THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. I, No. 1 FEBRUARY, 1921 Serial No. 1

The "White Terror" in Hungary

ONE of the most stupendous crimes in history is being perpetrated upon the defenseless Hungarian proletariat. A systematic attempt to exterminate every working man and woman possessing a spark of courage or intelligence has been carried on for months. Thousands of men, women and children have been shot, hung, beaten to death, crucified, broken on the torture wheel; their bodies have been mutilated in a most atrocious manner. The unspeakable atrocities committed cry to high heaven. They are an indelible blot of shame on the very name of humanity.

Has a voice been raised in America, "the land of the free, and the home of the brave," against these awful crimes? No! Our kept press has been as mute about these events of world significance as the Egyptian mummies. It harps upon a few instances of "Red Terror" in Russia, where a nation of 180 million souls is struggling for its very existence against conspiracy within and without, against military intervention, blockade, industrial chaos, and deliberate sabotage by the bourgeoisie, but it says not one word when in Hungary a whole nation is being massacred to satisfy the blood-thirsty appetites of decadent "nobles" and perverted capitalists.

America, how can you look with indifference upon the grievous spectacle of the murder of a nation? Awake, America, from your lethargic sleep! The world is on fire! Do not consent to be a silent, unprotesting witness to the re-introduction of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. The rack, the burning irons and the crucifixion of living human beings should remain buried in the shame of past ages. They are being revived in Hungary today on a colossal scale. America, let your voice of protest against these unspeakable barbarities be heard from one end of the country to the other!

We print below several communications sent to us from Europe by the Communist International of Youth, setting forth the almost unbelievable ravages of the "White Terror" in Hungary:

Help the Dying Hungarian Proletariat!

Betrayed by the Social-democrats, encircled by the mercenary armies of the Allied Imperialists, the Hungarian Soviet Republic broke down after a brief existence. The Hungarian Communists knew that their Republic, alone and separated from the rest of the world by a criminal blockade, could not endure. However, they took the initiative when the time was ripe, convinced that the workers in other countries would follow suit. The Hungarian proletariat did not set up soviets merely to rejuvenate their own country; they did it to show the way to the rest of the world as well.

The Hungarian Communists were well aware from the very beginning of their Republic of the hardships and sacrifices of the struggle. They foresaw the possibility of a bloody war like the one that Soviet Russia has been fighting for the preservation of the Revolution.

The Hungarian proletariat could not at that moment, however, think of itself alone; it was its clear duty to think and to act for the proletariat of the whole world. In fighting for the Soviet Republic it fought for working-class supremacy the world over; it fought for you, working men and women of all countries, and it is now suf-

Otto Korvin, a victim of the Horthy regime in its early days. Korvin was a writer and an idealist of note, and during the Soviet tenure of power was at the head of the Commission for the Combating of Counter-Revolution. He was one of fourteen men who were executed on the same day. The beasts in human form who do the bidding of the blood-thirsty Horthy let him watch the hanging of the other thirteen men; then, since Korvin was a hunchback, they put him on the torture bench and broke his back, after which they hung him.

fering on account of the heroic struggle that it waged against the powers of darkness.

It succumbed in the struggle. It was too weak to hold its own against the power of world-imperialism, against treason, against hidden and open counter-revolution. The battle was lost. The bourgeoisie took bitter revenge against the proletariat for the audacity of striving to break its fetters. The "White Terror" overwhelmed Hungary. In their bestial hatred the "white" officers and murderers make no distinction between Communists, Soviet-sympathizers, Socialists; all whose calloused hands betray them as being workers are arrested, imprisoned, tortured and beaten to death.

The purpose of the Horthy regime in Hungary is to tear up every root of the Socialist and labor movements.

10,000 of these defenseless victims are still confined in detention camps and jails. Thousands have suffered the death of martyrdom on the gallows. The ones unfortunate enough to be still alive have been subjected by the drunken and blood-mad soldiers and officers to the most cruel tortures. Women are violated, men are broken on the rack and beaten with sticks and "Horthy-clubs," to obtain from them the so-called "voluntary confessions." Hundreds of prisoners have been mutilated in an atrocious manner, have had their teeth beaten in and their eyes cut out. The prisons and concentration camps of Hungary are crowded with many thousands of innocent prisoners, who together with their families are perishing from dirt, cold and hunger.

The workingmen still outside the prison gates are without work, food, clothing and fuel. Hungry, ragged, desperate, they have been overtaken by the bitter cold of the winter, which has made their sufferings unbearable.

Unable to give its workers bread and employment, the Hungarian assassin-government tries to satisfy their hunger with bullets and the gallows.

The Misery of the Masses in Budapest.

The Budapest paper "Az Ujsag" informs us from official sources that the number of unemployed in Budapest has grown to the portentious figure of 160,000, to which must be added the families of war cripples, the widows of killed soldiers, and the wives of prisoners of war still held in Russia.

The number of those sick and unable to work is 80,000. Budapest, therefore, now counts 240,000 men and women with no means of livelihood. Multiplying that figure by two, to account for the families of the unemployed, we have a half million human beings, living in most dreadful misery.

