE O. B. U. MONTHLY TO SELL TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FELLOW WORKERS.

Radek -- alismus Children Sicken of Communism

A friendly criticism of the R. S. F. S. R. from the viewpoint of clean communism.

By M. KAMINIEV

(Editor's note—Fellow Worker M. Kaminiev, who has recently spent seven months in Russia, and who is now in Germany, sends this article for publication in *The One Big Union Monthly*. It is at the same time being published by the *Allgemeine Arbeiter Union Deutschlands*.)

The question has often been put,— is there one clean Communist in the world? The answer was almost invariably—Lenin. I do not know whether Lenin is ready to defend this position. I am ready to deny it categorically.

First it depends upon what we mean by clean communism. Clean communism is an **economic system of society**, which by affording equality of opportunity to all raises the culture of the individual to the level where all his passions and his habits are directed for the common benefit, and he attains a rich form of life in full absence of the feeling of private ownership. To live **communistically** is most **economical**.

Insofar as all workers always strive to live most economically, they are consciously or unconsciously striving in the direction of communism. The **class-conscious** worker knows that the money system, the wage system, political laws are for him least economical because they are based on dishonest principles, which make possible for non-producers to live better than producers.

I. The money system is not economical because it is full of flaws which make possible speculation.

Speculation is the trading system based upon the dishonest principle to give as little as possible and receive in return as much as possible—which monopolizes the home market and the overseas market in turn and causes bloody wars for the re-division of the world market according to the ever-changing balance of power.

II. The wage system is based upon the same dishonest principle—buying and selling labor power.

III. All political laws are ropes to hold the system in place.

The clean communist does not believe in the money system, wage system, political laws. He does not take or issue money. He does not support the wage system. For him exist only economic and natural laws, to which he does not submit but which he is ever striving to conquer. **There is not one such man in the world.** There exists the ideal—**clean communism**, the viewpoint of clean communism, and the class struggle to realize this ideal. In Russia there exists a communist party, communist international, communist money, the wage system, political laws, speculation, etc., etc., and there is not one clean communist.

The question arises then, where on earth if not in Russia is clean communism possible? To answer this question we must analyze, the Russian government system from the viewpoint of clean commun-

ism and compare it with the ideal to which the world labor movement is striving.

Under clean communism not one will depend on the money system. Women will not depend on one or more men. Children will not depend on dependent men and women. That is possible only in such countries where the industries are so developed as to produce enough for all, and where the system of distribution is so honest that each human soul is economically independent. In such countries the historical-economic conditions are ready for communism. In countries where the economic development is ready for communism there exists an industrial proletariat which possesses economic power in the measure that it is conscious of it and is trying to assert it.

According to Marx the political power is the reflex of the economic. In industrially developed countries when the workers build soviets they are **economic soviets**. And when they take economic power and enforce it by arms they come directly in control of an economic system of society—called Communism. The civil war period is called dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of this we had a good example in the recent armed uprising in the Ruhr coal district of Germany. In the coal industry there is never more than eighty per cent of the workers at work at any one time. The rest are unemployed for various reasons, such as sickness, etc. In the Ruhr district after the workers captured power, eighty per cent of the workers went back to work, which is normal.

What is the condition of the economic development of Russia? Compared with Germany or America in 1914 Russia had less than thirty per cent industry. At present with the loss of Finland, Poland, the destruction of the mines in Donetz, Ural and Siberia, etc., there is about 5 or 10 per cent left. And even that is working spasmodically. We would expect in Russia to have about 5 to 10 per cent communism. Most of the work in Russia today is done in the least economical way—by hand. So that to live in Russia today is less economical than under Kerensky. At the 9th congress of the Communist Party in Russia the most important problem was the question of control and management of industry. The one-man management was championed by Lenin, Trotzky and the government, as being most economical. There was a strong opposition on the part of the industrial unions, who defended collegiate or group management. The revolution from the very beginning was carried on on communist principles. In the first days of the revolution in Petrograd for instance, all were receiving the same pay; there was a measure of equality in all spheres of life. The factorycommittees took over control of industry. But after two years of that summed up, it appeared that under committee control there was less and less be-

ing produced from month to month. The railroads did not repair locomotives nearly as fast as they were disabled, thus hampering transportation, so that while half of Russia was starving there was plenty of food rotting in other parts of the country. To say nothing of building up Russian industry, creating an industrial proletariat upon which a communist system might be based. No doubt the collegiates stood nearer to clean communism. But still Lenin and Trotzky were right. All felt that under one-man management German industry was developed; under the same system of management American industry was developed. In Russia only after Kerensky was driven away and this system was liquidated did industry begin to decline fast, thus proving that one-man management system for Russia is practically strong and politically weak. One-man management was accepted by the congress, convinced that the system was politically too weak to last long in Russia. By the time industry had been built up and an industrial proletariat created it will have caused so much scandal that the new industrial proletariat will use its newly gained economic power to sweep the system away and replace it by an economic system of society—called communism.

When the Russian revolution broke out there was little economic power to take. It was the army more than anything else that revolted. Economically the country was too much run down to conduct war. When the bolsheviks came into power they took what power there was—very little economic—mostly political, in the same sense that they carried out the party program. At first they fought for communism, depending upon the support of the industrial proletariat of western Europe. Agricultural Russia plus industrial Germany was their motto. But they were bitterly disappointed. They then tried to carry the principles of communism into the village, and after several peasant uprisings they learned the bitter lesson that Russia was not economically ready for communism. After that they were compelled to make many steps backward from the principles of communism. Conclusion: First they fought for communism and lost—then they fought for existence, for power—and won. Those who fought for communism only died. Those who fought for power only succeeded.

Power corrupts. So the history of the Russian revolution is full of corruption. But all revolutions are alike in this respect. We must not judge Russia in bitterness, for the sake of clarity.

The Russian working class is full of failures and is trying to set up a system of society without failures. It is impossible. And he is succeeding in doing the impossible, only he is paying a heavy price, with the lives of the best workers.

We must look upon Russia as a great experiment, the success of which makes possible the freedom of the whole working class; the failure of which should leave the working class so much wiser for the experience that Russia serves as a working pattern for the revolutionist the world over. **What Russia says** will reach the remote parts of the earth

much sooner than **what Russia does**. I will therefore tell what Russia does, so that the workers of the world may consciously do as Russia did rather than as Russia says.

The Russian government system is not intended to be permanently stable. So we cannot study it for the purpose of copying it exactly, but we shall study it for the good and the bad in it. It is a soviet system. The soviet as a system is stable enough to last. Western Europe and America have already copied it. But they must learn the difference between them. In Germany and America the soviets are predominantly economic. The Russian soviets are predominantly political. If countries like individuals, judge others by themselves, Russia should say, "Do as we did." They did take what power there was to take, less political than economic. We in America, if we should take what power we as workers have, we would take the economic power directly. For the rest the government takes the committee form enforced by government power, according to the old sense of the word. Lenin bravely writes, "A government is the machinery of oppression of one class by another." The Russian government is no exception and they don't deny it. They claim they can't put up an army of ten million men, armed with new guns captured from Entente-supported reactionary generals, Judenitsch, Denikin and Koltshak.

The Russian government was born hydra-headed because there were complicated (hydra-headed) problems to solve. And in so far as their problems are being simplified, their government also is being simplified until they reach an economic system of society called communism, when the government disappears.

Let us take several of the government head institutions. The war raised the difficult problems of raising an army large enough to defend all fronts and supply them with food and ammunition—for an army moves forward on its stomach. Nothing short of the power of government would have done it in Russia. The volunteer red guard had all they could do to defend the interior from secret plots of the young bourgeoisie that is still dying hard. So was born the revolutionary military committee in every city and town. In Russia there is a strong process of centralization of all power for the sake of economy; so the revolutionary military committee soon became a head of the government—a war head, raising and supplying large armies by conscripting from peasant to general, and war specialists, conscripting whole professions, medical, transport, construction and repairs.

So was born the revolutionary extraordinary committee to fight the plotting bourgeoisie. It has the power of the old guillotine on a smaller scale. So was born the health committee to fight the ravaging epidemics of the unsanitary Russian village. So was born the education committee to fight the powers of darkness, the result of church influence over the people for many centuries.

Charlatanism is rampant in all spheres of life—

political, professional, religious, and plain charlatans are taking advantage of the present situation when the soviet government is beset by many enemies from without, to become very bold and raise the battle cry, "Charlatans of the world, unite!"

It is the Russian politics in America and Germany that should interest the I. W. W. most.

Soviet Russia, to save her own life, is compelled to depend upon the social revolution the world over, not only depend upon it but to help it, whenever it lies within her power, and she has already done much directly and indirectly to help the revolution. But in the process it has made some very cruel mistakes. The mistakes nearest home they were able to correct because it was easiest to find them out, but those furthest away are destined to be carried on to the bitter end. In America just a mistake in policy is raised by the Third International at the time of a great crisis in the American Labor movement. At the time when the American imperialists, drunk with blood and power that they gained in the last war, are again trying to destroy the revolutionary movement, **the Third International has embarked upon a policy of splitting the I. W. W. on the rock of political action** as a revolutionary tactic, and although I have no doubt that not the I. W. W. but the rock would split at a normal period, at the present time of crisis the whole labor movement must suffer from such policy.

Zinoviev in his letter to the I. W. W., January, 1920, bases all his arguments on two statements published in one issue of one of our twenty publications—One Big Union Monthly—one to the effect that Russia did not give the workers more than the right to vote—in other words political freedom. Second, we must organize industrially in order to form the nucleus of the new society within the shell of the old, which is scientific. Writing at the rate of one brochure in answer to two statements, Zinoviev would have to write hundreds of them to keep up with all the publications of the I. W. W.

Radek at the ninth congress of the Russian communist party made an erroneous statement to the effect that—syndicalism of America (I. W. W.?) is following the trail of syndicalism of western Europe. It is unmarxian and unhistoric. According to the marxian viewpoint, all institutions reflect the historic-economic developments of the period. Syndicalism was born in France some forty years ago. Then the mode of production in France was petit bourgeois—competitive—vulgarly known as anarchistic. So we had anarchistic decentralization philosophy in the labor movement. Since 1870 industry has become more and more centralized, so we witness the rise of union of unions (*bourse de travail*). During the war industry was centralized by the government, so it is now a common sight to witness gigantic working class demonstrations in Paris shouting "Vive Lenin", "Vive Trotzky", "Vive Bolshevism"—which symbolize the highest centralism in the labor movement. In America forty years ago the oil trusts and others had fully developed, so we witness centralism in the labor move-

ment even then. So syndicalism of western Europe is following the trail of America.

At an unofficial conference held in Moscow, June 1920, for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiment for organizing an economic revolutionary international, at which were representatives of the I. W. W. of the U. S. (the I. W. W. of U. S. had no accredited representative there. Ed.), England, Australia, Syndicalists of Germany, Sweden, and the professional unions of Russia, represented by Losovsky, John Reed, representing the American Communist Labor Party, **made the statement that if the I. W. W. does not join with the Communist Party, the Third International will split the I. W. W.** At home the communist press is already at work. They address the I. W. W. as follows: "You are anti-parliamentarian. Are you for or against the dictatorship of the proletariat? Yes or no. Thus breeding opportunism by trying to force an unclear statement.

How then explain the causes of opportunism in the Third International? It is conditioned in the historic backwardness of Russia and the East. The question of revolution in Russia until the October uprising was mostly political, and so it is today eastward of Russia: Persia, India, China, Korea, Turkey, etc. There we could not have an economic movement where there is no industry and no industrial proletariat. There a political party is natural. The question of revolution in Russia since October is mostly economic, reconstruction of industry, transportation, etc. Westward of Russia it is more and more economic till we reach America, where it is almost entirely so. Here the economic organization are best fitted to carry on the struggle.

The highest ideal in India is to be an independent nation and have a parliament. For this ideal the great Indian idealists are offering their lives daily. The lowest ideal in the West is the parliament. Even as a tactic it is discarded as un-economic. Suppose Soviet Russia were to give a hundred million marks to fight for parliamentarism in India and another hundred million marks to fight against parliamentarism in the West, would that not be opportunistic?

But the Third International acts in bad faith to the communist movement.

Does Soviet Russia act in good faith to the communist movement? After three years in power the Russian Communist Party has not abolished money, wage system, or political laws without which first steps communism is untinkable. By labeling itself "communistic," Russia causes unclearness and breeds opportunism. Pleading that communism is impossible, still does not alter the fact that Russia is a Social Democratic Soviet Republic and not a Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. **Russian political centralization is not federative.**

Why is communism in Russia impossible? This question can best be answered by opening up the heart of Russian political life before the eyes of the proletariat of the world. I have in mind an example

that symbolizes the class struggle in Russia as it affects the family.

Lazar S., a 17-year old boy, came to Berlin in 1919 as a personal courier for Lenin; he is a young political genius, goes through several fronts, doing unheard of things masterfully, and coming back to his home in Moscow. The father, who has lost his property during the revolution, proves to be as talented a reactionary as the son a talented revolutionary. The mother, keeping peace in the family for the sake of the bright twelve year old girl that shows as many signs of promise as the rest of the family. How this family symbolizes Russian life! The youth of the old bourgeois intellectuals are in power today; they feed and house their parents, even if they are reactionary. For the sake of the parents speculation must not be abolished. If the government starves the parents they dampen the revolutionary ardor of the sons—to kill the father for counter revolution would kill the revolutionary spirit of the son. And so, revolution conditions reaction, and reaction conditions revolution, until industry has been built up and a new industrial proletariat has been created, which may bring communism to life.

Does the suppression of the syndicalist-anarchist movement in Russia make communism any more possible? The Union of Bakers, which demanded seven pounds of bread when the rest of Moscow only got its one-pound ration, was no doubt in the wrong. Syndicalists of western Europe who understood the backwardness of Russia, will not morally support such demands. But there is an important lesson to be learned by studying this extra-ordinary state of affairs: Russian production is mostly hand production—comparatively anarchistic. So syndicalism has its hotbed—its historic basis. Big industry comprises a very small percentage of production, was partly centralized during the war, and still more centralized through the Soviet government, thus laying the basis for industrial unionism. But when the government forces all to join in industrial unions, it forces the majority of workers under the control of a small minority of industrial workers, thus making the interest of the great majority subordinate to the interest of the small minority. We, the American I. W. W., differ from the Russian unionism, we stand for the great majority of workers, whose interest it is to take full control of industry. We are for economic dictatorship as a means to an end, our aim is communism. **Economic dictatorship is dictatorship over things; political dictatorship is dictatorship over people.** The reason why Russia enforces the will of the minority industrial workers over the majority, syndicalists and peasants, is because it is a political dictatorship, which can only control a majority economically and politically by the use of the military power. Military power is extra political; that party which counts the most guns counts the most votes. Political power centralizes into the hands of one with power of life and death over others and corrupts a thousand times faster than economic power. So the Russian revolution is full of corruption. For there are two ele-

ments in the labor movement. Those who fight for power and those who fight for communism. Russia first fought for communism, and got bolshevism. If we should fight for bolshevism could we hope to get communism? Forcible economic and political control over the people may be the most economic policy for the Russian government. But the most economical politics are not political economy, for they are not scientific. When we speak with a Russian peasant who has gained the land, he says: "The soviet system is alright, but when will there be a master?" Meaning when will there be an economic master who could solve the economic problems. The blockade being economic, is having a reactionary political effect; the peasant is tired of accepting worthless currency, even if he gets much of it; he wants machinery. Fearing that Russia, economically strong, would cause revolution in their own till, the capitalistic world does not trust the Bolsheviks. And the blockade goes on. The blockade makes it more and more difficult for the Communist Party to remain in power, so the Third International was organized to defend the conquests of the revolution. **They succeeded to make bolshevism more popular outside of Russia than in Russia itself,** thus making the Russian national problem an international one. Now they proceed to make themselves as unpopular outside of Russia as they did in Russia itself by making the interests of the workers of western Europe subordinate to the interests of the Russian government. Having made some very cruel mistakes in Germany, they refused to correct them when they were pointed out. For instance: so long as "Spartacus" was a Bund (union) and had the good will of the economic movement behind it, it was powerful enough to lead the first revolution, which was the hardest. Then it became a party—it died as a revolutionary force. When the Communist Labor Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.) sent its representatives to Russia, at the sitting with the executive of the Third International, Radek spent most of the time speaking of Laufenberg and Wolfheim (who were not present), so as to evade the problems most important to the German proletariat. This form of **Radekism** is the real child-disease of communism. The Third International did not make the Russian revolution (nor the German revolution). The Russian revolution made the Third International. The statutes of the second congress of the Third International made the Russian Communist Party executives and the executives of the Third International the very same persons, thus making the will of the Russian Communist Party and the will of the Third International the same all the year around. When the Russian national question eclipses the international, it makes it impossible to solve international problems.

In Russia, those who do not work cannot eat. At least so they say—in reality those who work least eat most. **For there are two classes in Russia today: the ruling class and the ruled.** The representatives of foreign nations get their food only by special privilege. It is a custom in Russia to grant

privileges only to those who agree with Russian politics, when one has the temerity to disagree, his privileges are threatened; when one criticizes his privileges are speedily taken away.

The workers in industry not enjoying special privileges criticize most severely, a times most unscientifically. They are really becoming more and more reactionary, making it more and more difficult for the government to keep in power. To strengthen the Proletarian Dictatorship becomes the aim in Russian communist propaganda.

The science of political economy is the study of communism. Science is not propaganda nor propaganda science. When communism becomes propaganda it becomes the opposite of itself; thus making it impossible for the Third International to solve the problems of communism.

What can solve the problems of communism in the West? Lenin in his book, "Children's Diseases," on the very first page writes that Soviet Russia, now the foremost soviet republic in the world, may soon become the most backward Soviet Republic in the world. The political antithesis of Russia is America, American imperialism gives credit to England, England hands it to Wrangel & Co. America gives credit to France, France hands it to Poland, Roumania, etc. The proletariat of western Europe has the same enemy as the American proletariat. Historic conditions in the East demand political parties to solve the national problems and a political international to solve the international problems of the East. These same historic conditions in the West are demanding revolutionary economic organizations to solve the national problems and a revolutionary economic international to solve the international problems of the West. The blockade being an economic weapon, can only be broken by economic action of the workers—an economic international general strike. The Third International is by nature too weak to recognize it; they are defensive in the West and aggressive in the East. They say to capitalistic Europe, "If you attack in the West, we will attack in the East and cause revolutions in Persia, India, etc. If you will not attack in the West we will leave the East alone." The Third International is an entirely defensive organization. They are organizing communist parties in every land only to carry their defensive policies further, they wish to talk to capitalism in their own language behind the curtain and say, "Give us peace and commerce and we will give you concessions and halve the exploit. If not, we will cause revolutionary action in your rear." When capitalism wants to know what guaranties the Third International can give that they will not cause riot, anyway, the Third International will be in a position to say, "No revolution can be successful if the Third International is against it." We can sign an agreement against revolution for the next ten, twenty or thirty years. Now that historic conditions are demanding an economic international to break the blockade and make revolution in Central Europe possible, we must take

into consideration the American I. W. W. It has been the storm centre of the American revolution for the last 15 years. It is organized in the U. S., Canada, Mexico, England, Australia and many other countries, with the I. W. W. as a center. We should call a congress of I. W. W.'s, Syndicalists, Shop Stewards, and trade unions who recognize the revolutionary class struggle. We would then have a powerful enough force to quickly solve the blockade problem. Then let the revolution come to Germany, and when the imperialists of western Europe blockade Germany, we will be prepared to break the blockade.

Efficiency in the Lumber Industry

By JOE BRENNAN.

The lumber industry is not efficiently managed. In at least seventy-five per cent of the camps the foreman is inexperienced and does not understand the work, or the woods, and, consequently, does not know how to place the men. For instance. The inexperienced foreman will almost invariably have teamsters and cant-hook men, the most skilled men in the woods, doing work that requires no experience at all, and inexperienced men trying to do work that it requires years to learn. . Any lumberjack could place those men where they belong in a few hours. The inexperienced foreman, not knowing how to lay out the work, will throw the bulk of the work on one half of the crew and the other half will be doing little, although they may be doing the best they can under the circumstances. Then the over-worked victims are quitting right along and the foreman brands them as "I Won't Works" and accuses the other half of the crew of slowing down. It is just about impossible to get a lumberjack to accept a foreman's job in the woods today. I know dozens that turned down offers to run the best camps in the country. I don't need to mention the reason. Everybody knows it.

I don't know whether the following has anything to do with the efficiency of the lumber industry or not, but they have been doing it as long as I have been working in the woods, that is, seventeen years. A company will decide to go in and cut some white pine, spruce, and probably tamarack. They will cut and build a road twenty miles long into this timber. On their way in they pass large belts of white pine, spruce and tamarack a few miles from town and the railroad track. Possibly the year after this timber, that lays along the road that they built, is all destroyed by fire.

As this article must be brief I will give just one instance of waste at saw mills before closing. At least seventy-five per cent of the slabs are burned in the burners at the mills. It is quite feasible to build a box factory close to each saw mill and re-saw the slabs and make hundreds of boxes a day from the slabs at each mill.

The Future of the Marine Transport Industry

By TOM BARKER

The worst organized men in the modern Industrial world are the men engaged in the marine industry. Judge the leaders of the seamen and dockers in Great Britain and then form an idea what kind of an organization would tolerate such types. The leader of the dockers is that famous orator, Benjamin Tillett, who wears white spats—quite popular attire on the docks — visits Buckingham Palace to see Mr. Wettin, finds time to wear his pants out on the cushions in the Westminster doss-house at \$4000.00 a year, and then has time to take the platform — at so much per — on the question of Booze or no Booze.

The leader of the British seamen and the drag on the necks and lives of the marine workers of other countries is Mr. Havelock Wilson, M. P. Order of the British Empire. This ancient salt is now confined to a bath chair, but, as a matter of fact, his legs have merely been affected lately, other parts of his anatomy having been affected many years ago. He IS the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain. The other officials are the most part, satellites of Wilson's. They hate him but he has the power over their jobs. The delegates like booze and are not above doing a little graft. A seaman who can spend a couple of Treasury notes judiciously will never go short of a job. Wilson holds down about two jobs, but that counts for nothing in this leader-hypnotised country, where they holler about unemployment and then give their officials a well-paid sleep at £500 to £1000 a year and elect them to Parliament also, where they obtain another £400 a year — and the pickings.

The British seamen's organizations belong to the shipping federations. At the recent dinner of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union the big guns of the shipowners sat down, under the presidency of Mr. Wilson to an eight course banquet. The Union paid for it. The men who live in fo'c'sles and toil in the stokehole and the bunkers were conspicuous by their absence. A comparison between the dry-wash on a lime-juice scow and the dainty courses served at the banquet to the gouty conspirators might have affected a revolution in the desires of the men present. Another gathering of the skinned and the REPRESENTATIVES of the skinned, with the skinned paying the bill. And the Union was congratulated on its excellent brands of wine! It would have been a little facetious to have congratulated it upon the remarkable stupidity of its membership in tolerating such a turn-out.

There has been a lot of talk about red navies of late. If we tackle the shameful and miserable question of yellow marine unionism, I think we will get nearer to effecting something necessary to the world movement.

One thing has to be. We have to organize ONE union on all ships and all docks, regardless of the country, nationality or port. Wilson, Furuseth, Lindley, Shinwell, Chappelle and all the national jonaes have to be ejected from the control of the marine unions. They are a constant danger to working class solidarity. The reactionary dockers leaders have to go by the board. They stand in the way. They are friends of the bosses. European wages are only two-thirds of U. S. A. wage, and Wilson and Coy are to blame for this. All the European marine workers are praying for the overthrow of Wilson. His leadership costs the seamen of Great Britain and Europe many millions per year.

The shipping barons are enormously rich today. Their mad gluttony has no limits. The men who have created those profits have been treated like dogs, and thousands of them lie deep in the bosom of Mother Ocean. The Trade Routes can be traced by the wrecked coffin ships and their unfortunate crews.

*"There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew".*

One Big Union on the docks and the ship in all countries will create the greatest and most powerful organization in the world. Without it, all mention of international action or solidarity is futile. There will never be any red navies where there are yellow merchant ships. Paper federations may hold a thousand congresses and dine at a thousand Grand Hotels and deliver a million speeches on what they will NEVER do. The Marine industry has to be organized correctly and scientifically, from the bottom up. The splendid isolation of a Dutch or Chilean crew in Barcelona or Liverpool is not improved by the banquet in Kristiania last March. Such is not organization, it is imposition. The present international transport workers federation is a collection of slum properties lumped together, and which our sainted Trade Union leaders want to palm off as a mansion upon the credulous people in the marine and other industries. New foundations, real architects have to be forthcoming, and woe to the gang who may stand in the way of them.

Marine unionism is in a worse street than it was in 1914. It can be organized effectively. It has to be done by seamen and dockers, not by retired tailors, broken-down actors and itinerant umbrella repairers. The best men for the work, from my experience, are I. W. W. members who follow the deep-sea, and members of the various Vigilance Committees on the docks. Liverpool and Glasgow are forging ahead on this idea. In the Argentine and Chile the ports are under control of these men with the world organization idea. A word from the M. T. W. union of deep-seas workers will

stand a ship idle in 20 minutes. And neither the color of her flag nor the gold-lace of her skipper will start her, until she is cleared.

But the Wilson gang has to be **broken and smashed**. Life is too short to bore from within. The immensity and tonnage of British shipping and the reactionary nature of British marine Unionism is blocking the forward march of the World's Marine Workers to the Conquest of their industry. It is the crux of the International Labor movement. It is of more importance than Labor parties, Socialist Parties, Communist parties, booze or municipal milk. Capitalism depends on markets, shipping, marine transport. War, slaughter, deportation will be used against the workers, until we start right, lay scientific foundations, and weld the engineer, seaman, fireman, mate and messboy into one union. All aboard the ship in ONE union. The dockers in Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Liverpool, Sydney and Hong Kong in the ONE union. The crews in the western-ocean liner, the Swedish tugboat, the Kristiansand full-rigger, the River Plate river-boat, the Australian coaster and the Pacific-coast timber schooner all to be in the ONE union. Do you realize, fellow worker, what such an organization could do? What could the champagne bottle and the fine cigars do to corrupt such an organization? The world of Marine Work-

ers is ready for it, realizes what it means, and recognizes its utility and its daily and hourly necessity.

Transport industry has remained stagnant in a world of cyclonic change. Amalgamation without the necessary educational work is the aggregation of slum properties, camouflaged with a high sounding name and fierce-talking officials, who fear the day when their antiquated legions and their bow and arrow equipment may be challenged by the opposing armies of the enemy. The huge Russian armies armed by sticks and bullet-less rifles fell before the smaller and more compact German legions at Tannenburg in the early days of the late war. They were almost obliterated in the swamps of Masuria.

Big salaries, no educational work, first class hotels, big cigars, dinners and banquets to the shipowners, merely means a leaderless disorganized rabble in the moment of battle, a victory for the compact ship-owning and capitalist battalions, and the bitter lesson once again of treachery, ignorance and incapacity.

The essential, the crux of Propertarian Power is the Master of the World's Merchant Ships through One Organization. Without it, the Third International, is futile and impossible in the field of practice.

The Working Man

He makes everything.
 He makes butter and eats oleo.
 He builds palaces and lives in schacks.
 He builds automobiles and walks home.
 He raises the corn and eats the husks.
 He makes kid gloves and wears mittens.
 He makes fine tobacco and chews scrap.
 He makes fine flour and eats stale bread.
 He makes fine clothing and wears shoddy.
 He makes good cigars and smokes stogies.
 He builds electric light plants and burns oil.
 He makes silk shirts and wears cotton.
 He produces fine beef and eats the soup bone.
 He makes carriages and pushes a wheelbarrow.
 He makes broadcloth pants and wears overalls.
 He makes meerschaum pipes and smokes a cob.
 He makes stove pipe hats and wears cheap derbies.
 He digs the gold and has his teeth filled with cement.
 He builds fine cafes and eats at the lunch counter.
 He makes patent leather shoes and wears brogans.
 He builds baseball grandstands and sits in the bleachers.
 He makes the palace car and rides in the "side-door-sleeper."
 He builds grand opera houses and goes to the movies.
 He makes silk suspenders and holds his pants up with nails.
 He makes fine furniture and uses cheap installment stuff.
 He makes the shrouds, the coffins and tombs, and when he dies he sleeps in Potter's Field.



HE GROWS THE APPLES AND HE EATS THE CORES

Shop Organization in the Metal & Machinery Industry

"440's" METHOD OF ORGANIZING ITS SHOPCOUNCILS INTO THE ONE CITY BRANCH

The main office of Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440 finds keen satisfaction in submitting to the membership the accompanying organization chart, confident that it embodies such a perfected plan of organization as has never before been attained by the metal and machinery industry and as will infallibly result in the phenomenal and rapid expansion of our industrial union, if we get the uniform co-operation of the membership in its application. It is nothing but the thoroughly worked out and comprehensive application of the now world-wide popular and effective "shop committee" or "shop council" plan of organization to our industry. The plan includes the two overwhelming advantages of resulting in the most effective form of organization both for dealing with the masters now and for operating the industries after the masters are overthrown, at the same time that we follow the line of least resistance in organizing.

The membership will recognize that this graphic chart and its plan of organization is in exact accord with the action of the last General Convention of the General Organization in endorsing the "shop committee" plan of organization. And we need hardly add, in addressing the members of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, that it is directly consequent upon and in conformity with the decision of our own last general convention at Toledo, O., last spring, and confirmed by referendum vote of the membership.

Because of the supreme importance of the subject and in view of the fact that this month we are able to produce this graphic chart, we are going to quote from an article of last month's issue of the METAL WORKER, which with a little study will make the chart perfectly plain to the mind in every detail. The article, in so far as it applies directly to the understanding and elucidation of the chart, reads as follows:

The metal and machinery industry is composed of many factories and mills where workers are engaged in the production of metal products. Every factory or mill of any size is sub-divided into departments and every department has its foreman.

Let us forget our nationality when considering this plan and bring our attention to bear upon the metal and machinery industry. If we are to have a genuine industrial organization, then we must study the industry and how it is organized. By doing so we will get a better idea of the form our organization should take.

We will now proceed to organize. First we will take the department of the shop. We will have one delegate in each department. The duty of the delegates will be to take care of their respective departments just as your foreman does now, except that the delegates' only function at present

will be to collect dues and carry on the educational and organization work in his department.

These department delegates will come together, making up the shop council and elect a shop delegate, whose duty will be to get supplies from the branch secretary and issue them to the department delegates.

He receives reports from the department delegate and forwards them to the branch secretary, in short he has the same duty as the superintendent, or general foreman of the shop in which you work, that of looking after the shop in general except that his only duty at present is to look after the department delegate, take care of the educational and organization work in the shop and act as chairman of the shop council.

The shop delegates come together making the One City Branch organization committee. They elect a chairman.

This committee's duty is to look after the interests of the organization within the city. To raise finances and supervise the work of the organization in general throughout the city. The branch financial secretary shall act as recording secretary for the city organization committee and shall take care of the branch funds. He receives supplies from and sends his reports to the main office of the industrial union direct.

Branch secretaries shall be put on a wage basis only when the volume of business demands it, or the revenue will allow the same to be done. Branches shall hold only such funds on hand as may be absolutely necessary to carry on the work of organization in the particular locality.

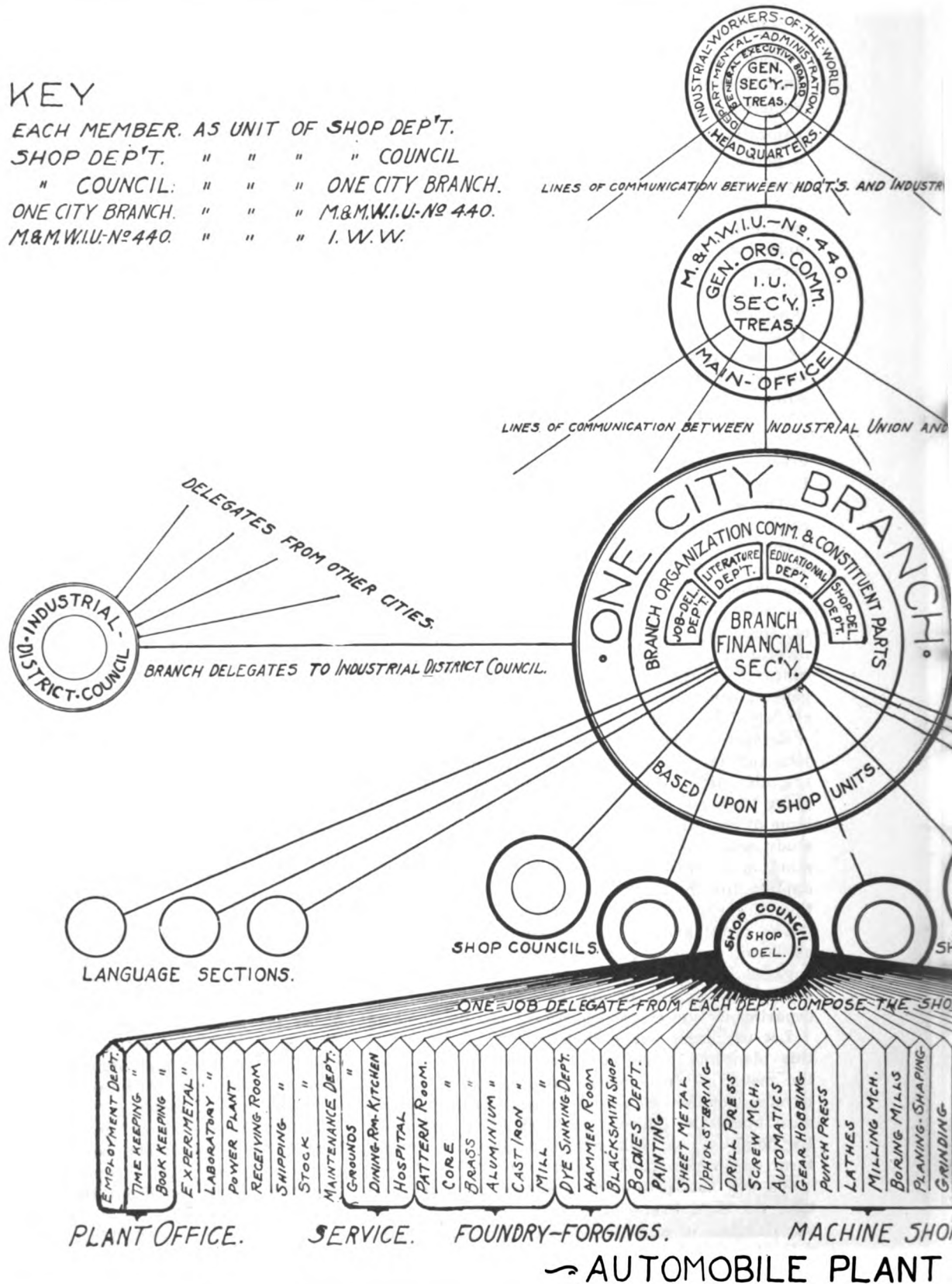
The entire membership of a city shall meet together in one business of establishing general industrial solidarity in a given district. Delegates will come together from the City Branches in a district, let us say about every three or six months, except in the larger cities, where conditions will not permit or where it is necessary for foreign language speaking fellow workers to meet by themselves.

In either case it may not be possible for the membership of an entire city to meet together. Where it is necessary to meet in several different bodies for the above reasons, each body will have its own recording secretary, who will keep the financial secretary and organization committee of the One City Branch informed of the activities of the particular body.

Of course, the above scheme of the One City Branch with shop units can only be worked out as we gain sufficient membership in the various shops, but if we go about the work in the right way we can work it out to a great extent with our present membership. Where it is necessary to meet in several different bodies, and where your shop units cannot be formed at the present, each body will elect a delegate who will receive re-

KEY

EACH MEMBER AS UNIT OF SHOP DEPT.
 SHOP DEPT. " " " " COUNCIL
 " COUNCIL: " " " ONE CITY BRANCH.
 ONE CITY BRANCH. " " " M.&M.W.I.U.-No 440.
 M.&M.W.I.U.-No 440. " " " I. W. W.



PLAN OF THE ONE CITY BRANCH

OF THE M. & M. W. I. U. - NO. 440. - I. V. V. V.
 BASED UPON THE SHOP UNITS OR COUNCILS,
 AS DRAWN UP AT CONVENTION IN TOLEDO, O., 1920
 AND CARRIED BY REFERENDUM VOTE.

UNIONS.

BRANCHES.

DELEGATES FROM OTHER INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

BRANCH DELEGATES TO GEN-INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL.

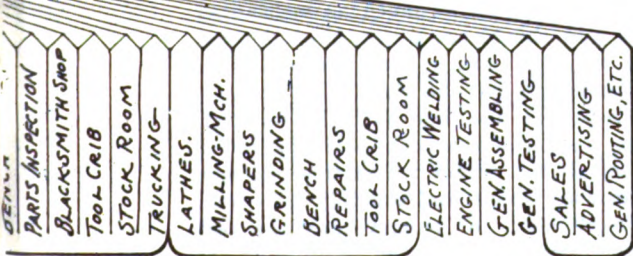


P COUNCILS.



COMMUNITY GROUPS

COUNCIL.



TOOL ROOM.

GEN.-OFFICE.

ports from the delegates in his body and turn them over to the financial secretary. He will receive supplies from the financial secretary and issue the same to the other delegates in his body and turn them over to the financial secretary. He will receive supplies from the financial secretary and issue the same to the other delegates in his body. These delegates from the several different bodies will make up the City Organization Committee. Whenever it is possible it will be best to go ahead with the shop unit plan, then we will have our organization committee made up of delegates from the various shops in the city. This is a genuine industrial organization in line with the present makeup of the metal machinery industry. We bring our organization to the shop where it belongs, educating and organizing the workers right at the point of production for a realization of our aims, that of working class management.

Besides all this a closer alliance will be maintained between the various One City Branches in a locality through the formation of Industrial District Councils. Industrial District Councils are formed for the purpose of discussing general organization matters pertaining to the district and to work effectively in the district. This is the only function it can perform at the present and is in compliance with our constitution.

To give you a general idea of Industrial District Councils as they can be formed in the metal and machinery industry, we will give you the following districts with Chicago, Cleveland, Dayton, and New York as centers. Of course, we have not much at present except delegates in some of the cities mentioned, but it will be an illustration anyway. The Chicago District will include: Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Racine, Kenosha, Waukegan, South Chicago, Indiana Harbar, Gary, Hammond, So. Bend, Harvey and Rockford, etc. Cleveland District will include: Detroit, Toledo, Tiffin, Warren, Canton, Akron, Erie, Youngstown and Pittsburgh. Dayton District will include Cincinnati, Hamilton, Middletown and Columbus. New York will include: Newark, Elizabeth, New Brunswick, Schenectady, Stratford, Bridgeport and Philadelphia.