Besides helping the prisoners, it is the intention of the Communist International of Youth to alleviate to as great an extent as possible the sufferings brought upon the people by the economic chaos caused by the Horthy "White Terror" regime.

2,260 Hung by a Single Executioner.

In a conversation with Stefan Lazar, editor of "Pesti Hirlap," the hangman Alexander Györy admitted that he had hung to date 2,260 men and women for the crime

The crucifixion by executioners of the Hungarian White Terror of an old man and his children. Drawn from life.

of high treason. While some of the victims of this governmental mass-murderer were executed during the war, by far the greater part of them were class-conscious comrades who were led to the gallows after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Thousands of workers pine away their lives in the Hungarian prisons today, and hundreds of them await the same fate that befell the 2,260 butchered by the murderer Györy.

Workingmen and Women, Comrades and Fellow Workers!

Heed the cry of the imprisoned! Support the work carried on by the Communist International of Youth for the relief and liberation of the dying Hungarian proletariat.

Do not forget that the Hungarian comrades sacrificed their lives for the common object, for the world-proletariat! Do not forget that the prisoners are suffering for you!

Do everything in your power to help them! Show by your actions that the International Solidarity of Labor is not merely a phrase, but a living reality!

Protest against the unspeakable atrocities of the Hungarian White Terrorists!

Show your brothers that they do not stand alone and forlorn! Collect clothes, underwear and money for them.

Get up relief committees and collection places all over the country!

Support the relief-action of the Communist International of Youth.

(Signed)

The Executive Committee of
The Communist International of Youth.

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The relief work in behalf of the Hungarian proletariat has already begun in several countries with good results.

In America, the Hungarian Organization Committee of the I. W. W. has organized a relief committee at present located in Czecho-Slovakia, and has been sending relief to the suffering workers of Hungary, and to Hungarian emigrants in other countries. Comrades and fellow workers, help us to keep up the good work! Address all communications and donations to: John Bartell, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Sunny California - Land of Romance and Unemployment

By Jack Gaveel

ONE usually thinks of an unemployed army in connection with snow, ice and northern gales. An unemployed army sweltering in the heat of a big city sounds like a paradox. Yet this is the case in Los Angeles, Cal., today. California is a state which in virtue of its climate is ordinarily overcrowded with cheap labor during the winter months. This winter sees the situation intensified an account of the fact that as the big industrial centers in the East continue laying off their forces as a result of the panic, the jobless and homeless workers come drifting into the land of eternal sunshine by the hundreds of thousands. They seem to be under the foolish impression that "it is better to starve to death in a warm country than in a cold one." California is literally black with men. Los Angeles has some ten or fifteen thousand unemployed, and their number is increasing daily. How many there will be within the next few weeks, or before the winter is over, we do not know. We do know, however, that the workers have brought this calamity upon themselves.

The Workers' Ignorance.

Acting as individuals, paying no attention to economic laws, heeding not the fact that in society all men are tied together in such a way that a catastrophe in any part of the social organism is bound to make its effects felt in all other parts, the workers have in brazen ignorance and defiance of these facts taken the advice of politicians and of A. F. of L. leaders. They have speeded up production and worked long hours, thereby causing unemployment, low wages and underconsumption, followed by more unemployment and underconsumption, and finally by a panic. And now we are confronted by the tragical spectacle of millions of toilers starving and out of work, after having worked so hard and faithfully that the granaries and treasure chests of the world are full of the good things of life.

In the City of Los Angeles, Cal.

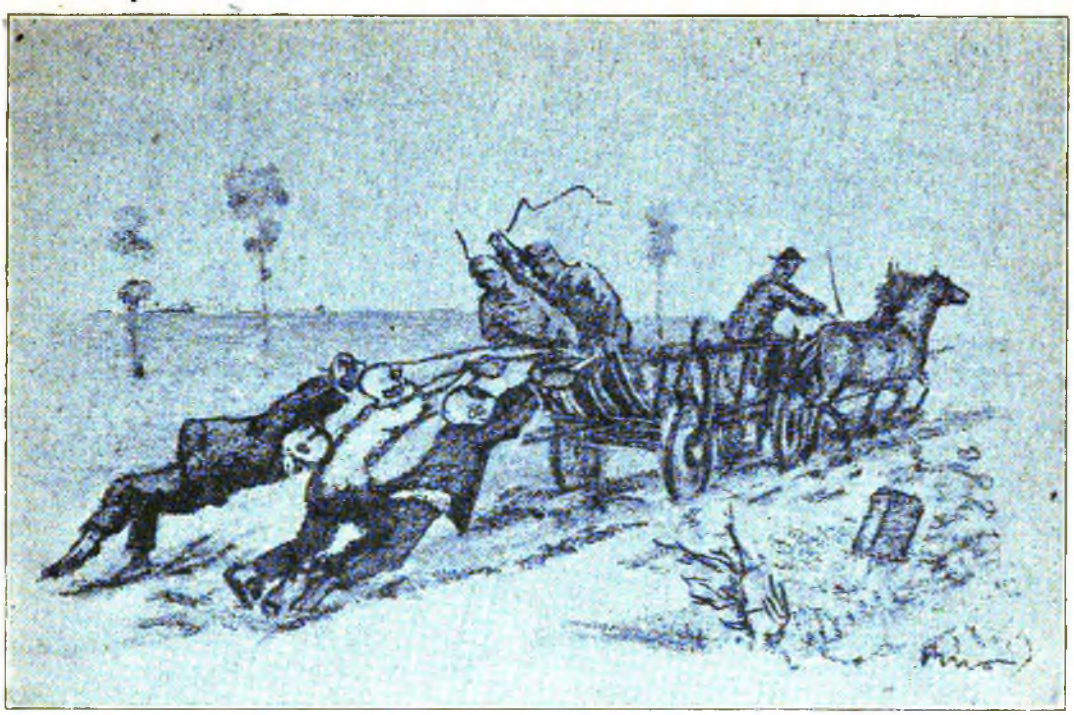
In Los Angeles there are today thousands of workers out of a job. Only the other day the Southern Pacific railroad laid off four hundred men, making a grand total of nine hundred discharged within the last few days. From other parts of the country reports are continuously pouring in about freight houses, railways, plants and factories discharging their slaves, and this with the bitter cold of January and February staring the workers in the face. Already in Los Angeles soup and bread lines are regaining their prominence. In front of the lousy mission on Los Angeles Street each night around eleven or twelve o'clock can be seen a line of ragged and wretched men with pale and pinched faces, animallike in their eagerness for a bone. As crime, murder and bloodshed, hideous indictments of capitalist civilization, sweep on victoriously on the crest of the wave of unemployment, raids by the police become more frequent. Where the yellow lights flare sickly in the gloom of the Moving Picture City's abyss, where human forms huddle in dark doorways and squat, shivering with cold, on icy stone floors, there the police vultures prey. Too cowardly to hunt the big, bold game (or is it because they are bought out?), they torment the workers even in their misery. In the words of the "Los Angeles Record" of a few weeks back, in referring to a raid on the homeless and jobless slaves, which netted seventy-nine men: "But the Record does believe it passing strange that seventy-nine of the greatest criminals in the country walk Los Angele's streets undisturbed, while seventy-nine men whose only offense is that they have not stolen the money necessary to remedy their sad plight are arrested without crime."

In the "City of the Angels," the city of wealth and splendor, where are laid the glittering and gorgeous moving picture scenes of the sunny and laughing southland, hunger gnaws at men's guts, misery stalks abroad and poisons men's hearts. But what of it? The capitalists do not need their slaves any longer. The warehouses are full. The workers have done their work; they have received their wage. Isn't that sufficient? The only remedy that the wealthy people, the government, the pillars of society, have to offer to the jobless and hungry men is "intimidation" and "salvation via the soup route." But the workers cannot live on that, you will protest. Well, let them starve!

The Revolution.

If ever capitalist society stood indicted of rapacity, brutality, dishonesty and incompetence, it is now. The time has come when the workers can no longer be fooled; they must take action. We no longer have to refer to works on revolutionary political economy to prove the correctness of our assertion that the capitalist class is not able to cope with the increasingly difficult problems of production and distribution. The visible and tangible endictment of the present industrial system is right in front of our eyes, it is a fact so conspicuous and so persistent that daily it is hammering its lesson into the heads of countless workers.

For four long years the workers have sweated and bled. Following the advice of politicians and statesmen, they have worked like mules and fought



Torture by beating and dragging victims of the White Terror tied behind a wagon. The Horthy regime in Hungary has shown great ingenuity in devising new ways of torturing people. Drawn from life.

like fools. Their reward now is unemployment and starvation. Democracy stands revealed for what it is: a huge swindle, a mocking farce. Capitalism has revealed itself in its true colors. Merit and faithful service are not rewarded. And why should they, when they cause unemployment, low wages, and a panic? It is not a question of underproduction, but of underconsumption. The warehouses are full, the workers starve to death, and yet the prostitute mouthpieces of the capitalist class clamor for a greater production.

What we want is greater consumption. The only way to get that is to say, "To hell with faithful service!" We must slow down, cut the hours, raise the wages, produce less, furnish the jobless workers with employment, and increase the purchasing power of the workers. The above program can only be put thru by an organization which is able to deal effectively with the great issues confronting the working class. That organization is the One Big Union of all the workers.

Such an organization, by its very nature, is capable of calling a strike for, say, a reduction in working hours,that will include so many workers that no matter how many unemployed there may be, or how many scabs would be furnished to break it, the capitalist will have to grant its demands. The A. F. of L., with its internal dissensions and separations, boss-ridden as it is, will never be able to deal with the problem of unemployment, nor with any of the other problems confronting the working class in America. The One Big Union of the workers will not only be able to deal with unemployment, but it will eventually put the workers into the possession of the wealth of the United States, of its shops, mills, mines, railways and natural resources, realizing as it does that private ownership of the means of life, and production for profit, are not only the causes of unemployment, starvation and panics, but of all the other evils of modern society.