One or two good delegates from a branch will be enough, for these are

but conferences and we must not incur any large expense. Industrial District Councils will have no paid officials and will hold no treasury. Branches will pay the expenses of the delegates.

General Industrial District Councils are formed for the purpose of establishing general industrial solidarity between the different industrial unions in a given district. Its function is the same as that of the Industrial District Council, except that its delegates come from branches of different industrial unions.

The Industrial District Council takes up the questions pertaining to one industry, while the General District Council takes up questions pertaining to all industries in the given district. The scope of the latter may be limited to the city.

We want you to read in connection with this subject an editorial from a recent number of SOLIDARITY, quoted elsewhere in this issue, in which is related the experience of one of our members in organizing one of the big industrial plants of this country along lines practically the same as this plan. It will give the reader an idea of the ease with which our plan can be applied.

Now, fellow workers, it is up to you. The plan is yours. As stated above it contains great and immediate possibilities for our industry. Its growth and achievement will travel exactly in rasion to our zeal and enthusiasm.

What the I. W. W. Offers to the Farmer and the Farm Hand

By James Palmer

To the farm hand the I. W. W. offers modern labor union, one that knows how to fight the boss, a union that understands how to use the strike and the boycott.

For all wage workers on big bonanza farm or on the small farm, it offers higher wages, shorter hours, and better living conditions.

To both the present day farm hand and to the farmer, it offers a wonderful future, it seeks to establish a system of society, where agricultural production will become co-operative, instead of individualistic. It will insure all farmers against fire, frost, drought and famine. It will kill for once and forever all fear of poverty.

Instead of having our beautiful vallies marred with many fences and unsightly barns and shacks, all the farmers in the valley would own the valley together, all would work it together.

The benefits of the city would be brought to the country. Farmers would not need to live miles apart, they could live in modern Agricultural Villages, with all the conveniences of a large city: Electric lights, garages, automobiles, theaters, hospitals, department stores, modern homes, with running water, telephones, etc. All workers could go to the fields in automobiles, just like the city worker. No middle man would take the profit, because the workers in the city and the country would own

the land and the industries. All hatred and prejudice between the city worker and the farmer would disappear. The reactionaries who would use the farmer against the social revolution, cry out that the I. W. W. wants to divide up all the wealth. This is a lie! It is Capitalist propaganda. The I. W. W. says: "The farms for the farmers," "the mines for the miners" and "the world for the workers!"

The Agricultural and Industrial Communist say, "to the producer belongs all wealth." If you are a producer you have nothing to fear from the Social Revolution.

A Voice from the Scrap Heap

By AN AGRICULTURAL SLAVE.

These days every wage slave has a master;
Seems that every master has a slave.

Gee, I'd be glad if I only had—

Someone to tell me, "Dig in, you knave!"

I'd like to do some sweating and some "hogging,"

Some crawling and some mauling, too, I crave.

But the masters are well fed and they do not care
a "red"

If I starve—MY SHARE to be—a potter's grave.

CHORUS:

Gee, I wish that I had a boss like the other fellows
have—

Someone to stand and cuss over me and "egg" me
on when I get mad.

On Monday morn I'm still in bed when I ought to
be earning my master's bread,

And I'm lonesome, awful lonesome.

Gee, I wish I had a job.

There were times, of course, when I was employed,
When industrial "captains" drank my health—

But— I grew old and so I was told

Too old to act—as invested wealth

And that is why the shameful street I'm walking.

I cannot sell my hand nor hide, nor brain.

Oh! I don't know what to do—I am feeling very
blue

And I only wish that I was young again.

If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where and what he liked, taking just as much as he wanted and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap and reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and refuse,—keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worse, pigeon of the flock,— sitting round and looking on all the winter whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it;— and, if a pigeon more hardy or hungry than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces—if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men.

—Archdeacon Paley.

The Moscow Move for an Industrial International

Below we reproduce from "THE WATCHWORD" (Organ of the Transport and General Workers Union of Ireland) the manifesto, declaration of principles and provisional rules issued by the provisionally formed "International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions", in close connection with the Third International.

We reprint this document not as a matter of endorsement, but as newsmatter of importance in connection with our own efforts towards forming a purely industrial international.

I.

Declaration of Principles.

We, the undersigned representatives of Russian, Italian, Spanish, French, Bulgarian, Yugo-Slav and Georgian trade and industrial unions called together by the Executive Committee of the Third International, consider:

(a) That the position of the working class in all countries, created by the imperialist war, demands from day to day a more definite and energetic class struggle for the final cessation of exploitation and the establishment of the Communist system.

(b) That this struggle must be conducted on an international scale with closest organization of all the workers not in craft groups, but in industrial organization.

(c) That so-called social reforms, such as the reduction of hours in the working day, increases of wages, the regulation of conditions of labor, etc., under certain circumstances ease the struggle of the classes, but are in themselves unable to solve the social problem.

(d) That in the majority of the belligerent countries the greater part of the Trade Unions—neutral or non-political unions—during the deplorable years of war, became the servants of imperialist capitalism and retarded the final emancipation of Labor.

(e) That the working class must gather all the Trade Union organizations into one powerful revolutionary class association which, working side by side with the political organization of the international Communist proletariat, and on close contact with it, may be able to develop all its strength for the final victory of the social revolution and the establishment of a world-wide Soviet Republic.

(f) That the possessing classes are sparing no effort to crush the movement for the emancipation of the exploited.

(g) That the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie must be opposed by the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a transitional but resolute method which alone is able to crush the resistance of the exploiters and consolidate the gains of the proletarian government.

(h) That the Amsterdam, International Federation of Trade Unions is unable, with its program

and tactics, to lead to the triumph of the above expressed principles, and cannot secure victory for the proletarian masses of all countries.

And we therefore resolve:

10. To condemn the tactic of advanced revolutionary elements leaving the existing unions. On the contrary, these elements should adopt all measures to drive out of the unions the opportunists who have co-operated and are now co-operating with the bourgeoisie by supporting the imperialist war, and who continue to serve the interests of capitalist imperialism by participating in the activities of the pseudo League of Nations.

2. To conduct Communist propaganda within the Trade Unions in all countries, and organize Communist and revolutionary groups in every organization for the purpose of propagating the acceptance of our program.

3. To organize a militant International Committee for the reorganization of the Trade Union movement. This Committee shall function as the International Council of Trade Unions and act in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Third International on conditions which will be laid down by Congresses. All trade and industrial unions affiliated to the Council shall be represented on it. One representative of the International Council of Trade Unions shall be included on the Executive Committee of the Third International, and a representative of the latter shall be included on the International Council of Trade Unions.

Signed: A. Losovsky (All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions), L. D'Aragona (General Confederation of Labor, Italy), A. Pestanne, (National Confederation of Labor, Spain), N. Shablin (General Labour Unions, Bulgaria), A. Rosmer (Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority, General Confederation of Labor, France), Mikadje (Communist Minority Trade Unions, Georgia), Milkitch (General Confederation of Labor, Yugo-Slavia, Serbia, etc.)

Moscow, July 15, 1920.

II.

PROVISIONAL RULES

I.—Title

The organization formed by the representatives of the Trade Unions of various countries shall be known as The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

II.—Aims and Objects

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions aims at:

1. Carrying on an insistent and continuous propaganda of the revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and mass revolutionary action with the object of destroying the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

2. Fighting the disease of class co-operation,

which is weakening the Labor movement and opposing the false hope that a peaceful transition from capitalism is possible.

3. Uniting all the revolutionary elements in the world Trade Union movement and conducting a determined struggle against the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, and against the program and tactics of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

4. Taking the initiative in organizing an international campaign on the outstanding facts of the class struggle and organizing the collection of funds in support of strikes and big social conflicts, etc.

5. Collecting all material concerning the international Labor movement and keeping all the organizations which are affiliated to the International Council of Trade Unions informed as to the movement in other countries.

III.—Composition of the Organization

This organization is composed of representatives of Russia, Italy, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, Georgia, one representative for each country and one delegate for each national centre which belongs to the International Council of Trade Unions. The Council includes a representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Council elects an Executive Bureau of three persons, including a General Secretary and a delegate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IV.—Bulletin

The International Council of Trade Unions shall publish its own organ in four languages entitled "The Bulletin of the International Council of Trade Unions."

V.—Conferences

Only those Trade Unions or minorities of Trade Unions which conduct a revolutionary struggle in their country and recognize proletarian dictatorship are entitled to representation at international conferences.

General national centres, Trade Unions, separate unions, and international federations may be represented on the following basis: General national centres of Trade Unions, separate unions, and minorities or unions whose membership is less than 500,000 have the right to send two delegates. Organizations having a membership greater than 500,000 may send an additional delegate for every 500,000 members. International federations of Trade Unions, such as textile workers, metal workers, etc., may send a delegate with a consultative voice. National federations are allowed representation on condition that their general Trade Union centre is not taking part in the conference.

With regard to those unions which have not yet expressed themselves on the question of proletarian dictatorship (I. W. W.) the Council instructs the Executive to issue an appeal to them asking them to submit this question to all their local organizations, and invite them to take part in the international conferences.

VI.

MANIFESTO

To the Trade Unions of All Countries

Comrades—The growth of the Trade Union movement of all countries brought about as a result of the incredible disaster the war imposed upon the international proletariat, raises amongst the workers everywhere the question of establishing an International General Staff of Trade Unions.

The every day facts of the class struggle show that outside of the international struggle there is no salvation. Class stands opposed to class as never before. All the strength of the international bourgeoisie, all its means and resources, are accumulated in one international class organization. The bourgeoisie has its General Staff in the League of Nations, and it has in its possession all the colossal apparatus of the modern capitalist State, so that at the first signs of danger it may bring the whole of its strength and resources to bear.

The degree of class-consciousness and organization which international capitalism has attained can be seen from the events in Soviet Russia and Hungary. Soviet Hungary was crushed by the triumph of the exploiters of all countries. If Soviet Russia has not been crushed up till now, that is not the fault of international capital, but its misfortune. But the bourgeoisie is strong not merely because of its class-consciousness, organization and complete understanding of the unfolding international struggle, it is still stronger as a result of the lack of class experience on the part of the masses, and above all because it relies upon the workers' own organizations in its struggle against the workers. This is strange but true.

What indeed did the Trade Unions of both big and small countries do during the years of the war? How did they carry out the tradition of international class solidarity and proletarian fraternity? In the great majority of cases the Trade Unions were the main supporters of the military policy of their governments, and they co-operated with the bourgeois nationalist scum of their countries, and roused the lowest jingo instincts among the workers. If the war was prolonged for such a long period, if we miss millions of our brothers from our ranks, if Europe had been converted into an enormous graveyard, and the masses have been driven to desperation, then a great deal of the blame falls upon those leaders of the Labor movement who betrayed the masses and who, instead of hurling forth the battle-cry, "Workers of all countries, unite," shouted, "Workers of all countries, murder and strangle one another."

And so the very people who for many years have been the servants of their governments and have employed their energy for the mutual extermination of the people, have now begun to reconstruct the Trade Union International which they destroyed by their treachery. The experienced fighters for the interests of the bourgeoisie, Messrs. Legien, Oudquest, Jouhaux, Appleton, Gompers and others have met in Berne and Amsterdam, and after

lengthy nationalist quarrelings and jingo accusations have set up an International Federation of Trade Unions.

What is the basis of this Federation? What is its program? How does this international organization regard the period of acute social conflicts through which we are living? How does it (seek) to extricate humanity from the cul-de-sac into which it has been led by the imperialist bourgeoisie? We can find the answers to these questions in this fact, that the inspirers and leaders of this Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam are at the same time the most active participants in the notorious Labor Bureau of the piratical League of Nations, composed of representatives of organized employers, Trade Unions, and bourgeois neutral governments. As is well known, the chief function of this Bureau is to continue and strengthen that co-operation of classes which lies at the root of the militarist policy of the imperialist countries for the further exploitation of the workers by international capital.

From this it is perfectly clear that the Amsterdam Federation is simply a screen to conceal the "Yellow" leaders of the Trade Union movement, who after going definitely over to the side of the imperialists, now as during the war are striving to use the organized power of the workers' unions in the interests of capitalist society. The natural result of such an unnatural union of the interests of two completely antagonistic and opposite classes is the complete sterility and inability of both the Amsterdam Federation and the Paris Labor Bureau of the League of Nations to defend, in the slightest degree, the interest of the working class, because these organizations are defending the interests of the bourgeoisie.

A striking example of this sterility is the relationship between the International Federation and Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. The International Federation allowed the former to be crushed without the slightest protest. Now, by organizing a boycott, it is making weak attempts to bring Horthy—whose policy of White Terrorism unceremoniously compromises the whole idea of the co-operation of classes—to his senses. Even then this is done only in order to enter upon compromise with this very same executioner. (On Soviet Russia) the attitude of the Amsterdam Federation is exactly the same, and up till now it has not even attempted, definitely and resolutely, to express itself against intervention in Russia, although it knows perfectly well that such indefiniteness is especially important and desirable for the Entente.

This conduct on the part of the International Federation is the logical outcome of its own policy and the composition of its national sections. An organization composed of the interests of the workers of various countries can create nothing else but an international union of deceit and treachery.

The Trade Union movement of the whole world combined cannot satisfy itself simply by asserting this fact.

The social struggle is becoming more acute. Civil

war has long since broken through national frontiers. In this bitter struggle of two hostile worlds, between two systems, the revolutionary class unions take their place, and they can do nothing else but take their place side by side with the Communist parties of the various countries. It is self-evident that, playing this subordinate role to the League of Nations, the Amsterdam Federation of Unions cannot serve as the guiding centre of the revolutionary class Trade Union movement. It is necessary to set up such a centre and such a General Staff as counter balance to, and in opposition to the Amsterdam centre.

This centre was formed on July 15 in Moscow by the Trade Unions of Russia, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia under the title of "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions." The new General Staff, already uniting nearly three million members, began its activity by appealing to the Unions of the whole world to break away from those who are conducting the criminal policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and to start under the banner of a ruthless class war for the emancipation of oppressed humanity.

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions carries not peace, but a sword to the bourgeoisie of all countries. This defines the very essence of our activity. Our program is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a ruthless class war on an international and national scale, and a close unseverable alliance with the Communist International.

Those who think that the working class can solve the social question by means of negotiations and agreements with the bourgeoisie, those who think that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily surrender the means of production to the proletariat, and that it is only necessary to secure a Parliamentary majority, those who suppose, in the period of the break-up of (existing) relations and the deciding of the fate of the world, that the Unions can remain "neutral," those who preach civil peace in the period of civil war through which we are living, let them understand that we regard them as our class enemies, and that we will conduct ruthless war against them, and against the organization which they have set up.

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions and the Amsterdam Federation are on opposite sides of the barricade. On the one side of the barricade is social revolution, on the other social reaction. A proletarian, an honest revolutionary can make the choice without difficulty.

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions!

Long live the Third International!

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

Moscow, August 1, 1920.

(On September 3 Moscow announced that in addition to the bodies mentioned above, the British

Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, the Transport Workers' Federation of Holland and the Dutch Indies, the German Syndicalists (? Ed.), and the Syndicalist Unions of Italy had affiliated to the International Council after the publication of the above documents.)

Minutes of the First Conference of Trade Unions of Great Britain, Italy and Russia

Minutes of the Conference between representatives of the revolutionary Trade Unions of Great Britain, Italy and Russia, held in Moscow Union House, the premises of the Moscow Council of Trade Unions, on June 16, 1920, on the question of the organization of the Red International of Trade Unions:

Chairman: G. Zinoviev; Secretary: C. Ziperévitch.

The delegates present were: G. Zinoviev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International; Great Britain, Robert Williams (Transport Workers' Federation), and A. A. Purcell (Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress); Italy, D'Aragona and Guiseppe Bianki (delegated by the Italian General Confederation of Labor); Enrico Dougoni (Italian National Federation of Landworkers), Emilio Colombino (Italian Metal Workers); Russia, A. Losovzky, M. Tomsky, G. Ziperévitch, V. Schmidt (members of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions). G. Melnichansky (delegated by the Moscow Council of Trade Unions).

Comrade Zinoviev explained the point of view of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the question of the international unification of the Trade Unions.

He pointed out the serious danger threatening the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, owing to the destructive work of the Amsterdam International Federation, which is still gathering round itself millions of workers. The yellow International Federation of Trade Unions is not by any means merely a technical organ of the International movement. Bound up firmly, through the Socialist opportunists, Jouhaux, Legien, Appleton, and others, with the League of Nations, first of all through the Washington Labor Bureau, the Amsterdam International Federation is a political weapon in the hands of the Entente, the strongest the Entente has ever possessed.

The task confronting the proletariat is to tear this weapon from the hands of the Entente. But how shall this be done? By the creation of a Communist centre in the heart of the Amsterdam Federation, in order to blow it up from within? By the formation of an independent International of Red Unions as a rival to the yellow Amsterdam International Federation? Or by the formation of a Trade Union section of the Third Communist International which, under the direction of the latter should begin a campaign against the Amsterdam Federation under the banner of Communism?

Comrade Zinoviev declared that the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in ac-

cordance with the decision of the First Congress, has chosen the latter point of view as the only sound one for the present time. He named several countries, some of which have already agreed to this point of view, and others of which are ready to agree to it in consequence of external circumstances. Thus, for instance, all the Trade Unions of Soviet Russia have already joined the Third Communist International in accordance with the resolution of the Third International of the Russian Trade Unions. The Scandinavian countries (??? Ed.), Bulgaria, some of the most powerful German Unions and their associations (viz.: the Metal Workers' Association, the Railway Employees, the Central Council of the Berlin Trade Unions), as well as the Triple Alliance of the Railwaymen, Miners and Transport Workers in Great Britain, and the I. W. W. in the United States of North America, etc., are inclined towards this view. (??? Ed.)

That is why, in the opinion of Comrade Zinoviev, the organization of the Trade Union Section of the Third Communist International would be highly important and practically easy to realize. And at the present time, in order that the Second Congress may deal with an actually accomplished fact, the organization of this Section as an antithesis to the Yellow International would not only make clear the attitude the Trade Unions and syndicates adopt towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also give a strong impetus to the growing separation of the working masses of the whole world from the Yellow International Federation which is using its energy in support of the counter-revolutionary Entente.

Comrade Williams, agreeing with the essential thesis developed by Comrade Zinoviev and stressing the growth of sympathy in the ranks of the British Trade Unions towards the Third International, pointed out that the present conference cannot definitely solve the problem in question, as not all the delegates present are authorized to do so. In addition, it is necessary to carry out a considerable amount of preliminary work in order that the first steps towards uniting the revolutionary Trade Unions and syndicates should be firmer and more effective. Accordingly, Comrade Williams proposed first to confirm the opinion expressed by Comrade Zinoviev on the position of the International Trade Union movement and to accept his criticisms of the Amsterdam Congress and the yellow International Federation of Legien, Jouhaux, and the others; and secondly, to appoint immediately a Provisional Committee composed of the delegates present at this Conference in order to convoke as soon as possible an International Conference of the Trade Unions standing on the platform of the Third International. This International Conference should be authorized to decide concretely as to what form the Red International of Trade Unions should take.

Comrade Zinoviev read the first clause of the resolution, which was translated into English and Italian, and after that proposed to consider it.

Comrade D'Aragona declared that he must decline to sign this resolution, firstly, because he was

not authorized by his organization to do so, and secondly, because he did not agree with some of the expressions used in clauses of the said resolution. Many members of the Italian Unions do not belong to the Third International, and are members of the Amsterdam International Federation, and yet they are carrying on a fierce class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Their identification with the yellow International may call forth a protest on the part of the Italian workers.