Thus is developed the revolutionary psychology of the American working class. The class struggle becomes a conscious process. The cry goes up for the socialization of the means of production and distribution. Revolutions are not the result of the work of agitators; like all other forms of social consciousness and activity they develop from the material conditions of existence, from the industrial basis of society. Understanding this, we can grasp the genesis of the One Big Union of the I. W. W., and all that it stands for.

Judges, legislators, statesmen and politicians cannot solve the problem of unemployment. There are many other problems that they cannot solve. Of a revolution they never dream. They do not know what the word means. They are an embodiment of the past, they are corpses that lack red blood. They do not know what it is to be intoxicated with the wine and the sting of the Revolution. They exist to pass dead laws, to fill the jails with toilers and to serve as doormats for coming generations. In obedience to the commands of their lords and masters they throw the workers in jail, yet they know nothing about them, nor about work itself. They

slumber on in blissful ignorance, altho the sand is slipping and moving under their very feet.

To know the essence of revolution, to feel its intoxicating spirit creep thru your veins and go to your head, you must be a worker, a floater, a mixer with many nationalities, races and trades. You must be a frequenter of the odd and queer corners of the earth, a visitor to its ugly places. The filth of the gutter must hold no horrors for you; out of that filth the revolution is born and gathers momentum. Out of the ruck of the abyss come always the great things of the world. If you want to hear the One Big Union expounded, to experience the queer and thrilling fascination of its lure, gather with harvest workers at their jungle fires in the Sacramento Valley, strip to the waist and expose your soft, white flesh to the black dust and the glaring heat of the stoke-hole in mid-ocean, take your chances with the diggers of coal in the inky guts of the earth.

California's Forgotten Construction Workers.

I was standing on the edge of a precipice in the Yosemite National Park in California. Underneath my feet the canyon wall dropped down abruptly to a dizzy depth—a dept terrible, yet alluring. On all sides the rocks stood out in their hard nakedness. In the far distance the snaw caps on the pale blue mountains shone like white silver in the sun. Down below to the left on a plateau I could see a big hotel, the construction of which must have cost millions of dollars. I could see its well kept, artistically laid out grounds, with their tennis courts, roads, trees and lakes. Outside the hotel, on the ball grounds, on the lakes and in the parks, moved, frolicked and reveled the millionaires madly and recklessly. From the hotel towards where I was standing wound and climbed an automobile road. Dodging this way and that way to avoid the big rocks and boulders that it encountered in its upward path, away in the distance it looked like the tortuous and crooked trail left behind by some gigantic snake.

There was a continuous stream of big expensive touring cars coming up this road from the hotel. I watched their occupants—snug, well-fed, diamond-studded parasites. Their reckless and stupid laughter, ringing out profanely on the purity and solitude of the mountains, insulted my ears and maddened my sense. By the way these people acted one could tell that they live for themselves only, disgustingly ignorant of life and the world. They never move beyond the snug little sphere they have built for themselves. Thy care not how the world and its people fare, they never look into the future. Their social consciousness is on a level with that of the ape and the tiger. As I thought of the sumptuous and expensive repasts that these human vultures were gorging themselves with at the big hotel in the canyon, of their soft beds in clean and airy rooms, of their riotous lives of idleness and uselessness, lived at the expense of the lives of millions of workers, there wove itself out of the threads of past memories a picture. I was looking at the big hotel, and yet I was not aware of its presence any longer. In fact, it had disappeared. Where it had stood I now saw something else. I saw the bunk houses of a construction camp, and as I looked I began to live in the past. There along the four walls were filthy bunks filled with tired workers. These men were sleeping with the clothes on. Their ill-reeking garments and socks were strung out to dry on lines running across from one row of bunks to the other. One single oil lamp, its light burning low and dim in the blackened glass, was hanging on the wall in the far corner. In the center of the crowded and air-tight space my eye met the familiar sight of the cylindrical sheet-iron stove. In it a couple of big logs were smouldering laboriously for lack of air. The sting of the smoke escaping thru the rents and cracks of the old leaky stove caused the men to cough and choke in their sleep.

When the vision had disappeared, I again waded ankle-deep thru the fall mud and slush of the road. For ten weary hours I groveled and wallowed in this ruck. But what was the difference? Had beasts the right to complain or to grumble?

It would pay to dig up the lost records, and to write a history of the travail and suffering of the forgotten workers who built California's national parks and highways. What tales of misery and heroism would come to light! What pitiless exploitation would this not reveal, what brutal and inhuman treatment! The builders of an empire, the blazers of Civilization's trail, dumped like dogs into forgotten graves! Such a history would tell us of blood money filched for the upkeep of hospitals, while sick and injured workers were denied proper care and treatment. There would be ghastly and piteous tales of men dying, friendless, left to their fate in vermin-infested bunkhouses. It would constitute another indictment of a class who wallow and roll in reckless idleness and luxury, while the producers of all wealth rot in the claws of suffering and privation.

"Sunny" California.