Comrade Losovsky pointed out that authority to sign the resolution does not play any essential part in the appointment of a provisional Committee for the preparation of an International Trade Union Conference, which shall decide the question of its relation to the Third International and to the Amsterdam Federation.

Comrade Zinoviev had no objection to make against the softening down of some sharp expressions and proposed to re-read the whole resolution.

Comrade D'Aragona agreed to the proposal made by Williams, and asked at the same time that there should be a more precise clearing up of the connection between the Red Trade Unions which will join the (Trade Union) Section of the Communist International and their National Centres. If, for instance, some Union joins the Third International, does that mean that that Union should automatically leave its National Federation because the latter continues to be a member of the Amsterdam Federation?

Comrade Tomsky asked whether the English and the Italian delegations are ready to appoint at once a Provisional Committee composed of the representatives of the Russian, British and Italian delegations, with the object of conducting propaganda for organization work, and also of preparing for the International Conference proposed by Williams, and standing in the closest connection to the Communist International?

All the delegates present gave an affirmative reply to the question put by Comrade Tomsky, and the proposal made by Williams was accepted. Comrade Losovsky gave his views on the question raised by Comrade D'Aragona.

He pointed out that the admission of a Union to the Third International through the Section by no means compels it to leave its own National Federation, but it is obliged, while remaining a member of its National Federation, to prepare the latter to pass to the International of the Red Trade Unions by working constantly in this direction. It is bound as well to aim at splitting all the working masses off from the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, the answers to which are determined by the character of their relation to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Zinoviev, on the question raised by Comrade D'Aragona, pointed out that an analogous position had been observed at Zimmerwald. The delegates taking part in the Zimmerwald Conference

were not obliged at the time to resign beforehand their membership of the Second International, although even at that time Russia had taken this decisive step, the justice of which has been later on fully confirmed by life itself.

Comrade Losovsky thought it necessary to make every possible effort to shorten the stage of preliminary organization work. There is no time for waiting. The Trade Union movement has lagged considerably behind the political movement. The isolation of the Trade Union organizations from the decisive actions of the political vanguard of the revolutionary working class is keenly felt in many countries. It is necessary, therefore, that all Unions holding a determined point of view on the revolutionary class struggle, by their adherence to the Third International should clearly and definitely demonstrate to the working masses the gulf existing between them and the yellow International Federation of Trades Unions. That does not mean, of course, that these Unions will not take part in their own international congresses. On the contrary, such participation is obligatory on them.

For that reason Losovsky proposed to charge the Provisional Committee—which should be appointed immediately—with beginning work for the organization of an International Conference of Trade Union Federations, Syndicates, and Trade Unions. At the same time he pointed out that according to the information published by the International Department of the Central Council of Russian Trade Unions, not only the Russian Unions, but also the Trade Unions in Spain, Argentine, Brazil, and most of the Polish Trade Unions have already joined the Third International. The same desire has been expressed by the representative of the Bulgarian Communist Trade Unions, "Tesniak," Comrade Nedelkor, now staying in Moscow.

Comrade D'Aragona pointed out that the Conference will not elaborate a detailed plan of the new organization of international revolutionary Trade Unions, but will establish immediately the following principles: Whether it is necessary or not to begin at once with the organization of the Red International of Trade Unions in one or another form on the basis of the resolutions passed by the Third International? As far as the Russian Trade Unions are concerned this question has been decided in the affirmative. Now it is the turn of the Trade Unions of the other countries, and first of all, of course, of the Italian and English Trade Unions. If the delegates at present do not feel sufficiently empowered and able to come to a definite decision on this essential point, this question should be transferred for consideration and decision to the workers of the European countries.

Comrade Williams read the following (alternative?) declaration to the first clause moved by Comrade Zinoviev:

"The present private Conference of the revolutionary leaders of the militant Trade Union movement of Great Britain, Russia and Italy, recognizing that the existing Trade Union International is

incapable of directing and controlling the class struggle and crushing the international bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariat, **resolves to convene a more complete and representative Conference of revolutionary Trade Unions for the establishment of a true Trade Union International** free from any connection whatsoever with the capitalistic League of Nations and with the so-called leaders of the Labor movement who have acted the part of social-patriots and chauvinists during the world war, and continue to maintain the same policy up till the present time."

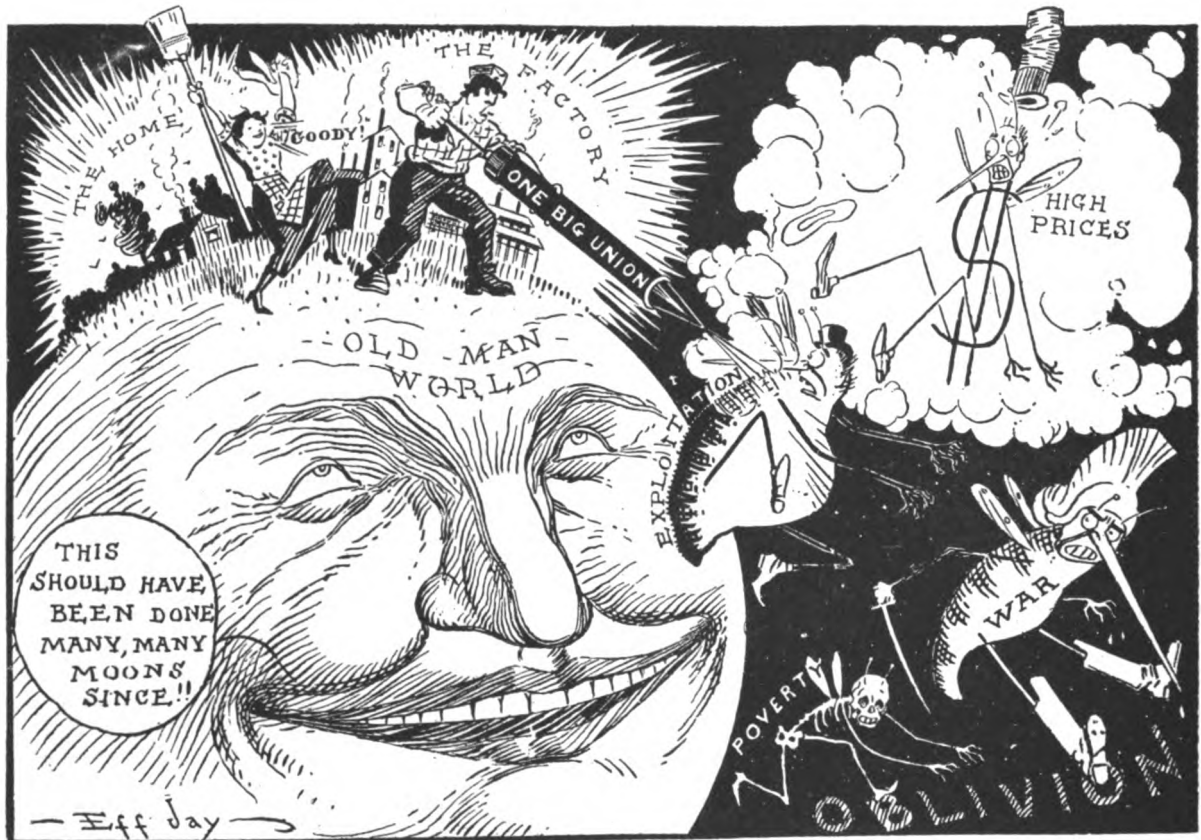
The above declaration was accepted by all the members of the Conference instead of the clause proposed by Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Tomsky proposed, in view of the de-

parture of the English delegation, to charge two members of the Italian delegation and two Russian delegates among those present at the Conference with finally working out the Declaration.

The proposal received the full approval and consent of Comrades Williams and Purcell, and was accepted.

It was agreed that the Revision Committee meet on the following day and have for its task the working out of the final form of the Declaration and the confirmation of the minutes of the Conference. The same Committee was charged with the drawing up of the proclamations addressed to the Trade Unions of all countries in accordance with the resolution proposed by Comrade Zinoviev.



LABOR AND THE UP-TO-DATE PEST DISPENSER

The One Big Union of Canada

By P. G. ANDERSON & C. B. CURRIE

Two hostile camps have developed in the Canadian One Big Union. The one is fighting for a militant industrial form of an organization, the other for a geographical (district) beans and soup association.

The former is advocated by the lumber (migratory) workers, and the later by the city "home" guard element.

The migratory workers have acquired their knowledge and class-consciousness in the bitter school of actual life, but the city slaves got their training in the A. F. of L. and in other yellow institutions that served to build up the capitalist system and now function to brace and patch it up.

From their numerous articles of polemic and their recent convention we gather the following points (they are contradicting one another) which in their opinion would justify their form of an organization:

"That the workers would have more in common geographically than industrially.

"That the industrial form of organization endangered the success of the Russian revolution and that the Lumber Workers are having, or at least advocating a dangerous form of organization, anarcho-syndicalist like the I. W. W.

"That industrial organizations such as the Lumber Workers etc., are A. F. L. unions.

"That decentralization of our organization and devolution shall take place". (group organization their slogan)

"That above five points are the basis wherefrom they intend to institute a "class organization" based on small geographical districts and crown it: "one big union".

"And that industrial organizations creates unnecessary officialdom", (such as the Lumber Workers)

Winnipeg (Canada) is the gem of the district form of organization, since the inception of the O. B. U. and their officialdom outnumbered that of the Lumber Workers 3 to 1. The Carpenters alone has 4 officials; the 17 Unions, each of them has its separate set of officials and three of them are separate Railwaymen's Units. Toronto, the home of the famous "class" organization shows on the books 2 Carpenters' Units, each with a set of officials.

There may be arguments as to why there are so many small crafts and trade divisions divided by geographical and other lines with sets of separate officials, but there are no arguments that would justify the agitation for further separation with a view towards the elimination of officialdom. You can get all the Philadelphia lawyers together and none of them will be in a position to show you how that elimination is done in one big mulligan of district and decentralized group organization.

We agree to their sentimental expression in point two just so far as sentiment may go, "the workers have everything in common", not alone in a given locality, but the world over. But then we must remember that organizations are not advanced by sentiment, but by material conditions.

The method of production and distribution in a given industry are best known to the workers in that industry, and it is they who have the knowledge of the productive capacity of that industry, they are the ones to determine the form of government in that industry.

The industrial method of production determines the sphere of every individual in industry. We are bound to this law with unbreakable steel chains, chains that link us together with our fellow-workers in a given industry, in America, Europe, or Asia, whether we like it or not. No geographical organization can alter this fact. We must then, organize along the lines that the industrial method of production determines, according to industry, in the strata in which industry placed us going forward with the current of social evolution to the establishment of industrial democracy.

The talk of having more in common as workers of all or some industries in a given locality, serves only as a weapon to political adventurers and labor lieutenants, enabling them to form parliamentary and other machines, for the purpose of negotiation and compromise, thereby serving the master class. Therefore the militant working-class movement has just as much in common with that kind of individuals as they have with the master class, as a matter of fact those opportunists are more dangerous than the master-class.

Any school boy can tell you who the miners of Great Britain have more in common with, and in this connection there is the probability that the miners of all Europe join hands and by the strength of their industrial organizations, compel the masters to come to terms. On the other hand who cries out, "negotiate, compromise"? Who but the politico-geographical opportunists. (Same thing happened during the British railway strike). It was no mulligan of a fancy "class" organization, but the industrial workers of the metal industries who expropriated those factories in Italy just recently. Therefore the workers have more in common in a given industry the world over, than they would en masse in a geographical economic organization in the industrial field, such as the O. B. U. of Canada now proposes. Mass and class organizations have entirely different functions to perform. We have none in Canada that are worthy considering from a revolutionary political standpoint. If there is need of one, then it must be started outside of the O. B. U.

The Possibilities for Unity

By CANADIAN

In the past labor organizations were more of a "friendly benefit" nature than a militant body striving to get better job conditions consequently the form of address used between members was in keeping. Solemn, and sometimes blood-curdling, oaths and rituals being used in the initiation of members or installing of officials. The whole being intended to weld them together into the status of a family relationship. Thus the term "brother" was applied between members. The term "fellow-worker" now much in vogue, is undeniably more appropriate than either "brother" or "comrade" recognizing as it does the fundamental basis of association "on the job", fellow-workers in producing surplus profits for a parasite class. Fellow-workers with common interests, and at the same time antagonisms which are inevitably associated with their relationship at that point. Interests which they combine to advance, antagonisms which they endeavor to remove, "an injury to one is an injury to all". But is the use of the latter phrase as much cant and humbug as was the use of the terms "brother", "comrade"?

In view of the activities of certain individuals to find and enlarge upon unimportant points of disagreement, and, consequently, an ignoring of the bigger issues upon which there is a common agreement, no other conclusion is possible than that the degree of solidarity which is essential before the workers as a whole can take united and confident action to deal with the big questions with which they are confronted as a class, has not yet been reached.

Is it not time that those organizations and workers who accept the class struggle as the basis of their activities should get together upon at least some common working basis?

Not only is this possible but it is an essential, for the organized workers are about to be faced with an attack from the capitalist class which none of them are in a position to meet alone and survive.

In entering into such an agreement the first essentials are unity of purpose, respect for its undertakings and a self-disciplined membership.

In the past when a step along this line was taken by two organizations having much in common, certain irresponsible individuals took it upon themselves to repudiate the terms of the agreement and disrupt the entente cordiale, with beneficial results to no one but their common enemy. An agreement made between organizations with the consent of the members must be observed by the individuals in each camp. He that does otherwise is not only a traitor to his organization, but to the working class movement as a whole.

It was intended by certain delegates at the Port Arthur convention who were not seated to bring

up this question and endeavor to move along these lines. Through not being seated by those who oppose such a proposal the matter must now be approached through other channels. The lumberworkers are an organized body of sufficient strength to make such a move on their part worth while and have considerable influence upon the movement as a whole. Their next convention is in January, and delegates can easily attend instructed to support or oppose a proposal to the effect that action be taken to bring about united action by all working class organizations which have as their basis the recognition of the class nature of society and whose ultimate objective is the abolition of the wage system.

This, if carried, will be a step toward finding out if the interests in common are not of much greater importance than the differences in structure and tactics.

It may then be found that what one means by "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" is the same principle differently expressed by those who want to organize "according to class and class needs", or to "advance and maintain their social and economic interests".

What do you mean by "Workers of the World Unite"?

If you can ignore the differences of race, color or creed surely you can ignore petty differences such as the name of an organization, the color of a card or the form of receipt.

Realize "you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain".

UNEMPLOYMENT!

A New Leaflet

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. has just issued a new and timely leaflet on the subject of unemployment. We are approaching a great crisis in the industrial field. News of the rapid spreading of unemployment is to be found in every issue of the daily press. It is the duty of members of the I. W. W. to make known to the workers, employed or unemployed, the I. W. W. position with regard to the problem of the workers.

Our new leaflet—which is of extra large size—entitled, "The Unemployed: What Shall They Do?"—gives clearly our position in this matter. Not only does it deal with unemployment, but it also gives the worker a simple outline of workingclass economics—couched in plain everyday language.

Every branch and every member should order some of these leaflets for distribution. They cost \$1.50 for 100, or \$12.00 a thousand. Order from General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Throw - Back

By CANADIAN

The study of biology is interesting as it gives an understanding of the science of life and how changing environment and the means whereby the necessities of life are procured has compelled adaptation to these changes by the particular form of life affected; those who could not conform to the changed conditions were automatically eliminated. The changes varied in degree, time and place, with the result that many specimens of what might almost be termed freaks are to be found. In some cases the changes over many thousands of years have been small; in others, limited changes in certain places, great changes in others with the result that specimens of the same species which in external appearances, and even in actual structure, have very little, if any, in common. Other cases are found in which the transition has apparently reached a midway stage, it being, to the uninitiated, difficult to know just what class to place the specimen in. Man, himself, as a species has evolved from a lower to a higher plane; from a tree-living animal, through various stages to a position well at the head of the animal kingdom. He has now attained a degree of development which gives him control over all other forms of life and even to a great extent the natural forces themselves. He utilizes the rocks to build himself marble halls—the minerals to make machines—the ether to carry his messages and the air to fly in. Yet despite this there are at the same time in other environments sections of the human race who are little evolved from the brute stage, still struggling for life against animals of other species—not only unable to utilize the natural forces but actually afraid of them. These apparent contradictions are easily explained and understood by those who study the factors which operated to cause them. But possibly more interesting than anything else the apparent freaks which are occasionally to be found, not in those cases where the evolutionary stage is mid-way between two distinct states, but where, while the species, or group within the species, has attained a certain definite average condition, isolated specimens within the group exhibit pronounced atavistic traits. They are “throw-backs” or reversions to a previous type. During comparatively recent periods man has lived in many ways, living in open air, tree houses, grass houses, caves, igloes, teepees, wood houses and stone buildings. Each stage, in the main, indicating development to a higher degree and consequent discarding of a lower form. From killing animals for their fur to make his only clothing, using the inner bark of a tree, or a bunch of grass for the same purpose, he evolved to spinning the cocoon of a silk worm, or the wool from the sheep’s back into thread and weaving into cloth. From facing unprotected the changes of the weather, he evolved to protecting his body with clothing according to the changing requirements, carrying additional garments for

use at night, and eventually, as his places of abode or routes of travel became fixed, he was able to dispense with unnecessary burdening and instead, permanent provision for his needs in these respects being arranged for. Thus a man’s status became less individual and more social improvements were made in supplying his needs, and though some improvements were made very slowly, there were periods in which rapid strides were made, such as with the experience of men now living who at one time, when traveling from place to place, depended more upon those arrangements they had made for themselves than upon those made for them. Two or three decades ago a traveler provided his own food and cooking utensils, sleeping accommodations, etc., then to greater degrees he was relieved of personal responsibilities for these matters until now in the most highly developed social life, whether traveling by ship, rail or air the necessary provisions to cater to his needs have become of the nature of social undertaking.

Possibly millions of years ago what is now the human being carried his house on his back like a snail, but that stage, if ever it existed, is so remote that the probability of a human being existing today with that characteristic is very unlikely. It is not infrequent to find human beings with fully developed organs which in the race generally have become atrophied. Such cases, besides being interesting as freaks, have at the same time a certain value in the study of biology, assisting as they do in tracing the evolutionary processes through which man has passed. They in no sense constitute an element of danger because the possession of these unusual attributes are self-contained within the individual, and even if transmitted to an offspring—which is unlikely—would probably be less pronounced and a matter of concern only to the individual affected.

There are, however, human “throw-backs” with traits which are decidedly matters of concern to the community generally, and particularly that section with whom they associate. For, as previously stated, the human race is evolving more and more from the individual self-contained organism into a complex social organism, and the use of some individual characteristics have been so recently discarded that the tendency of the individual to revert back is still common and constitutes a menace to, or clog upon, the social progress. A throw-back of this type is well illustrated by the individual who, whilst consorting with fellow humans who have acquired and adapted themselves to the use of the qualities of a more highly developed state, has in himself fully developed and striving to function the characteristics of a previously more individual and consequently less social state. According to the length of time since the previous stage which he typifies, and the consequent relative

proportions between the representatives of the old and the new, so the former benefit by, or menace the progress of the latter. The individual who still persists in living according to a previous standard; whose eyes and thoughts—if he ever uses his brain—are always turned to the past, and never to the future; who sees himself as a self-contained entity and not a part of a social force; such an individual is out of place in a progressive community. He is a clog on the wheel of progress. An out-of-date—a relic of bygone ages—a throw-back. And in this category belongs the man who persists in carrying his bed on his back—who refuses to join with his fellow men in advancing their social status to a higher level—who thinks that parasites who live on the labors of the workers are necessary to human

society—who thinks that because to his limited knowledge a thing has always been that it must, of consequence, always be—who thinks that a long work day, bad living conditions, contract, piece-work, or bonus system is good for the worker because the boss favors it.