That is California, the land of warm and glowing colors, of eternal sunshine and of cheap labor. The enjoyment of its balmy, velvety climate, of its grapes, oranges and other delicious fruits, the use of its marvelous transportation system, covering the state with a net-work of smooth, acadamized automobile and stage roads, has been made possible by the unrelenting and barren toil of wage-slaves. The descendants of these slaves, heirs to their fathers' misery, are today homeless and jobless, tramping in their thousands, bed on back, the dusty and sun-scorched highways, stretching out for endless, weary miles, that their own and their fathers' hands have built. One begins to meet these wretched builders of an empire just before reaching California, on top of the snow-swept, frost-bitten Siskiyou mountains. Their "jungle fires," glowing red in the dark and cold nights of Mount Shasta, and telling a terrible story of human loneliness and misery, are to be met with on both sides of the Southern Pacific

tracks. As one descends from Shasta mountain, passes Redding and approaches the valley of the Sacramento, their numbers increase until the whole state is covered with their wretchedness, a living condemnation of capitalist civilization.

The rice harvest is on in the valley. Chico, Biggs and Marysville are open slave markets. The scene looks familiar. Migratory workers are gathered on the main street around the depot. They are talking, laughing, and smoking. Some of them are on their way to the "jungles" down the track. These hold packages and bundles of various sizes and descriptions under their arms and in their hands. Inside are bread, meat, potatoes, coffee and sugar. It all reminds one of the North Dakota harvest country. There is one feature, however, to mar the symmetry of the picture, a feature that is strangely out of place in the surroundings. It makes a middle-western migratory worker feel lost and ill at ease. It is the fact that most of these men pack "rolls" or "bundles;" and they make no secret of it. Each possessor of a perambulating bed hugs close his treasure, constantly keeping it with him. He does not take his watchful eyes off of it either day or night. When he moves down-town to the pool hall the bed goes with him, and when he comes back to the slave market so does the bed. There it lies at his feet, or perhaps it hangs on the railing surrounding the depot garden.

The discussions among the slaves are about the rice, the prospects of work, the pay and the hours. Every now and then farmers drive up in Fords to enquire if anybody is looking for work. The wages offered are four and four and a half dollars per day, and—"furnish your own bed." Is it any wonder that California is the ideal country of American capitalism? They talk about the cheap labor of the Hindus and the Japs, but what about the spineless, low-down creature who will furnish his own blankets, quilts and canvas? Some of these men actually delight in carrying, snail-like, their beds on their backs. Many times have I watched them as they march up-town, stooped over underneath their burdens, openly and proudly displaying their lousy bedding to the curious and contemptuous gaze of the people.

Never has the truth that the workers themselves are responsible for their miserable condition been more clearly illustrated than in the case of the "bindle stiff." Think of a bunch of wage slaves voluntarily, deliberately buying their own bedding! Never a smatter of an idea that this is not as it should be, never a trace of rebellion, to say nothing of an organized refusel to buy the bedding, or a desire to make the boss furnish and pay for it out of his own pocket. An intelligent, class-conscious worker without a bed on his back is out of luck in this country. He is up against it. He cannot get a job. I found this out on many occasions. Not only are the nights too cold for sleeping without cover, but the farmers and construction contractors actually refuse to employ a slave without a roll of blankets. They want "steady hands," and they understand that the worker who applies for a job without a "bindle" is generally a "short-stake man." Also, they seem to entertain an instinctive dislike for the man without any bedding. They seem to smell in him a rebel, a scoffer at the conventional, an agitator, an I. W. W. One day I went into the free employment office of Chico, Cal., to inquire about a job in the rice fields. I was told that without bedding I could not get a job.

As I was leaving the valley, headed for Sacramento, the rain was pouring down in torrents. It had rained like that for a week. The rice fields were flooded, work had been shut down indefinitely, and the workers were crowding into the small towns. In the day time they packed the pool halls. At night they spread their canvas in any old place, under rice houses, in box cars, livery stables, and empty barns; those amongst them who had no blankets slept alongside "jungle" fires glowing a dull red in the dark night and the dripping rain.

What will become of all these men? Where will the currents of blind chance carry them? Where will they be a year from now, ten years from now? Will they still be alive, or dead and gone? If still living, what will their lives be like? Who were they, anyway, where did they come from? Were there, perhaps, people who cared—mothers, sisters, sweethearts of long ago, in some corner of a far-away land? Nobody knew—nobody cared.

A student of sociology would have found an interesting field for investigation in the orange country around Lindsay and Portersville last fall. Economic laws, if a thoro understanding of them is desired, must not only be studied in the books of the economists, but must be observed in actual operation in life.

The effects of the law of supply and demand, in its relationship to the commodity labor, were plainly seen in the overcrowded labor market of the town of Lindsay, Cal. As soon as the orange picking started around Lindsay, a concerted drive by jobless labor was made on that center from Sacramento, Fresno and Stockton. The farmers, in consequence, had it all their own way. Seeing that they could get all the men they wanted, and then some, it did not take them long to impose the most rigid restrictions and qualifications on the job-hungry workers. A speeding-up system was soon inaugurated. Only workers willing to pick oranges by the box were in demand. When we consider that to make $6.00 a day a worker picking for ten cents a box had to pick 60 boxes a day, and that furthermore when picking by the day he received $6.00 for a day's work, and picked as low as ten, and never more than twenty boxes (this from an I. W. W. who worked in the orchards out of Lindsay), it is not hard to understand why it is that piece-work is one of the "damnedest" forms of scabbery imaginable.