The place for such as these is in a community which has not yet evolved to the highest degree. In mental capacity they still belong to the tree and cave dwellers. In their standard of physical needs they are about equal to the medieval serfs. Judged by the present day standard they are "throw-backs" and consequently out of place except as museum specimens to illustrate a past stage in human development.

STUDIES IN RED

Bq Card No. 247770.

The Queer Fellow.

It was a few years ago in one of the smaller towns of the Northwest, at a time when saloons and brothels were still flourishing, when a fellow worker who had just come in from a railroad job happened to drop into one of the "barrel houses." Not liking the looks of the place he was turning to leave again when one of the "stiffs" from the back end of the saloon stepped up to him.

"Say, partner," he started, "I am not asking for anything for myself, but if you got something to spare, help out poor old Jimmy over there."

The fellow worker followed the direction of the other's gaze and there in a corner was the pathetic figure of a human derelict, all humped up, sitting in a chair.

"You're a rail roader," the other kept on, "and you really ought to help old Jim. Why, man, you may not believe it, but he was Robert's best spiker at one time, he could put 'em down with three licks and he used to burn out all the young 'Micks.' that came on the job. They call him old Jim, though he isn't much over forty-five, but he looks old, and the poor devil can't get up out of his chair unless somebody helps him."

The fellow worker looked at the pitiful human wreck and he seemed to see again the pace setter behind the steel laying "train," who for two bits a day more would rush all the rest of the men, who either had to keep up or get fired. He seemed to see again men with sweat-soaked clothes so exhausted that their hands were too shaky to lift a dipper of water to their mouths. The insistent voice of Jimmy's friend interrupted his thoughts.

"You don't seem to understand; he used to be the best spiker that Roberts ever had, he used to put 'em down with three licks all day long. You ought to help him out."

The fellow worker reached into his pocket and handed the other some money:

"Here, give this to your friend, but I am not giving it because he used to be Robert's best spiker."

The other fellow went over and pressed the coins in the hand of "Old Jim." "I got a few bits for you, Jimmy. The guy that gave it to me seems to be a kind of queer fellow, but he is all right at that."

In Sunshine Land

By ROBIN DUNBAR.

Partner, I came to Sunshine Land two years ago,
nigh

And I'll tell you all about it, of course.

It ha'nt what it's cracked up to be,

You freeze all the year round, stid of jist in winter,

Like you do back in Indianny,

"Freeze to death pickin' roses,"

It looks like you oughter be real comfortable,

But you hain't, you're chilled to the bone,

That's the reason they all make sich a fuss

'Bout the sunshine. It's 'cause you never git het up,

'Less you git out in the sun and bake yourself.

'Course on rainy and foggy days you congeal,

And ef it is your bad luck to have to work inside,

Or where it's shady, you git cold to the bone.

The bunks who sell the climate don't advertise this,

But it's so, just the same, so you better go slow,

Look before you leap, and wrap up before you sleep,

Is my advice, partner.

Los Angeles, Calif., 1920.

The French colonial troops on the Rhine, the cables inform us, "have been under French influence for generations and ARE ENTIRELY CHRISTIANIZED." It was quite unnecessary to tell us this. We knew it from the reports of the "entirely Christian" way they terrorized the population.

The "Jerry"

By GEO. SUTHERLAND.

"Jerry" be it understood,
 Is railroad lingo for
SECTION HAND;
 Those men who,
 Under the hot sun or in
 Below Zero weather,
 In biting wind,
 Rain, snow and sleet,
 Set and tamp the ties,
 Lay the rails, place the spikes,
 Swing the mall
 Or, do any one of the
 Thousand and one things,
 Essential to a good track,
 In order that YOU
AND I
 May travel in comparative
COMFORT and SAFETY
 As we move about
 From place to place
 Attending to our
 Business.
 For the entire period
 Of the Railroad industry,
 "Jerries" have worked
THE LONGEST HOURS,
AT THE HARDEST WORK
FOR THE LOWEST PAY
 With the **LEAST APPRECIATION**
FROM EMPLOYERS
AND THE PUBLIC;
 They have been
 The "BOTTOM DOGS"
 Of the Railroad Service.
 Having done my "bit"
 With pick, shovel, tamping iron
 And mall, I KNOW.
 I met him at
 A Division Point
 On the N. P.
 Over in Another County.
 He was a Hard Boiled One;
 Bore the marks of
HARD WORK, BAD WEATHER
 And **HARSH CONDITIONS,**
 And was shy an arm—
 Off at the shoulder.
 We "visited" for a while
 Talking about various things.
 Noting a trace of
BITTERNESS
 In his talk
 I said:
 "Tell me the story, Mac,
 The News Editor
 May pass it
 For the good it will do
 In the **BIG STRUGGLE**
 Now on."

So I give it to YOU
 As he gave it to me.
 "Forty years ago
 When I wuz
 A young buck,
 I t'ot I saw
A BIG CHANCE
 In railroadin',
 To start at the
BOTTOM
AN' WORK UP.
 Got a job on the siction
 Wid th' Pinnsylvania;
 I worked like h——
 Determined "get there."
 Thim days wuz
 No schnap
 On th' Siction,
 We didn't have no
 Eight-hour day,
 The pay wuz schmall
 An' the siction bosses
 Of thim toimes
 wuz drivin'
SPEEDIN' UP DIVILS.
 Th' Higher Ups
 Filled me up with
BUNK
 About the **CHANCE**
 I had—if I **WURRKED HARD,**
 Told me about
 Ould A. J. Cassat,
 Prisdint o' th' road
 Who had shtarted
 On th' siction,
 An be **HARD WORK**
 Came to be **PRISIDINT.**
I DID WURRK hard
 An' I studied
 As I could.
 They made me
 A siction Boss
 But th' Road mashter
 Kipt naggin' me
 About
 Not gittin' 'nuf wurrk
 Out o' th' min.
THEY told me
 Whin I had wurrked
TWINTY-FOIVE YEARS
 I'd be **PINSIONED,**
 An' draw a **BONUS**
 Uv a certain per cint
 Uv of me pay.
 I became a **DRIVIN' DIVIL.**
 But whin it
 Looked like
 I wuz gonna stay wid it
 For twinty-foive years

THEY found fault
 Wid me wurrk,
 An' th' way
 I handled th' min,
 SO I QUIT, as I knew
 THEY was gettin' ready
 To CAN me."
 I looked at the place
 where his arm
 Should be—
 "How did you get it?"
 I ventured.
 "Och, I losht it
 Helpin' th' wreckin' crew
 T' SAVE TH' COMP'NY'S
 PHROPERTY——"
 And when he spoke
 A lot of QUICK WORDS
 With STRONG EMPHASIS
 Which I did not
 Set down,
 As I knew that
 They'd be blue-penciled.
 "Ever marry, Mac?"
 I inquired.

"MARRY! What right
 Has Wurrkin' People
 To marry?
 Never Knowin' whin
 They'll be FIRED!"
 And as I came away
 From Mac,
 The "Jerry" from whom
 The Railroad Industry
 Had taken an arm
 And robbed
 Of the ECONOMIC SECURITY
 Which would have
 Given him courage
 to establish A HOME,
 I said to myself:
 "THIS INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM
 WHICH DESTROYS MEN
 AND DISRUPTS SOCIETY
 MUST BE CHANGED
 IN THE INTEREST
 OF CIVILIZATION."
 Don't you agree
 With me?

The Prostitute

By NONA TATUM ZEIGLER.

I am the scarlet flame,
 The woman of the town.
 I am always, yesterday, today and tomorrow,
 Until the profit system shall be wiped away.
 Upon me, a solid rock, all virtue stands.
 Without me, men who buy and sell and traffic with
 their gold
 Would become as fiends.
 Prim wives, Bible in hand, do not uphold the morals
 of the world—

It is I.
 You see me pass and shudder,
 You look in my eyes and mirrored there
 Is the thing your own daughter,
 Driven by hunger, may become.
 The hour is near when I shall permeate society
 Till all its blood shall rot and burn.
 I will shake the foundations of the world,
 Then will men arise and wipe away the thing that
 curses them:

Profit and prostitution are the same—
 Neither can exist without the other.
 I am the creature of your lust,
 The plaything of your desire.
 One day I will steal into your home and claim your
 son.

As women fear devils you fear me.
 When I have gripped your vitals
 And set my mark upon your own,
 Then will light and knowledge come,
 The dawn of better things,
 Then will you banish me forever.

In Movie Town

By SAM SLINGSBY.

Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 2.

In Movie town the hoakum's great,
 In Movietown.
 In Movie land, the hook holds bait,
 In Movieland.
 The rents are high, they reach the sky,
 It costs to live, it busts to die
 In Movietown.

In bunko town the rebs are rare,
 In bunkotown.
 In bunko land, they sell the air,
 In bunkoland.
 Don't whisper here of poetry,
 The arts are deader'n hell, you see,
 In bunkotown.

In Podunkville, they worship god,
 In Podunkville.
 In Podunktown, the muses nod,
 In Podunktown.
 They act and strut, and blow and brag,
 Their pounces bulge, their eyelids sag,
 In Podunkville.

In Dollarland, they shorten lives,
 In Dollarland.
 In Dollartown, they change their wives,
 In Dollartown.
 They gorge and stink, they gulp and drink,
 They haste towards death, nor stop to think
 In Dollarland!

Fall in Line

By J. A. Stromquist

My Fellow-Workers,
My Brothers, Sisters;
"Lend me your ear"
And give heed.
The time for talking,
Or for discussions,
Or disputations
Of doubtful value,
Is passing by.
WE KNOW we're robbed
Of Labor's product;
WE KNOW we're cheated
Of all life's comforts.
Or even the simplest
Necessities.
WE KNOW the reason
—our chains are clanking—
WE KNOW we're SLAVES
Who work for WAGES
To keep our masters
In bloated lux'ry
Wrung from our backs.
Shall we continue
To toil in misery
And hopeless stupor;
Or, shall we change it?—
—we must—or perish.
Our first essential
To GET THE POWER.
Did e'er you hear
That old-time slogan
Used by the Bourgeois
When—come to power—
They sought to render
Their robbery lawful
And sanctified?
They then asserted
'Tis "Nature's way," and
A "good, old plan"
That "they shall take
Who have THE POWER
And they shall keep
Who CAN."
My Fellow-Workers
Take thought upon it.
It's first-class logic
For YOU and I.
Then, let us profit
From Bourgeois tactics
And buckle down
To get THE MIGHT.
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
Have solved the problem,
The ONE BIG UNION
Will "fill the bill."
What now is needed
Is action, ACTION
And yet more ACTION
—not mental "swill."

The key to power
Is ORGANIZATION,
For common good.
Then let us organize
The I. W. W.
In the Industries
And take control
Of our jobs,
And learn to run them,
And keep the "profits"
For WORKERS ONLY.
Let's "fire" the Plutes
—parasitical, useless—
Who starve our bodies
And kill our souls.
To work! To work!
The time is near
When this society,
Of slaves and masters,
Will go to pot.
Then, let us rally
To the ONE BIG UNION,
The Industrial Workers of the World.
And armed with knowledge,
Possess of power
We'll save Humanity
From utter ruin.
The Plutes are desp'rate,
They see the storm-clouds
Which now are gathering
To wreck their power.
Their hands are palsied,
Their grasp is slipping.
Foreseeing their ruin
They would, like Samson,
"Pull down the temple"
About their ears,
And crush all Mankind
In one grand wreck,
Unless OUR MIGHT
Shall stay their madness.
Think of it, Workers!
(Our one salvation),
The time is coming;
It's nigh upon us,
So hasten, Workers,
And fall in line
In the O. B. U.

DEAR READER.

The spread of our ideas depends upon you. If you hide in a corner when you read this magazine and then say nothing about it—how is the idea going to be transplanted from our brain to the brain of the still sleeping workers?

Talk to your Fellow Workers, friends and neighbors and interest them in our literature.



QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

who caused a political landslide at the last election by withdrawing from the presidential race at the last moment in favor of Harding.

My Nearest Approach to Death.

By QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

Some ten years ago a Chicago paper offered an attractive set of prizes for authentic stories upon the theme "My Nearest Approach to Death." I joined into the contest by offering a sketch of the following personal vicissitude:

My Nearest Approach to God Knows Where
Dear Editor and ye wise judges of the death contest:

The perusing of your column caused the most frightful reminiscences of my brief life to float to the surface of my mind. I do not remember the exact date, but it occurred during the panic in 1907-8, about a week previous to the famous speech, delivered at the Convention Hall in Kansas City, Mo., by Mr. W. H. Taft. I was penniless for the first time in my life. Having arrived in the above said prosperous city at about 3 o'clock in the morn-

ing without knowing what to do or where to go, I followed involuntarily a homeless dog. As I was passing through a quiet residence district my attention became attracted by a man with a wagon distributing milk to his customers—going from one rear door to another, conscientiously depositing at each of these doors a bottle or two of his lactal commodity. When hungry, men, as well as beasts of prey, are most susceptible to inspiration—thus, without conscious effort, my mind begat a glorious idea. I followed this milkman at a reasonable distance, sneaking quietly to these rear doors previously visited by him and emptying the contents of the bottles he left there into my voracious throat. Having had thusly treated about a half dozen bottles, my stomach commenced to grumble at the overtaxing of its capacity; but, being a skeptical philosopher, I feared that I might not meet with such a piece of good luck for many days, and that, if I drank the contents of one more bottle I should have plenty of time to digest it,—so I drank another pint and nothing happened, except that my vest stretched like an overturned drum and two of its buttons yielded to the strain when I stooped to put the empty bottle quietly at the threshold. As I left that back porch I blessed myself in the complacent contention that my appetite was appeased for at least a week to come; but, a minute later I was surprised to find myself at the rear door of the next house—the bottle was there—what's the difference, I thought, one pint more or less—there shall be a lot of time in which to digest it, I foolishly reasoned. I was about to stoop for the bottle when the door sprang open and a young lady attired in a lily-white night robe appeared upon the threshold, appraising me with an unfriendly glare.

"Does here live Mr. Mieczyslaw Popychowics?" I addressed her in burning embarrassment.

"No Greeks in this house," she snarled most impolitely, whereupon she picked up the bottle and slammed the door before my face.

When I reached the sidewalk and wasn't as yet half recovered from the unpleasant surprise, a heavy hand fell upon my shoulder and secured a safe grip upon my collar. Looking my rude assailant into his face, and perceiving that I was in the relentless clutches of the law, the skin and muscles of my body contracted so violently with fright that about a gallon of milk squirted out of me through my mouth, landing with all its explosive force squarely into the face of the policeman whose prisoner I was. He released his grip upon my collar so he could rub his eyes with both his hands—and, by the time he recovered from his uncommon surprise, there was the distance of a city block separating us, and, of the two of us, I was the fastest runner. So, there you are.

(My story was not considered as fit reading matter for respectable people then, but fashion has changed since.)

Socialists and Syndicalists in Italy

(Continued from Page 16)

ships. But, we ask, are the usual run of Socialist Party politicians, many of them attracted to the workers' movement by the lure of a political career more satisfying in every respect than life in the bourgeois milieu, to be trusted with the destinies of the producing class? Can we even trust such of them as in the imminence and inevitability of proletarian triumph in Italy call themselves Communists in order to float in to the New Order upon the surging waves of proletarian approval? May we not legitimately express diffidence and suspicion when a party refuses to purge itself of non-proletarian and non-revolutionary elements and proposes the formation of **party-controlled soviets**? Is not the **political and party** conception of the labor movement fundamentally a threat and menace to the growth of the producing class as such to the stage of political maturity and the estate of self-government?

The syndicalist movement in America, Italy, Spain, France (the "minoritaires" in France), feels that it is the predominant and the most genuine impulse towards proletarian revolution in those countries. It is distrustful of the interference of "communist parties" absolutely devoid of practical experience, born of the membership of the several "Socialist Parties" of uninspiring memory, and attempting to derive authority and prestige from what a totally different set of men accomplished in totally different Russia. Some of these Communists may be sincere and able men; if so, they should seek to co-operate with the predominant syndicalist organizations, schooled in years of practical experience in the struggles of labor, and not try to impose upon them their political leadership.

THE REFERENDUM ON THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

By the time this reaches our readers the vote will have been cast on the question of affiliation with or endorsement of the Third International.

In other places we have printed some resolutions on the matter which have been sent in with a request to publish.

It is to be hoped that the question will now be put on such a basis that it will no longer interfere with our organization work. As long as the members have been pulling in two different directions, one for and one against, they do not seem to have had time for much else.

All hands to the plow again now, to break new ground for industrial unionism. To build the new society within the shell of the old, that is the proper function of the I. W. W.

THE O. B. U. OF TURKEY

From U. I. T. Panergatikon Kentron, Galata, rue St. Nicolas, Café "Aurore" No. 4. we have received the following communication:

Constantinople, 4th October, 1920

Comrades,

The International All-Workers Union, of the establishment of which we have advised you in time, continues its hard work in order to order the Workers in the East and revolutionarily educate them in conformity with our program and principles. This organization could be considered as recommencing the pre-war struggle of the "Union of Syndicates" which, numbering nearly 3000 members, had to dissolve during the war.

Constantinople being a typical centre of merchants and brokers for a large distributing trade, and the capital of a bureaucratic State with practically no industry has not more than 70,000 workers employed in small enterprises and specially communication and transport services.

Up to the time of the Constitution (1908) there was no labor movement; the two or three existing syndicates had a mixed membership of employers and employees and were under the protection of some saint. Later on the right to organize was recognized by the Government; owing to energetic endeavours and the editing of a newspaper it has been possible to build trade unions with purely a labor program. These formed the UNION OF SYNDICATES.

The economic conditions of today, due to the world destruction brought about by the war of capitalists has created the need of having here a new organization based on the present needs of the Proletariat. Our Organization is trying to organize the workers industry by industry, so that they may better fight the capitalist system.

The struggle is evidently difficult; We have to remove many obstacles; the hatred existing amongst the workers is today the greatest impediment in the work of the All-Workers Union at whose offices however the Workers, irrespective of nationality and religion spend their time as brothers. That is because the influence of our Union is being everyday increased; to this will greatly contribute a Labor Paper, which we think of editing shortly.

Concluding we wish to emphasize the importance of Constantinople which is moreover a very important shipping centre.

Your interest in our cause and work will be a great and valuable assistance to us.

With brotherly regards,
Comite Executif Secretariat
F. MAXIMO

The Coming Industrial International

By E. W. LATCHEM

The problem of forming a revolutionary economic international is most important and has the center of the stage in all militant labor unions of the world, if we can judge by the little information that manages to get through now and then.

Solidarity of Nov. 6th has a full page write-up on the preliminary conference, which was called by the executive committee of the Third International for the purpose of forming an economic international along the lines of the class struggle. This conference met on July 17th, 1920, and its minutes give a pretty good outline of what has been done towards that end as well as some of the most important problems to be solved.

The fact that this is the first attempt to form a clear-cut economic international with revolutionary aim makes it doubly interesting and important.

Apparently the situation confronting those who have initiated this move are similar to that which confronted those, who launched the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

A careful study and comparison of the "Declaration of Principles" of the proposed new international with the "Industrial Union Manifesto" which preceded the I. W. W. will disclose the aim back of each to be in substance the same.

The "Communist Manifesto," issued by the "Communist League" (which was international) in 1848, was the first clear-cut declaration of working class principles, that pointed out the evils of capitalism and the necessity of a complete social change.

This manifest, to use the words of Fredrick Engels: " * * * was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism of Cabet, in France, and of Weitling in Germany. Thus, socialism was, in 1847, a middle class movement, communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the continent at least, "respectable;" communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we were to take. Moreover, we have ever since been far from repudiating it."

The main object aimed at at this period was propaganda and education of the masses to the need of a complete new society. This is substantiated by F. Engels in his preface to an English edition of the Communist Manifesto, published in 1888: "When the working class had received sufficient strength (after the suppression and dissolution of the "Communist League" in 1852) for another attack on the ruling classes, The International Workingmen's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America,

could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the "manifesto." The international was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English trade unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassallians in Germany. Marx, who drew up this program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help but bring home to men's minds the insufficiency of their favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassallianism in Germany were dying out and even the conservative English trades unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name: 'Continental socialism has lost its terrors for us.' In fact, the principles of the manifesto had made considerable headway among the workers of all countries."

Since the Communist Manifesto was written, the economic and political situation has changed several times, necessitating corresponding changes in program and policies of the radical labor movements of all countries.

The program and policies of all socialist and radical labor organizations organized prior to 1905 were formed for propaganda and education as is evidenced by the tactics used. The first labor union to break away from this old program and policy and come out open and above board and state to the world their real aim and object was the American I. W. W.

In the United States the development and centralization of capitalism far outstripped all other countries. The rapid fire development of the machine process together with the vast amount of construction work incidental to the exploitation of the various natural resources caused capitalism to import hundreds of thousands of workers from foreign countries in order to keep the "labor market" well supplied with cheap labor. Capitalist development has attained its highest stage here. The continual invention and introduction of new machinery and the large expanse of country that was being developed created a new type of "proletariat," numbering into the hundreds of thousands that is not to be found in any other country. This new type is the "migratory worker" who in order to get work on which to live is at times forced to travel hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles during a

year. He is of necessity a "social outcast" and truly "a man without a country," even though he has a dozen United States citizenship papers. He has no "home" and is denied normal family relations and as an individual has no power other than the power to labor.

Well, does the industrial proletariat of America know and realize that (as stated by Karl Marx and Engels) the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose?"

Being face to face with industrial capitalism in its highest developed and most brutal form, he can see plainly the above truth, which has later been verified during the Russian revolution, by the success of the soviets, which were formed independent of and in opposition to the Duma of the Czar.

Long ago he learned what the proletariat of Europe is just beginning to learn as a result of the world war.

Modern industry does not tear down and destroy all old out-of-date machinery before inventing and introducing the new. If this were done in any highly developed industry, it would mean the death of that industry. The old always has to function until the new is ready to take its place, in fact not only ready but actually force the old to give way to the new.

This was amply proved in Russia by the success of the soviets, which were hastily formed on the collapse of the feudalistic aristocracy and were able to transform a bourgeoisie revolution into a social revolution before the bourgeoisie could get firmly established. Russian feudalism had managed to maintain itself by exiling and imprisoning all who disagreed with that form of society. Those who were exiled came in contact with the labor movements of highly developed capitalistic countries, and this broadened their vision to such an extent that they have been able, by making use of the feudal-communistic traditions of the Russian people, to transform a bourgeois revolution into a social revolution.

The Russians have formed their new social structure to suit the crude industrial conditions of Russia. This structure allows the fullest expression of the desires of the Russian people under these conditions.

The new social structure in each country will necessarily have to suit the industrial conditions and traditions of that country. This fact was recognized by those who framed the Communist Manifesto, as is evidenced by the following: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all, settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

The problem before the new international is to formulate a program where all militant and revolutionary economic organizations in the world can meet on common footing. This program will have to take into consideration the economic conditions

existing in semi-capitalistic countries as well as those in well developed countries. It will also have to be broad enough to suit the needs of countries that have no well defined revolutionary labor movement as yet.

The first revolutionary international, the "Communist League," was formally dissolved after it had performed its function, which was to lay the basis of future struggles of the working class against their capitalistic masters.

The next international, the "International Workingmen's Association," was formed mainly for propaganda and education and its program was drawn up with that aim in view.

According to the best information at hand, there is a tendency to have the policy of the new international dictated by the Russian Communists. We should remember that the Russian Communists only reflect Russian industrial conditions and that the policies of the new international will have to be framed to suit the needs of all countries and not one country.

The new international, to be successful, will have to allow proper democratic expression to the needs and desires of all countries. It should not allow the egotistic ambitions of any group, no matter who they are, to dominate, exclude or prevent the proper consideration of the needs of all countries.

RESOLUTIONS FROM SUPERIOR, WIS.

At a regular business meeting of the Superior Branch, with twenty-two (22) members in good standing present, it was regularly moved and seconded that we "Go on record as being opposed to affiliating with or endorsing the Third International, and that we concur with the Fargo resolution pertaining to same and that this resolution be published in all I. W. W. publications." Carried unanimously.

Yours for industrial freedom,

CHAS. NEWMAN, Br. Sec'y.



WRITE IMMEDIATELY

to

GEORGE HARDY

1001 West Madison Street,

Chicago, Ill.

and ask for our new four-page

PRICE LIST OF LITERATURE

English and other languages.

All literature agents and students take notice.



Dawn of the Industrial Age

By COVINGTON AMI

That the **economic IS the determining** factor in social evolution is daily being borne witness to by events happening in every land under the sun. Among the most recent of these happenings, the events taking place in Germany are among the most significant. Says Savel Zimand in the New Republic for November 10th, 1920:

"In the midst of this wreckage (of the Majority Socialist, the Independent Socialist and Spartacist or Communist parties) only the trade union movement preserves its vitality. The hope of the working class in Germany lies in the particular type of Workers' Council that is arising, not out of the action of the Reichstag, but directly out of the trade unions themselves.

It is important to distinguish between the sham councils designed by the government in the law of 1920 and the real councils which the rank and file have forced on their trade unions in defiance of the government and against the opposition of their own trade union officialdom.

Again he says:

But the sham council law of January, 1920, was not a total defeat for the German workers. Taking this law as a start, the rank and file of the trade unions started a movement to unite all manual and intellectual labor in united workers' councils. The law of 1920 provides merely for councils in individual factories. After the law became a fact, the workers issued a call to unite all factory councils of an industry and district in a district council and later to unite all district councils in a national congress of workers' councils. The rank and file councils divide the country into twenty-eight economic districts, the workers into fifteen industrial groups and each industry into a number of subdivisions.

The character of the rank and file council is marked by the inclusion in the organization of workers and officials without reference to which union they belong. They are not soviets but more akin to the factory committees of Russia. The German workers are tired of being divided and desire a central place where they can all get together. The socialist trade unions of Halle a/S. voting on the question whether to admit to the council only members of their trade unions or all employees of the plant decided by a vote of 13,621 against 1,468 to include all. By way of preparing themselves for the assumption of industrial control, the councils have organized classes for training in the technique of production and management. The classes are held in public schools or in places rented by the councils themselves. They have succeeded in securing experts in the different fields of knowledge as teachers.

From which it is clearly seen that it is the great **FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE** on which the Industrial Workers of the World has builded that is triumphing in Germany, as it is in Italy, England,

Spain and elsewhere, and which also seems to be gaining ground even in Russia, and this **MUST** be so, for in an **INDUSTRIAL AGE** neither political parties nor military dictatorships can for long hold power, for they **CANNOT GOVERN—THEY CANNOT ADMINISTER INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.**

This, **because they cannot administer agriculture and industry**, is the true reason for the pitiable failure of political parties and the military power throughout the world, and the cause of the failure is slowly but surely dawning on the mass mind.

Once again is the I. W. W. being vindicated by the iron march of **ECONOMIC EVENTS** and the locals that are strongly opposing affiliation with any political international are acting true to the **INDUSTRIAL INSTINCT** that gave birth to the union and which, more than all else has held it together in face of bitter and relentless persecution. It will yet bring the American workers together in **ONE BIG UNION** and, in that hour, the **NAME** will not matter much.

The **AGE** of the **INDUSTRIAL MAN** is at hand, the law of evolution is with **HIM**, and nothing on this earth can now prevent **HIS** coming into **POWER.**

Plan to Help Jail Members

The Chicago Branch of the C. W. I. U. No. 310 has evolved a plan for the aid of our fellow workers in the various jails and penitentiaries which should help to make their lot a little lighter over the Christmas period.

The branch has elected a committee of three, charged with the task of raising a Christmas fund to be equally divided among all members of the I. W. W. confined in prison. As the wants of these imprisoned fellow workers differ widely, it was thought best to send to each one an equal amount of each, so that they may make their own purchases, according to individual need.

The Committee of Three will issue donation lists, and will also organize entertainments and other functions, to aid in the work of raising the necessary funds.

All units of the I. W. W. are requested to get busy and circulate donation lists, arrange meetings and entertainments, and remit all funds not later than December 15th.

The fellow workers composing the committee are: Dan Buckley, T. H. Dixon and Ernest Frank. All funds should be remitted to Dan Buckley, 951 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

It is hoped that all members of the organization will do their utmost to help in this effort to provide substantial aid for those soldiers of the class war who are behind the bars. Let us send them a token of our solidarity. Don't forget the Christmas Fund!

General Strike in Roumania

WORKERS SEND ULTIMATUM TO THEIR GOVERNMENT

By J. WAGNER

(Editor "Muncitorul," I. W. W. Paper in Roumanian Language)

On October 11th, 1920, the General Executive Boards of the Roumanian Unions, together with the General Committee of the party, adopted a set of resolutions, enumerating the many illegal and arbitrary acts committed by the capitalist class of that country, through its hirelings—the government, and issued an ULTIMATUM to the government, declaring that if said arbitrary acts would not stop by October 20th, the working class of the whole country will be called out in a GENERAL STRIKE.

The demands are:

1. The rights of assemblage to be guaranteed, and the workers' delegates and councils to be recognized.
2. The removal of all military from all factories, mills and shops.
3. The managements of state institutions to be strictly forbidden to meddle in anything pertaining to the organization of the workers, and all employees previously suspended or fired from service to be re-instated.
4. The granting of all demands formulated by the employees of the state institutions, both in those places where arbitration commissions were in existence (as in railways and in the state printing shops), as well as in places where such conditions have not yet been created.
5. That the enforcing of the laws regulating labor conflicts be deferred until a new set of laws will be formulated, which will respect all the rights conquered by the workers, through many sacrifices.
6. That martial laws and censorship be completely abolished by:
 - (a) the recognition of the right of free assemblage and meetings, and the freedom of the press;
 - (b) the abolishing of military courts and the transfer of all civil cases, political and press offenses, to civil courts;
 - (c) the removal of the military from the civil administrations of the annexed territories;
 - (d) the abrogation of the deportation system and of the enforced evacuations.

The Socialist and Syndicalist papers of Roumania, on Oct. 18th, on their first pages, in big, bold type, had the following appeal:

COMRADES, FELLOW WORKERS!

In view of the reign of terror that has been instituted over the whole country, and in view of the contempt that the government is showing towards the entire working class, denying them every human right, the Executive Committee of the party, and the General Executive Boards of the Labor Unions of Roumania, have issued an ULTIMATUM to the government.

Our demands are almost insignificant in comparison to the great needs of the workers.

In every other country these demands have been granted decades ago. The great fight we are about to enter now, was imposed upon us by the government; time and again have we knocked at its doors, only to be turned out or cheated by false promises.

Our patience being exhausted, we decided to avail ourselves of the only weapon at our disposal: THE GENERAL STRIKE.

At the first signal from the Central Committees all the workers of old Roumania, as well as of the new territories, will fold their arms!

Get ready for the General Strike! Await the signal!

The strike will not end until our demands are fulfilled.

During the strike everybody should stay at home. There will be no demonstrations, in order that we may avoid playing the game of eventual provocators.

(Signed)

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARDS OF THE SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT OF ROUMANIA.

This is no bluff. The syndicates of Roumania are feally a power in that country. They pulled off some great strikes before, and forced the government to come through in the past.

It is strange that the capitalist press of this country has made no mention, neither of the preparation to strike, nor of the strike itself. As it is, we do not know at the present writing whether the government gave in or whether a civil war is taking place in Roumania.

* * * * *

History of the Roumanian Labor Movement

A short review of the history of the labor movement in Roumania might be in order here.

As in most other countries, there too, the workers were hampered in their progress by "intellectuals" and politicians, who swarmed to the labor movement for the purpose of "leading" it.

The feudal-capitalist ruling class of Roumania instituted from time to time special persecutions against the labor and radical movement, which, in a way, was fortunate for our Roumanian fellow workers, for in such times of crisis the "political leaders" would desert, go in hiding, or deliberately go over to the enemy's camp, and thus the labor movement, for the time being, would be rid of the political pests.

In 1898, when the government inaugurated a savage era of raids, jailing thousands of workers and peasants, brutally murdering hundreds of them, in the midst of all these persecutions, the leaders—General Executive Committee members, congressmen, mayors, editors of party papers, etc., held a secret conference, and there decided that "according to Marxian philosophy, as interpreted by Kautsky, there was no place for Socialism in Roumania, because there was no developed capitalism in that country," therefore they joined in a body the political party then in power, the very party that at that time was so ruthlessly crushing the labor movement.

Since then those ex-leaders, in various capacities, as cabinet members, prefects, governors, etc., have hounded and persecuted the labor movement; in fact, they were the most brutal oppressors of the workers of that land.

With our active workers jailed by the thousands;

with the iron heel of feudalism on our neck; without leaders, a few of us, common stiffs, gathered together the remnants of the labor unions and laid the foundation of a NEW movement, based solely on economic organization. The new movement, divorced from political "leadership," was more than a match for the brutal feudal-capitalist ruling class of Roumania, and the new organization grew in power and prestige. Times became "normal," and the intellectual-politicians began to again infest the movement. At first these would-be political leaders were modest, and claimed a very modest role in the movement, such as spreading of education among the workers, but "the leadership should remain in the hands of the workers," they would say.

But they soon became bolder, and as their tongue is smoother, and their language more flowery than that of the common workingmen, they soon got the upper hand, and we again heard of a duality in the movement, "political-economic movement."

Then the agrarian revolts of 1905 broke out. The government that brutally murdered 11,000 peasants (that government, by the way, was composed partly of ex-leaders of the Socialist party), and put the whole country under martial law, could not help thinking that this was a golden opportunity to suppress the labor movement, although it had absolutely nothing to do with the revolts.

Jailing and brutalizing of the active members of the labor unions began, and the intellectuals and politicians once more disappeared from the movement. It was ever thus, not only in my native country, but everywhere. In time of stress, the loud-mouthed intellectuals will get under cover, will leave the workers in the lurch, or even betray them to the enemy. Once more the leaderless workers got hold of their own organization, and, using economic power, pulled their movement through.

Another great crisis in the life of the movement came during the world war. During this last crisis the political leaders were again conspicuous by their absence. But the workers came out of it with colors flying, with a splendid economic movement, ready to contest with the capitalist class the right to rule over the country.

But the ruling class of Roumania had also learned something of late events, and set out to distract and divide the energies of their workers. For many years the workers were demanding equal suffrage, thinking that if they had political rights, everything would automatically right itself. Roumania had the worst electoral system in Europe—a few hundreds of landlords elected all the senators and two-thirds of the representatives of the lower house.

So now the master class, in order to divert the attention of the wakened working class, from their economic organizations, not only gave them equal, direct and secret ballot, but made voting compulsory for every one under a heavy fine. Political equality with a vengeance!

The Eldorado of the socialist politician has at last arrived. Intellectuals swamped the organiza-

tion, they swept it off its feet, and made it set out to capture the state by the ballot.

We are all familiar in this country with the political socialist arguments to the labor unions: They very patronizingly will admit the "usefulness of labor unions to some extent," but of course the main thing should be capturing seats in the parliament. Instead of costly strikes, you send a few M. P.'s in parliament, and these worthies will prevent by obstructive tactics, the passage of anti-labor laws. By fine speeches they can persuade the bourgeois deputies to pass favorable laws to the workers, etc."

So 19 Socialist-Labor deputies were elected. Great was the jubilation! But when parliament convened, a law was proposed declaring any kind of strike a CRIMINAL act. The Socialist M. P.'s were not even allowed the floor!

Thereupon our worthy "labor" politicians issued an appeal to the workers, calling on them to come out on the streets and demonstrate. Mass action. And so after nearly bankrupting the resources of the unions, in two successive political campaigns, now they had to come out with big posters, and tell the workers that their only weapon is the GENERAL STRIKE!

Our Roumanian I. W. W. organ, "Muncitorul," printed in Chicago, predicted everyone of these events long before they actually took place. About 200 copies of every issue of "Muncitorul" go to Roumania and it looks as if it created quite a sensation there. We have already many favorable letters from workers of that country, and we are confident that the principles of the I. W. W. will become well known in the near future.

Thus Spake Usury

By COVAMI

"I am Usury—

Interest, Rent, Profit—

The Triune God of Capitalism—

'The Mammon of unrighteousness'—

The cancer feeding on the soul of society—

The germ of war, hunger, plague, devastation—

The murderer of Seers and Heroes—

The crucifier of the Christ—

On whose altars have been laid Fifty Million Corpses—

Spreader of hate, builder of hell on Earth—am I—
I, Usury!"

"My Arms Are Not Long Enough. I find that when I am in touch with the poor, I lose my hold upon the rich, and when I reach up to the rich, I let go of the poor. I very much doubt whether God Almighty's arms are long enough for this."—General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army.

The Lamb Is it. Teacher—"You see, had the lamb been obedient and stayed in the fold it would not have been eaten by the wolf, would it?"

Boy—"No, mam, it would have been eaten by us."

An Appeal for Action from Hungary

THE REIGN OF WHITE TERROR

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF EUROPE AND AMERICA!

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE VICTORIOUS CAPITALIST COUNTRIES!

MOST OF ALL TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH PROLETARIATS!

The spectre of a terrible charge is staring into your faces, Proletarians of the West! The dead bodies, hundreds of thousands, of Finnish, Ukrainian, Bavarian, Hungarian and Russian workers—the Russian workers that are killed in action on the different counter-revolutionary fronts—have grown into a huge pyramid, and the quiet folk of this new Tower of Babel understand each other thoroughly well: **they all have died for the proletariat of the whole world, for the freedom of the workers, for Socialism; but they do not understand you, Proletarians of the West! They do not understand your indifference, that calm tolerance with which you are surveying the deadly struggle of the drowning Eastern proletariat.**

Don't you see what is going on?

Your own bourgeoisie, the capitalism of the West, is now starting in the East its own large cemetery. It is they who are raising the gallows-trees by the thousands in Hungary, who direct the deadly bullets into the hearts of Hungarian comrades, who keep the pretorian bands and bid them commit cold-blooded, merciless murders. Now they scheme at extending their business. It is they who lash the ghostly mare of the German, the Czecho-Slovak, the Austrian, the Bavarian, the Balkan monarchist counter-revolution and who want to extend the same exploiting system of the white terror to the whole of Central Europe and the Balkan.

Their insatiable stomach wants to swallow the defeated countries, after having made them more palatable by a little new slavery. But they are mistaken. This corpse remains a corpse, and who ever tastes of its poisoned substance will die.

Now Hungary is their object. Vermin have covered the body of the downtrodden proletarian giant and are sucking his blood. The gory, sadist brutes of the bourgeois canaille are triumphant. History has repeated itself. The horrors of the Paris Commune are being committed over and over again a thousand times more terribly. In Hungary the soil is moist with the workers' blood and the noose round our comrades' necks is the string on which the Hungarian hangman is playing his tunes to the ghastly chords of the dying workers' last complaints.