Piece work, as illustrated above, has four plainly traceable obnoxious and harmful results. These are:

1. Under it the worker is robbed.
2. It puts money into the pocket of the boss.
3. It leads to premature old age and death, and
4. Worst of all, it throws other men out a job.

Not only in the demand for piece work was the effect of an overcrowded labor market to be seen. The mad scramble of the unorganized herd for jobs had its reflection in the willingness of many servile slaves to buy their own apple bags and clippers. Orange picking is no snap at any time, and if to the hell of the task has to be added the ignorance, hoggishness and selfishness of a bunch of unorganized and panic-stricken slaves, what shall be said? Nothing, except that the old truth that "the workers themselves, and nobody else, are to blame for their conditions" has been here once more emphatically illustrated.

And yet it is on those very same conditions, on the unemployment, the long hours, the speeding-up, on all this exploitation and misery, that the revolution thrives. All this discontent and human wretchedness is gathered up by the I. W. W., and out of it its tireless workers forge the weapon that will be used to destroy the American capitalist class as a class. No matter where you may go, whether in the wheat-fields of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, or North Dakota, in the beet fields of Colorado, among the cornstalks of Iowa, the apple orchards in the Wenatchee, or the orange groves of Southern California, no matter where your travels may take you, as long as you are a worker and your life brings you in contact with the men who do the hard and vital work of the world, you will meet the I. W. W.'s. They are the breath of the revolution. Their tactics are as flexible as the conditions of their existence. To a casual observer, who has at some time or other observed the I. W. W. in action in the harvest belts, it might seem that if the organization's demands are not granted its members will refuse to take a job until the boss has changed his mind and declared himself willing to make the necessary concessions. However, by observing closer he will find that, if necessary, the I. W. W.'s will go on the job no matter what the conditions may be. As soon as they get there they line up as many unorganized workers as possible. It a strike is not successful the first time because the farmer fires "the whole damn bunch of agitators" and goes up-town to get himself another crew, the chances are that when the next time a demand is made for shorter hours, better "chuck," or the furnishing of blankets, these demands are granted in a hurry. Do you know why? Ask the farmer. He will tell you that when he went up-town to hire another crew, without knowing it he had hired another bunch of I. W. W.'s. This he found out as soon as he got back to the farm, for his new crew acted in exactly the same manner as the old one.

The I. W. W.'s are off and on the jobs, here and there and everywhere, lining up men, carrying on agitation, pulling off strikes, educating both exploiters and workers, exploiters as to the efficiency of the One Big Union to hit in the pocket-book, workers as to the fact that the One Big Union will set them free. Step by step the revolution in the United States advances. If the American capitalists could only see the havoc wrought in their system by privation and unemployment, if they could only encompass the enthusiasm for the One Big Union that is sweeping the country, or get an inkling of the damage done to their system every time a strike, whether successful or not, is pulled off, and a lesson in working class solidarity is taught! The ground on which they stand is slipping and crumbling, and yet they know it not. But why should they? Have not the ruling classes of all historical epochs been blinded by their class interests to the deep undercurrents of discontent and revolution which finally swelled to a flood that broke down the fences of slavery and swept into oblivion their damnable strucures of shame and bondage?

The seeds of revolution are being sown in California today, and those seeds are exploitation, misery, starvation and unemployment.

Progress

Giordano Bruno could not be free while a power like that of the Roman hierarchy ruled in Europe. Galileo could not be free to teach the people the fact that the earth moves; he was compelled by torture to recant, but as he rose from his knees he remarked, "And yet it moves." Liebknecht could not be free while the Hohenzollern blight ruled over Germany; nor, had he escaped the assassin, could he have been free under the present autocracy that has assumed the mask of democracy. Nicolai Lenin could not be free while czardom shadowed the people of Russia. The life of the oppressor ever depends on the effective silencing of all who would speak for the oppressed.

Effective? It is too late. The tide of progress, of democracy, of justice has gained too great impetus. The torturing of Galileo did not kill the idea that the earth moves, nor did the long imprisonment and final burning of Bruno kill the truths that he taught. Liebknecht was slain while fighting for a bona fide democracy in Germany, but his cause today is gaining strength as never before. Lenin, the statesman supreme, has helped install the world's first democracy, and has successfully protected it from the combined onslaughts of the capitalist nations. Over one hundred and eighty million Russians floats the flag of freedom, brotherhood and co-operative industry, while its enemies plot and vilify in vain.

Julia C. Coons.

POOR MARKSMANSHIP

The Call of the I. W. W.

By H. Van Dorn

Who is it denounces the I. W. W.?
Who it is calls us traitors and blasphemers, murderers and destroyers?
The prostituted journalist, the man who instills poison into people's minds. He is so servile that he licks the dust off his master's shoes.
The bejeweled parasite, the man who sows not, but who reaps the wealth of the world. He has been the curse of all the ages.
The exploiter of child labor, the man who coins dollars out of the warped lives and stunted souls of little children. His hands are gory with the blood of innocent children.

* * * * *

Let the I. W. W. bugle-call to Liberty resound from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, from the Gulf of Florida to the Great Lakes, from the cactus lands of the Mexican border to the wheat lands of the Canadian border.

* * * * *

You workers of all races and nationalities,
You toilers at all trades and occupations,
You who are the salt of all creation,
You who are the life-blood of the nation,
You who build luxurious palaces and live in squalid tenements,
You who defy deadly gases in the bowels of the earth, you who battle the fierce elements of the tumultuous sea, and receive a crust of bread as your reward,
You whose hands are calloused from hard labor, and whoso foreheads are furrowed from many anxieties,
You who create everything and possess nothing,
Would you be free men among free men?
Would you be masters of your own destiny?
Would you be rid of the parasites who fatten upon your misery?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You doers of deeds,
You builders of empire,
You whose fertile brains contained the images of buildings, factories, ships, locomotives, highways and railways before they materialized into tangible realities,
You layers of brick,
You carriers of mortar,
You sawers of wood,
You hewers of timber,
Come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You burners of the midnight oil,
You men of the keen brain and the quick eye,
You for whom the pursuit of truth is the wine of life,
You for whom the exploration of the Great Unknown is the elixir of happiness,

You for whom the finding of new truths is the acme of beatitude,
You who delve into the hidden lore of the ancients,
You who pore over the musty pages of history, that thru an understanding of the past you may be able to peer into the dim reaches of the mysterious future,
You men of the fevered brain, you men of divine inspiration, you men with intellects as sharp as the edge of a sword,
You for whom a flaw in the chain of reasoning is a crime of crimes.
Come and work with the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You who have grown weary on the journey of life,
You whose shoulders are stooped from many burdens, whose hands are palsied and whose steps are faltering,
You who have felt the bitterness of utter failure,
You who have weathered the storms of blasted hopes,
You who have fathomed the depths of black despair,
Would you have assurance that your sufferings have not been in vain?
Would you bequeath upon your children and your children's children the golden inheritance of a radiant and a regenerated Earth?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You men with red blood in your veins,
You seekers after truth,
You lovers of liberty,
You whose free spirits dungeons cannot hold, you for whom chains were made but to be broken, you who know laws to be but scraps of paper,
You who recognize no master but your conscience,
You who know no dignity but the dignity of labor,
Come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You singers of songs,
You dreamers of dreams,
You lovers of the Beautiful,
You adorers of the Sublime,
You gifted ones among the children of men,
You whose fancy travels with the swiftness of lightning,
You who can summon from your flaming imaginations the priceless treasures of art, music and poetry, which gold cannot buy nor rust corrode,
Would you be rid from care and misery?
Would you break the chains that hold your spirit in bondage?
Would you give wings to your souls that they may soar to heights infinite?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

The I. W. W. is the guardian over the Shrine of Liberty,
It is the keeper of the key to the future society of Industrial Democracy.

* * * * *

Ay, the night was long,
The darkness was appalling,
But the day is breaking,
The day is breaking!

The Industrial Pioneer

A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

Published monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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, remittances and manuscripts to The Industrial Pioneer, or to H. Van Dorn, Manager, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

ONE of our subscribers sends us a letter inquiring whether the I. W. W., in view of its activities along lines of industrial research, proposes to transform overnight ordinary workingmen into trained technicians, such as engineers and chemists. No, the I. W. W. does not propose to perform any such miracle. This leads us to the consideration of a big subject, that of industrial research.

All industry has been made possible by the application of physical science to the forces and materials furnished by nature. Those men who have made a special study of engineering, chemistry, physics, or any other science which finds application in industry, are known as technicians, and their services are absolutely indispensable for the successful operation of industry. In some industries, however, their services are in less constant demand than in others.

Let us take, for instance, the coal mining industry. While the mine is being built the co-ordinated efforts of assayists, surveyers and engineers are required for surveying the field, sinking the shafts, constructing the tipples, laying the tracks, etc. That done, their services are dispensed with, and the operation of the mine turned over to the miners. Henceforward the successful running of the mine depends almost wholly upon the efforts of the miners themselves. This applies also to the lumber industry, and to a few others.

On the other hand, the industries where the services of technicians are in continuous demand are best illustrated by the steel industry. Take the chemists and other laboratory workers out of a steel mill and in the course of a few days it will have to shut down.

Another consideration to be kept in mind is this: Should all the foremen, departmental managers, superintendents and all others occupying positions of responsibility in any large industrial establishment suddenly go out on strike that establishment will become completely disorganized for some days afterwards, and when operation is eventually resumed with a new, inexperienced managerial force it will be grossly inefficient for quite some time to come, and the output will be correspondingly smaller. Thus we see that for the successful and efficient running of any industry is required the harmonious co-operation of the workers proper with the managerial and the technical staffs.