And yet; then it was Capitalism in its prime that crushed the tender plant of young Socialism—while today Proletarian Revolution, which is rising triumphantly after all, is strangling, like a young Hercules, the snake that poisons his cradle. That was the tragedy of the working class, this is the agony of capitalistic restoration.

But you do not understand!

You will understand it one day, when your blood, too, will be running in streams. When that agonizing monster will bite your own flesh. It wants to do away with us as quickly as possible in order to attack you soon. No smaller thing is at stake than the safeguarding of capitalistic exploitation, at the price—if necessary—of the lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of proletarians. In this number you will be included, too!

But you are unable to understand!

Even today you are calmly tolerating that Soviet Russia should be drowned in blood.

When the Hungarian Proletariat fought its decisive battle for the sake of liberating the workers of the world and saving civilization menaced by general barbarism—when the Hungarian proletariat fought in that dreadful strangling ring of capitalist powers—you never stirred. That general strike planned for the 21 of July 1919 to demonstrate in favor of the Hungarian Soviet Republic—at a time when we were already down on our knees and fighting almost with our teeth and nails only—that strike was looked forth to by all of us as if it had been Salvation. But it has become a nail instead on the coffin of proletarian dictatorship in Hungary.

With clashing teeth the Hungarian Bourgeoisie, still the pet of the Entente, jumped at our throat. And there began that calvary and martyrdom of the Hungarian workers unparalleled in history.

You protested. Indeed you did! In most severe newspaper articles you disapproved of white terror and proposed diplomatic intervention, as the result of which the diplomatical body of Entente Diplomats were present in full parade at the wholesale execution of our bravest comrades! You were most indignant at having to learn that women were raped with sharp sabres, that pins were pushed under the nails of our comrades, that they were singed with red-hot irons, that they had to lick up their own excrements, that they were crucified like Jesus Christ, that their genital organs were crushed, that their eyes were poked out, that they were buried alive . . . You were indignant, you shook your heads and even speeches and interrogations could be heard in Parliament, and all the time our best comrades were **killed, killed, killed, and, listen they are**

killing, killing, killing and barbarously torturing them still.

Right into your deaf ears we want to cry, to shout, to roar, **that with the most terrible of tortures, they are still killing them!**

We are not going to speak just now of the many nameless heroes who are the victims of the last months. We just want to mention one dreadful case. The International Union of Postal Employees have dared to oppose Horthy in order to save **Oscar Lévai**, who in Hungary has organized the postal employees. **Four and a half months ago he has been**

sentenced to death, for the time of four months and a half he was kept in his cell locked to chains that weighed 40 pounds, and just recently he was executed.

The trial of the ten People's Commissars has been going on for the last ten weeks and the most desperate efforts are made to find acceptable reasons for a sentence of death. **The sentence of death which is to be passed by the hangmen masked as judge and prosecutor is ready.** The defense of the prisoners has been rendered impossible already by **accusing their counsel of having received money from Communists abroad.**

The money which you have sent us for the purpose of aiding imprisoned comrades and their families is to be used by the lords of the white terror as a pretext to throw a noose round the neck of the prisoners.

And, listen, the noose is there already, and numbers of our comrades are already killed and imprisoned because they tried to take this money to the hungry and destitute families of the prisoners!

As the money sent by the foreign workers—had we tried to send it in some official way—was sure to be stolen from those unfortunate people whom the White Hangmen have driven from their homes and materially ruined, **several of our comrades resolved to run all the risks and take money to Hungary.** These people, who had nothing whatsoever to do with politics, were captured, some of them killed in prison, while the others are tortured most cruelly to force them to confess that they were of a communist conspiracy.

Besides, there have been imprisoned all those whom we tried to aid with the money you sent us; **the wives and even the young children of executed or imprisoned comrades.**

The number of those imprisoned for such reasons has almost reached a hundred, and most of them are to be executed only because they dared to take your funds to starving women and children.

They are killing still, Workers of the Entente, and you still contemplate calmly sadist armies raging on the body of the fettered Hungarian Proletariat!

Let us see actions, actions, actions at last!

You know how to act! We remember the case of **Ferrer**, when, for the sake of a bourgeois freethinker's life in three big countries everything went topsyturvy—we remember the "**Affaire Dreyfus**," when you repaired the injustice committed against a rich Jew, and by wide-spread movements defended the bourgeois democracy so that it might flourish and prepare the war!

You know how to act if you want to!

Act for the sake of our still living, but already doomed comrades! It is you who must save them!

Don't mind just now your own petty cases. Don't mind even the increase of wages. All will be yours soon anyway! Think of the bleeding Russian, of the martyred Hungarian, of the doomed Proletariat of Central Europe!

We can very well imagine an action which would **crush the French Diplomacy, the French Militarism**

and the monstrous issue of this monstrous couple: French foreign policy.

Please listen to this appeal! Publish it on the leading pages of your papers, let all political and labor organizations deal with it and pass resolutions in this question, and act! act!

We have had enough of parliamentary resolutions, of newspaper articles, of meetings and telegrams! Have you forgotten the "wall of the fédérés"?

There's the Hungarian white terror, there's the Russian front, there's the German Revolution triumphantly spreading its wings!

There's the time to act! Save the lives of our doomed comrades out of the hell of the white terror, save Proletarian Revolution, save your own future: the happy future of Humanity!

The Communist Party of Hungary.

**MASS CONVENTION OF SUPERIOR DISTRICT
LUMBER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION
No. 120, OF THE I. W. W.**

Resolution Passed on Second Day of Convention.

Superior, Wis., Nov. 16th, 1920.

To the Membership of the I. W. W.:

We, the members of L. W. I. U. No. 120, assembled in Superior Convention, hereby go on record as being emphatically opposed to the I. W. W. affiliating with, or endorsing the Third International.

We endorse the Fargo resolution demanding that the G. E. B. withdraw the referendum on the subject.

In view of the condition laid down by the Third International at their convention at Moscow, and by the Communist party of America, for all organizations joining the Third International to comply with, which condition, we believe, was not known to the G. E. B. at the time they put out the referendum, we fail to see how the G. E. B. can fail to comply with this demand.

We refuse to waste time quibbling or splitting hairs over the difference in meaning between "affiliating" with, or "endorsing."

We believe the I. W. W. should keep entirely clear from all alliances, "direct" or indirect," with political parties, as laid down on pages 47 and 48 of the I. W. W. Constitution.

We are in favor of an industrial international.

(Signed)

A. L. VECCELLIO, Card No. 2925,
Recording Secretary.

JAMES KENNEDY, Card No. 126848,
Chairman.

Moved and seconded, That we ask the G. E. B. to withdraw the referendum on the Third International and that we send them a telegram to that effect. Carried.

**Secretary City Propaganda Committee,
Seattle, Wash.**

The Mexican I. W. W.

There has been a rupture in the Mexican I. W. W. Until recently it was composed of two heterogeneous elements, wage workers and petit-bourgeois. The former were in sympathy with the non-political, purely industrial union attitude of the I. W. W. of the U. S., while the latter, grouped round Linn A. E. Gale and his magazine, were leaning towards communist politics and the Third International.

It is the old, old story. The same story as the I. W. W. went through in its first years, ending with the striking out of the political clause in 1908. It is the same story as we are going through now when we have been led into a referendum which questions the correctness of our non-political attitude.

Thus again is it proven that any attempt to run an industrial organization as a side show to a political party is a failure. The genuine wage workers will not, and cannot stand for it.

The wage workers faction, the most numerous and the strongest, with the general secretary-treasurer and the majority of the G. E. B. with them, are continuing in charge of the organization, and hope for better progress now that they have rid themselves of the political and petit-bourgeois element.

A letter of recent date from a member of their press committee states that the position taken by The One Big Union Monthly in regard to The Third International is agreeable to the members of their G. E. B., and also says that they are deeply interested in our plan to publish a series of industrial union hand books. Their paper, "El Obrero Industrial," is taking up the study of production.

In a short while they hope to be able to send us good news of the organization among the oil workers of Tampico, who have asked for a charter, and among the metal mine workers of Guanajuato. In Mexico City they are organizing an industrial union of textile and clothing workers. They hope to have more than a hundred to begin with.

Right now "The Obrero Industrial" (The Industrial Worker) is a 4-page monthly, but they hope to issue it twice a month, or even weekly, quite soon.

In addition to the I. W. W., recently started, there is in Mexico a communistic federation, composed of various unions (hitherto unorganized). Theoretically their principles are derived from syndicalist-anarchistic tactics. In practise it is like any other. It permits in its federal council delegates from cultural groups, with voice and vote. Thus the Communist Party, the Federation of Young Communists and a group editing a weekly propaganda paper, "New Life," each have a delegate in this council. Their weakness lies in accepting unions of any kind, trade or industrial, for to them propaganda and declaration of autonomous structure (although it does not exist in praxis) are more important than industrial organization. Those who

are thinking for this federation are all communist party members and swear by the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

"We will combat them, as we have begun, by preaching the economic administration of, by and for workers, industrially organized," says the writer.

As far as The Mexican General Confederation of Labor is concerned, their being affiliated with the A. F. of L. gives them a black eye. But with us, we must expose their hypocrisy, for unlike the A. F. of L., they do not come out for capitalism. They pretend to seek the same aims as the I. W. W. However, the fact is, that the former leaders of this federation accepted positions in the government, the head (even now) of the confederation, Morones, being director of the government war supply factories.

No I. W. W. Delegate at Moscow

As will be seen from the call for an economic international issued from Moscow, published elsewhere in this issue, a representative of the I. W. W. is supposed to have attended the Second Congress of the Third International.

The same statement appears in the following excerpts from an official communist paper of Hungary, "Proletar."

Due to these misrepresentations and to counteract the false impressions they are bound to produce, it was decided in conference between the secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., the chairman of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. and the editors of the I. W. W. papers to announce through our press that

The I. W. W. had no accredited representative at the Second Congress of the Third International, and that if anyone appeared as our accredited representative for this particular occasion, he was an impostor.

Excerpts:

"Proletar, Oct. 7, 1920

"Those of our fellow workers, who on the Congress of the Communist International represented the American revolutionary workers, the delegates of the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W., all accepted with understanding and enthusiasm the new decisions of the Communist International, in which we summed up all the experiences and struggles of the Russian, Hungarian and German Communist workers."

"After the Second Congress of the Communist International any conduct is criminal that stands in the way of forming a united group in every country of the united Communist International: the united, disciplined and centralized Communist Party. There was no lack of understanding of this on the part of the delegates present of the two American Communist Parties and of the I. W. W. The delegates of the old revolutionary organization, the I. W. W., were convinced, that every revolutionary class struggle is necessarily a political struggle, and the leader of the political struggle cannot be other than the Communist Political Party."

Bela Kun.

THE FOODSTUFF WORKERS

(A leaflet just issued by the General Organization Committee of The Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460.)

By MABEL KANKA

No branch of industry so decidedly affects the life of the community or society as a whole as the industries that deal with the production and distribution of food. In fact, we might almost say that on the workers in this industry the life of society depends.

Just as the problem of food was the most important and pressing problem to primitive man, so it is the foremost problem the world faces today. The supreme importance of the food problem over all other problems that confront society was demonstrated very forcibly during the late war, which was waged, fought and won not with bullets but with food. This war proved the theory that the food supply is the life blood of a nation and that just as surely as human life can be extinguished by shutting off the supply of air, so can a nation be vanquished by economic blockades which cut off the food supply.

Considering these facts, is it not essential that the workers handling these food stuffs should be thoroughly organized on an industrial basis? And if the workers are ever to control and administer industrial affairs should we not begin with the food stuff workers? Organization of these workers into trade unions, or on a craft union basis wherein each set of workers is pitted against all others in the struggle of that particular select group to shorten their own hours or raise their pay at the expense even of their own fellow workers in that industry.

To be effectual as an organization they must be organized on an industrial instead of craft basis into one union instead of many. Take for example the flour mills. Instead of organizing the skilled workers into an autocratic organization demanding high wages, while the unskilled fellow workers received starvation pay, everyone engaged in any capacity in the flour making industry, whether it be a cooper, a millwright or a machinist therein employed, the janitor who sweeps the floor to the stenographer in the office, or teamster handling either the finished or raw product, belong in one single union, I. U. No. 460. This makes it possible, when a grievance arises between the boss and any set of workers, whether skilled or unskilled, to call a strike of all workers in that industry at once until the grievance is adjusted. This makes it impossible for one set of workers in any industry to scab or one another as is usually done when the industry is organized into separate craft unions, each with a separate contract.

"An injury to one is an injury to all," is our motto. Whenever any set of workers remains at work while their fellow workers are striking to adjust a grievance, they are scabs, regardless of how many union cards they carry and although they do not actually perform the work of the strikers.

What is true of the flour workers is equally true of the meat packing industry.

Anyone engaged in the preparation of meat, from

the killer, skinner and on down to the butcher, who cuts and weighs it for the housewife, all belong in the Food Stuff Workers' Industrial Union.

The same is true of the tobacco industry, which for convenience's sake has been classified with food. Anyone handling the tobacco, from the time it leaves the field until it is sold as cigars or cigarettes over the counter, belongs in the Food Stuff Workers' Industrial Union.

This union also includes within its ranks all workers engaged in any capacity in the preparation and serving of food at the table, from the woman who scrubs the floor to the chef who cooks and the waiter who serves.

Even the solitary maid, working in the master's kitchen, belongs in the Food Stuff Workers' I. U.

The need of organization among the handlers of food stuffs has been felt much more keenly since the war than ever before.

And while we are organized into one industrial union for the purpose of bettering wages, hours and so forth, we are prepared to enforce these demands by a general strike in every industry if necessary to gain our demands. But we do not stop there. These are small matters compared with those that face us in the future.

When the new Industrial Democracy displaces the present competitive system, it will be the food stuff workers who will first be called upon to function in the new society, for a revolution must be fed even before it is clothed.

And before a factory wheel can turn or a locomotive function, the workers must be fed, and this gigantic task will fall on the shoulders of the food stuff workers. So the test of the ability of the workers to administer affairs will be made first in this industry.

On you will depend the future of the new society.

There is one question which the class-conscious workers in any branch of this industry must ask themselves and be prepared to answer, whether or not they are capable at this moment of taking over and managing that particular industry for the benefit of society as a whole.

If you are not then you are jeopardizing the life of the new society that is about to be born.

But don't stop to lament this fact. Yesterday is passed but the tomorrow is ours.

THE NEW PRICE LIST

OF I. W. W. LITERATURE

should be sent for immediately by every one interested. Write

General Secretary-Treasurer, I. W. W.
1001 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

THE FUTURE OF THE I. W. W.

A meeting of branch Butte M. M. W. I. U. No. 210, October 21, 1920, endorsed the action of Branch Fargo A. W. I. U. No. 110 in its action in requesting the General Executive Board to withdraw the ballot regarding endorsement of the "Third International," now before the membership.

The Branch Fargo request is based on constitutional grounds, and as such endorsed by this branch.

It is based on by-law resolution, Article 12 of the General Constitution, which reads: "Resolved, that to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed."

In view of the fact, however, that this ballot is of vital importance and far-reaching consequences, we want to fully explain our position.

First: We regard the violation of the constitution as something undesirable but permissible in extreme cases, where shown conclusively non-violation would be very injurious to the organization; in short, we recognize that the most carefully thought out and drawn up constitution may not meet all the exigencies arising. We hold, however, that this is not one of those desperate cases that would justify its non-observance.

We are of the opinion that there is plenty of time to submit the matter to the regular constitutional course, viz.: the convention and referendum. We would also suggest that the meaning of our action be not obscured by reservations of any kind, but simply endorse or not endorse, to be the issue.

We deem that the membership as yet is not sufficiently acquainted with the fundamental differences in the programs of the I. W. W. and the Third International. In order, therefore, that these fundamental differences may be observed, we hold that certain clauses of the constitution of the Third International should appear on the ballot, as well as certain clauses of the I. W. W. constitution, which would be automatically rescinded if the Third International is endorsed.

We want the membership to be fully aware that our tactics and conduct will be so tremendously altered if we endorse that the preamble to the constitution must be altered to such an extent that it will be unrecognizable. We want the membership to understand that instead of our present motto, "We are building the new society within the shell of the old," it will be, in the event of endorsement, "Smash the political state by all means, legal or illegal,"—through parliamentary means and through direct physical action, viz.:—force of arms.

This clean-cut procedure will prevent all misunderstanding. In the event of endorsement we will know that the membership have acted deliberately and is prepared for the change and the consequences. In the event of non-endorsement, actions

like the expulsion of the Philadelphia Transport Workers, should re-assure our Russian and European fellow workers as to our disposition towards them. They will know that though we do not follow their program, we are simply pursuing different tactics, because of meeting with different conditions.

The Third International is of Russian origin. That the Russian workers have acted correctly results prove,—there is no room for doubt; but remember the tremendous incentive propelling the Russian masses. The hundreds of years of czaristic despotism had culminated in 1,500,000 dead on the battle fields, other millions died from disease and starvation. Desperate, the Russian workers found themselves in possession of arms. One mightily lunge and czardom was no more.

Kerensky's vacillating, treacherous regime was but a cork on the ocean. The masse wanted quick and thorough action. The Bolsheviks understood. The vast peasant population was won over by the simple process of letting it help itself to the big estates, held by the semi-feudal, landed aristocracy. The subsequent splendid knowledge and tactics of the revolutionists gradually produced order out of chaos. Our admiration of the feat performed knows no bounds. Humanity shall always be indebted to the Russian working class for their heroic example and splendid stimulus given the world revolutionary movement.

Now observe the different conditions that obtain in America. The United States of America,—the land that absorbed a million European workers annually, for many years prior to the war; the land with its promised individual success, with individualism ground to the marrow by its young traditions. True, the wage slave yoke grinds more and more nerve-racking; true, individual success is an exploded myth, but unlike the European, the American worker has not yet had time to find it out. The American, unlike the European worker, is not yet ready to make the sacrifice that desperation produced in Europe. True, the immediate outlook is of a nature that may well produce that mass-psychology when the workers cry "enough" when the primitive instinct of self-preservation goads them to physical force, the primitive method of settling matters; when that condition arises there will be no need for urging or teaching,—it will produce its own leaders. Holding this opinion, we are not much impressed with the Communistic program. In the prevailing individualistic atmosphere we deem it of more importance to spend our energy in the teaching of organization along lines that experience has shown is necessary in order to meet the new conditions that a new society and system require.

Even at the risk of being accused of being conservative and afraid of jail we will yet persevere in our original plan of building the new society within the shell of the old.

Card No. 441707, Chairman.

Nick Radivoeff, Secretary Butte Branch.

The Defense Situation

The defense situation, throughout the country, has not shown any appreciable change. In many parts members are being cruelly victimized under legislation enacted by the different states at the dictation of the employing class.

The appeal in the Sacramento case has resulted in the sustaining of the verdict of "guilty" by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the ninth circuit. Otto Christensen, attorney for the defense, has filed petition for rehearing and, if that be denied, will endeavor to bring the case before the United States Supreme Court for consideration. Much the same procedure is being followed as in the Chicago case. In the meantime, the Sacramento boys are still in the Leavenworth Penitentiary, with the exception of four of them who have secured their temporary liberty on bond. This leaves thirty-four of them in prison, besides a number of the men imprisoned on the Chicago indictment, and all the defendants of the Wichita indictment.

The first case to be tried under the new Criminal Syndicalism Act of the State of South Dakota is still awaiting trial. The defendants are three members of the organization, James Howard, John Gartland and Harry Korenreich. These three fellow workers have been in the filthy county jail at Aberdeen—the Brown County jail—since July. The prosecution is continually delaying the case on the plea that they need a valuable witness, but cannot get into communication with him. Attorney Van Slyke, who is working with Attorney Mulks for the defense, is urgently pressing immediate trial of the case, on the plea that further confinement in this primitive bastille will ruin his clients' health. The only evidence against the men is that they had organization literature in their possession. The South Dakota Criminal Syndicalist law provides a minimum penalty of twenty-five years' imprisonment. This is a case that must be fought to a finish, especially as it is the first to be tried under the new act, and the result will have a direct bearing on all future cases of a similiar nature in this state. The three defendants have secured the right to be tried separately. The first to be tried is James Howard, who has already had a preliminary hearing.

The charges against Harry Grummer, who has been held by the local authorities of Little Rock, Arkansas, for the Federal Grand Jury on a charge of distributing "seditious literature," have been dismissed by the federal grand jury.

Word has been received that Carl Barcus, a young member of the organization, is being held in the county jail at Beatrice, Neb., incommunicado; and that no charge has been made against him. He was arrested in the railroad station at Wymore, Neb., and supplies were found on him. Immediately he was taken to jail, and all efforts of his friends to communicate with him were fruitless. So far he has had no hearing. When the judge was asked as to how long he intended to keep the boy without a hearing, his honor replied, "We can hold an I. W.

W. as long as we want to." The Defense is now taking steps to provide legal and other assistance for this fellow worker.

Fellow Worker Danton, who had two charges in Kansas—one of vagrancy at Wichita, and one of criminal syndicalism at Lyons—has had the vagrancy case dismissed. The criminal syndicalist case will be decided at the December term. Attorney Caroline Lowe is acting for the defense. Two members of the I. W. W., Felix Thornton and Ed. Anderson, who were arrested with fourteen others, at a meeting addressed by Ella Reeves Bloor recently at Kansas City, Kansas, will be tried under the Kansas Criminal Syndicalist Act. Thirteen of the defendants have been dismissed, the other being the speaker, Mrs. Bloor. The meeting was held under the auspices of the "National Defense Committee," and was for the purpose of obtaining publicity for the matter of political prisoners and deportees. It is claimed by the prosecution that Thornton and Anderson took a quantity of I. W. W. literature to the meeting for distribution, although they distributed none. The defendants are out on bond. Harold Mulks and Caroline Lowe are acting as defense attorneys. Attorney Joseph Shaarts, of Dayton, Ohio, also acted at the preliminary hearing. The cases of Anderson and Thornton will probably come up in the January term of the District Court. Mrs. Bloor's defense will be financed by the "National Defense Committee," under whose direction she was traveling. The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. will be responsible for the defense of the other two.

Word is arriving that the Criminal Syndicalist law is beginning to totter in the Northwest. Especially in the State of Washington it is beginning to be realized by the bosses' political lackeys that the industrial union movement cannot be destroyed by this particular brand of master-class legislation. The organization is gaining ground in that territory, despite these infamous laws, and it is whispered that, as the Criminal Syndicalist Act has proven itself useless to hold back the rising working-class tide, it may be repealed or allowed to fall into disuse.

In the meantime, however, we have most of our old cases, and some new ones, to carry on. Funds are urgently needed. A campaign has been inaugurated to secure financial assistance both from the membership and from sympathizers. Circular letters are being sent out by this office to individuals and organizations to aid us in the struggle to release our fellow workers from the clutch of the judicial machinery of the employing class. It is up to every member and sympathizer to help with donations and the spreading of publicity. Now, that we are at grips with the massed power of the exploiting class, it is more vital than ever that we should stand by our revolutionary aims, and protect those who have had the courage to support them. It can-

Continued on Page 63)

General Headquarters Bulletin

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 8, 1920.

A number of protests have arrived at this office against the action of the General Executive Board in submitting the question of affiliation with the Third International for the membership to solve through referendum.

Coupled with these protests, there have also been received, in a couple of instances, protests against the use of our papers for the discussion of political matters. Fellow workers, you must understand that your new G. E. B. has needed time to get into action, that they are not neglecting the supervision of the organization's press is evidenced by the fact that they found it necessary to discharge the editor of *Solidarity* on account of the slipshod manner in which the paper had been conducted, which tended to cause confusion in the minds of the readers. As far as the foreign papers are concerned, your G. E. B. cannot, for the part, read the languages in which they are written, and it is impracticable to have translations provided of all the matter intended for the foreign publications. It is the duty of the members understanding those languages to read the papers with vigilance and report to us any deviation, in them, from I. W. W. principles.

With regard to the action of the G. E. B. in referring to the matter of international affiliation to the membership, this matter was thrust upon the Board. As most members know, the previous Board recommended affiliation, and the Convention, by unanimously accepting their report, confirmed it. Later information relating to the conditions of membership in the Third International, made it advisable to consider the matter again. The Board decided that, in a matter of such momentous importance, they could hardly make a decision without consulting the wishes of the entire membership.

International affiliation is by no means a petty matter; it is one of the most vital questions the I. W. W. has to face. Therefore, according to our own procedure, it is right to have the entire membership express itself on the matter. Had the Board acted in the matter without consulting the membership, there would have been storms of protest—one way or the other—which would have far exceeded the protests against the referendum. We do not doubt but that—had the Board itself decided the matter of international affiliation, in either way—the very members who now so violently oppose the referendum, would have been shouting for a more democratic handling of the question.

However, as the protests against the referendum have been coming in, not in very large numbers, but with a certain steadiness which warrants action, the Chairman of the G. E. B. has written to the members of the Board requesting their opinion in the matter. The Board may take action according to the wishes of the membership, properly expressed, declaring it void. But this possibility should not preclude the continuing of the use of the ballot. Especially as, on the same ballot paper, there is an important question of structural change to be voted on.

The G. E. B. has also been criticized for not having followed instructions in issuing a call for an international conference to discuss the formation of an economic industrial international of labor unions. The reason for this is that the project has already been under discussion in Europe and is now actually in process of development. We cannot duplicate work already being done, but must await the results of the present deliberations. This question involves the world-wide labor movement, which takes considerable time to get in connection.

The Nov. 6th issue of *Solidarity* contains a most interesting document on the foundation of an eco-

nomie industrial international. The preliminary meeting was attended by a number of delegates, representing labor organizations of Great Britain, Italy and Russia. They are now drawing up a statement of principles, and an appeal to the workers of all lands, affiliated with class-conscious economic organizations, to send delegates to the preliminary organizing congress next January. The I. W. W. will keep in close touch with this effort, and will certainly not spare any effort to secure the foundation of an economic industrial international which will knit together the revolutionary workers' unions of all lands.

Referendum Ballot Notice

In the amendment to the Constitution, upon which the membership is now voting, and which appears on the same paper as the Third International ballot, there is an error of omission. The amendment reads:

"The General Executive Board shall consist of seven members, one each from the six largest industrial unions."

No mention is made of the seventh member of the Board. The intention is, however, that the seventh member is selected by the smaller industrial unions. Although mention of this has been omitted, we believe that the membership understands pretty generally that such is the plan.

Rump Meetings

Reference having been made recently to "rump meetings," several fellow workers have written to the general office inquiring the meaning of the term. Rump meetings are called by an individual, or a group of individuals, members of the organization, without giving ample notice to the entire membership of the branch or locality. The practice of such meetings is very bad, as it enables an individual, or small group, to impose upon the membership. Members of branches should have at least a week's notice of meetings at which important questions, such as the Third International, is to be acted upon. This will give all members a chance to air their views, and will lessen the possibility of mistakes.

Delegates and Organizers. Attention!

Owing to an error in printing the following notice in *Solidarity*, the word "right" was used instead of the word "left" in referring to the new credentials. The notice, therefore, should read as follows:

To All Delegates and Organizers!

You will find on the new credentials your serial letter in the upper left hand corner. Always put the letter and number together in signing your report cancelling stamps, etc., thus: Del. G-224; Del. A-23; Del. J-1243.

To avoid confusion on the part of the delegates, the industrial union secretaries should write the serial letter beside the number on the credential when issuing to delegates.

Important

The G. E. B. at their last session decided to register with General Headquarters all I. W. W. labels that are being used.

All parties using I. W. W. labels should notify General Headquarters. Then we will send a number to be placed alongside the label.

The reason for the above is that there are several outfits using the I. W. W. label, from time to time, that have not been authorized to do so, and who misrepresent the I. W. W. in their periodicals.

As the big industrial union debts have been adjusted, it now becomes necessary to send in monthly reports to General Headquarters; and that debts be paid promptly, based on the dues and the initiations taken in during the month.

GEO. HARDY, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.
ROY BROWN, Chairman G. E. B.

Special Meeting of the General Executive Board

Extracts from Minutes

Meeting called to order Monday, October 18th, 1920, by Chairman Joe Fisher, at 2:00 P. M. All members present.

The minutes of the previous session were read and accepted.

After discussing the advisability of hearing from the industrial investigator, the following motion was put:

M. & S. That finances be advanced for the expense of the industrial investigator. Carried.

Several communications and resolutions regarding the Third International were read and discussed.

M. & S. That the referendum on the Third International stand, on the grounds that the membership can decide the question by their vote. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur in the action of the Chairman of the G. E. B. and General Secretary in removing the editor of "Solidarity," Hugh R. Richards. Carried.

M. & S. That a branch charter be granted to the Public Utility Workers in New York. Carried.

The committee from the Railroad Workers' I. U. No. 520 Convention appeared and stated their reasons of establishing a central office secretary.

M. & S. That we advise the Convention of R. R. W. I. U. No. 520, now in session, to allow the financial business to be continued that is now in operation and that they organize a General Organization Committee with a Chairman under pay to attend to the organization work in the field. Carried.

M. & S. That the General Secretary and G. E. B. member Lessig appear before the R. R. W. I. U. Convention to explain the above matter. Carried.

M. & S. That beginning January 1st, 1921, all delegates, branch secretaries, stationary and traveling delegates cease to handle the special and the old due stamps, and only industrial union secretaries keep them on hand in the central offices for emergency cases. Carried.

Industrial investigator appears and outlines his work.

Meeting called to order at 1:00 P. M. by Chairman Fisher. All members present.

Bureau of Industrial Research was discussed.

M. & S. That we appropriate Two Thousand Dollars (\$2,000.00) to be used for the Bureau of Industrial Research. Carried.

Italian Paper under discussion.

M. & S. That we lay the Italian Paper question over until we get editors of all papers in consultation. Carried.

Committee from Foodstuff Workers' I. U. No. 460 Convention given the floor.

M. & S. That the request of the Foodstuff Workers be considered and that we take up the matter of Italian Bakers' No. 46. Carried.

Discussion of the duties of the Chairman of the G. E. B.

Chairman Fisher presents his resignation.

M. & S. That resignation of Chairman G. E. B. Joe Fisher be accepted. Carried.

Nominations open for chairman.

M. & S. That Roy A. Brown be elected chairman of the G. E. B. by acclamation. Carried.

M. & S. That Secretary and Chairman G. E. B. employ a writer. Carried.

M. & S. That all I. W. W. labels be numbered and registered in General Headquarters. Carried.

In consultation with editor of O. B. U. Monthly.

M. & S. That we endorse the policy followed by the editor of the O. B. U. Monthly in the October issue, and at the same time we recommend that all the editors in the future adhere to the policies laid down by the G. E. B., I. W. W., to the greatest possible extent. Carried.

Telegram from Williams read.

M. & S. That we employ Ben Williams as editor of "Solidarity." Carried.

Secretary-Treasurer of General Defense reports

M. & S. That report be accepted as progress. Carried.

In consultation with manager of printing plant Foodstuff workers present their bill for expense of convention.

M. & S. That bill be paid and charged to the F. S. W. I. U. No. 460. Carried.

M. & S. Because of the terms laid down by the United Communist Party, on page 11, No. 7 issue of the "Communist," which is as follows:

"1.—That the I. W. W. cease misleading the workers with the teaching that the revolution can be achieved by industrial organization in the shops and factories and the direct seizure of industry, without first overthrowing the capitalist state and establishing the Proletarian Dictatorship through the Soviets.

"2.—That the I. W. W. in its official publications carry on an educational campaign, going as far as the legal character of the organization permits, for the overthrow of the capitalist government through mass action and the establishment of the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"3.—That on such questions as that of armed insurrection, which the I. W. W. could not advocate and maintain its legal existence, it shall not carry on propaganda against this method of action.

"4.—That the leadership and editorial positions in the I. W. W. shall be entrusted, so far as possible, to members of the I. W. W. who are Communists."

And also because of the tactics they advocate, it becomes impossible to co-operate or have any connections whatsoever with the United Communist Party or the Communist Party. Carried.

M. & S. That a member of the G. E. B. investigate the accounts of P. McClellan. Carried.

M. & S. That A. Lessig be assigned to investigate P. McClellan's account, to attend to the matter of Local No. 46 and to finish the M. T. W. affair. Carried.

Philadelphia Branch of the M. T. W. No. 510 (8) opened for discussion.

M. & S. That all industrial unions of the I. W. W. and subordinate parts, which includes the Philadelphia Br. M. T. W. No. 510, must charge the universal (\$1.00) one dollar monthly dues; and the universal (\$2.00) two dollars initiation fee. Carried.

M. & S. That in view of the fact that the twelfth annual convention went on record as being opposed to any assessment, compulsory or voluntary, except the \$1.00 voluntary general defense and the \$1.00 voluntary general organization stamps, which was carried by general referendum, we, the G. E. B., go on record declaring that no industrial union, nor subordinate part of the I. W. W., shall levy assessments, voluntary or compulsory. Carried. Fisher opposed.

M. & S. That the Phila. Br. M. T. W. No. 510 (8) be given until Dec. 1st, 1920, to comply with above

motions. In case of failure to do so they will stand suspended. Carried.

M. & S. That Secretary and Chairman get out Spanish paper as far as finances permit. Carried.

Communication from the Foodstuff Workers regarding the advocacy of a general strike for the release of political prisoners read.

M. & S. That the communication be answered and filed. Carried.

JOE FISHER,
ROY BROWN,
Recording Secretary.
Chairman.

Two Interesting Books

The One Big Union Monthly is in receipt of two books lately, which we desire to mention.

The one is "100 %—The Story of a Patriot," by Upton Sinclair. The other is "Communism and Christianity," by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D.

"100 %—The Story of a Patriot." By Upton Sinclair. Single copy, paper, 60 cents postpaid. Special rates to agents. Address: Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif.

The paper edition is printed on brown paper "to beat the paper trust," says the author.

It is a novel which tells the inside story of a secret agent, "stool pigeon," or "under cover operative," engaged in the campaign against the "Reds." The kind that testifies at I. W. W. trials.

It begins with an episode which we immediately recognize as the Mooney case. This has particular interest now that an assistant of the prosecution is coming forward and telling the terrible story of the frame-up against Mooney and Billings. The author follows this loathsome 100 % beast through his despicable carrier from the gutter up to 100 % respectability. He exposes the hellish methods by which the "Reds" are being railroaded to prison. The I. W. W., naturally, figures on most every other page of the 329.

Every I. W. W. man ought to read it, not because he himself is the real hero of the book, but because it will teach him better to cope with this frightfulness, the provocateurs, the framers, and the stool pigeons.

However, the book has not its chief importance as reading matter for "Reds" to pass the time with. The book should be pushed out to the deep masses of the people, these innocent people who have not the slightest idea of what is going on behind the scenes. These people who know nothing except what they read in the capitalist press, who will indignantly resent the imputation that the Secret Service Department of the Government, city, state or national, is linked up directly and indirectly with the lowest characters of the country and jointly with them perpetrating gruesome crimes against the citizens.

"100%—The Story of a Patriot," will be a terrible shock to these good people who are like parrots mocking the

worn out denunciations of the "Wooblies." It will open their eyes to a danger which is eating out the very foundations of liberty and justice in this country.

It is to the interest of the I. W. W. men in jail and to the organization as a whole that this book of Sinclair's get the widest possible circulation even outside the ranks of the "Reds." Our literature agents should push the sale of it, and the individual members should put it in the hands of the "scissor bills." It will make them feel ashamed of themselves.

"Communism and Christianity, Analyzed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism," by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, 154 pages, 25 cents, postpaid. The Bradford-Brown Educational Company, Inc., Brownella Book Shop, Galion, Ohio.

The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book, just out, he approaches the subject from a new angle, and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all students of socialism, especially to those who are still in close touch with church people.

There is not much of industrial unionism in this book, but it is worth reading anyhow.

You can easily imagine that when a bishop, A REAL LIVE BISHOP, of the Episcopalian church, shakes off his chains and makes a break for spiritual and intellectual liberty and becomes a man among men, that there is something doing.

He comes smashing along like a run-away elephant in the underbrush, trampling down everything in his road and loudly trumpeting out his new-won freedom.

The author is "saved" now, and he is happy over it and he wants everybody to know it.

This book could with advantage be used in breaking ground for truth in parts where the people are enslaved by the priesthood.

THE DEFENSE SITUATION

(Continued from Page 60)

not last for over: all over the world the power of the proletariat is becoming more and more manifest, and it should be obvious to the most shortsighted that a change is inevitable and not so far off. Here, in the United States, we have the most ruthless capitalist class in the world to face; but it also must fall, as the new spirit grows, sweeping around the world and animating labor to new efforts. While building up our organization, while preparing for the working-class administration of industry, let us also strain every nerve to render aid to those of our number who fall in the fight.

All donations and communications should be sent to: JOHN MARTIN, Secretary-Treasurer General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the General Executive Board of I. W. W. Unions:

ENGLISH

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy.

SOLIDARITY 1001 W. Madison Street Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year, six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857
Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE FELLOW WORKER

Box 79
Sta. D, New York, N. Y. \$1.20 per year; six months, 75 cents. Twice a month.

THE TEXTILE WORKER

20 Van Houten street,
Paterson, N. J. Monthly.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENIKA

(The voice of the Laborer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. 3 times a week; \$5 per year; 6 months, \$2.75; 3 months, \$1.50; 3 cents per copy.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS

(Emancipation), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

ITALIAN

IL PROLETARIO

(The Proletarian), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., \$2.00 per year, six months, \$1. Weekly.

SPANISH

SOLIDARIDAD

Monthly. 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$1.00 a year; 5c a copy.

BULGARIAN

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL

(Workers' Thought), 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months \$1.00. Weekly.

ROUMANIAN

MUNCITORUL

(The Worker.) Twice a month. \$1.00 per year (26 issues). 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

JEWISH

INDUSTRIAL ARBEITER SCHTIME

(Industrial Workers' Voice) 440 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year. Six months 80 cents.

LITHUANIAN

PROLETARAS

(The Proletaire) Monthly
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

GERMAN

DER KLASSENKAMPF

(Class Struggle)
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; \$2 per year; six months, \$1; weekly.

CZECKO-SLOVAK

JEDNA VELKA UNIE

(One Big Union.) Monthly. \$1 per year. Single copies 10c. Bundle orders 7c per copy.

FINNISH

TIE VAPAUTEEN

(Road to Freedom.) Finnish Monthly. 1929 Madison Ave., New York City. Single copies, 25 cents. One year, \$2. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

Industrial Union Papers
Published by Stock Companies:

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI

(The Industrialist) Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.

AHJO

(The Forge). Finnish Monthly. Issued by The Work People's College, Box 464, Duluth, Minn. \$1 per year, 25 cents per copy.

SUBSCRIBE!