This has been admirably brought out by our Fellow Worker G. Cannata, who is himself a technician of high attainments, in his article on "Technique and Revolution," the first half of which appears in this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer."

Therefore, in discussing the taking over of industry by the workers, the functions of the managerial and technical forces, as well as their attitude towards a change of such tremendous consequences, have to be given serious consideration. Will they give their services as wholeheartedly for the benefit of the Workers' Commonwealth as they did for the benefit of individual capitalists? Will they not, in place of co-operation, offer sabotage?

Unless our ideas about the functioning of the human mind are utterly false, they will not offer their unstinted services to the working class when capitalism collapses. Some will, but the majority will not; that is to say, unless great changes are effected in their present mentality. A factory superintendent is a superintendent by reason of his having performed valuable services for the capitalist along lines of installing labor

saving devices, increasing efficiency and cutting labor costs, and thereby producing more profits. Hs mentality is similar to that of the capitalist. Consequently, when the workers will take control of industry he will balk at the idea of offering his valuable services to a class which he considers as greatly inferior to himself.

It is therefore clearly the duty of an organization like the Industrial Workers of the World to do two things:

First, to develop enough initiative and understanding of industrial processes in at least a certain part of its membership so that when private ownership of industry collapses these members, in co-operation with other workers, will possess the necessary knowledge of their particular industries to efficiently fill managerial and executive positions, and.

Second, to carry on educational work among the technicians in order to make them look at industrial and social problems from the point of view of the revolutionary class conscious industrial unionist, so that they should offer co-operation instead of sabotage when the day of Labor's Commonwealth arrives.

A secondary reason, but by no means a negligible one, is that by issuing industrial handbooks and printing articles on industrial conditions and processes, and by spreading them among the workers employed in the industries dealt with, we arouse in them a sense of responsibility by pointing out the importance of their work to the social organism; this in turn creates in them a better understanding of the solidarity of labor, and makes it so much easier to organize them. Also, such writings, by presenting the mentality of workers employed in different industries, makes it much easier for our unions to choose the right kind of propaganda and the proper organization tactics in order to line them up in the One Big Union.

It is with the above objects in mind that we have printed in this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer" the articles on "The Development of Tobacco Growing," by Chas. J. Miller, and "Evolution of the Lumber Industry," by James Kennedy.

Should the capitalist system collapse before the working class has made at least a certain amount of progress along the lines indicated above it would result in a calamity of undreamed-of magnitude: The working class, in place of a Socialist millennium, would be face to face with industrial chaos, gross inefficiency, capitalist sabotage on a gigantic scale, and starvation. It is right here where the moral superiority of the I. W. W. as compared with other organizations, whether political or industrial, which have for their aim the betterment by one means or another of the condition of the working class, becomes apparent: The I. W. W. is the only organization in America with a definite, well thought-out program of economic reconstruction on a nation-wide scale.

As a preliminary step in that direction we have established a Bureau of Industrial Research. Its purpose is to bring to light the criminal waste in natural resources and man-power caused by private ownership of industry, and to work out comprehensive measures of economic rehabilitation. In this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer" we print the Bureau's report on "Waste in Oil."

Let us consider for one moment the appalling waste of man-power expended in the advertising business. Several million men and women are engaged in the writing, printing and distributing of advertisements; millions of pounds of valuable and costly paper are wasted every year in that futile enterprise; the work of tens of thousands of lumber workers, saw-mill operatives, paper makers, printers, salesmen, delivery men, is a dead loss to the people of the United States. The advertising business is a continuous drain on the energy and the resources of the country; it serves but the one purpose of increasing the profits of rival advertising firms:—the much-beloved "people," of course, footing all the bills. And in the face of this the apologists for capitalism have the nerve to refer to the present order of things as a "sane system of society."

That is only one example of waste. Think of the saving in man-power that would be

effected by putting to work all our gentlemen of leisure and other parasites, such as burglars, real estate sharks, gamblers, bankers, confidence men, kept journalists, sky pilots, lawyers and politicians. With everybody performing socially useful labor, the number of working hours per day would, of course, be reduced accordingly.

Labor-saving and power-producing machinery on a grand scale could be put into operation, which under private ownership of industry cannot be done on account of commercial considerations. In a sane system of society, where industry is run by the workers themselves for use instead of for profit, all the suffering caused by unemployment, strikes, ignorance, unsanitary conditions, avoidable disease and accidents, and by other social and industrial "ills," would be done away with.

"At the Movies"

By a Rebel Girl

AS WE came into the circle of brilliant light around the "movie palace" a thin, tired little woman passed us, holding in her arms a small bundle of humanity wrapped in a faded, red shawl. A little boy about six or seven years old trotted at her side, plucking at a trailing end of the shawl and looking up at his mother wistfully as he asked in a high-pitched, baby voice:

"Let's go to the movies, Mum!"

"Mum" shakes her head abstractedly. "Not tonight, son, I ain't got the price—mebbe Pa'll take you Saturday"—and they pass on into the fringe of semi-darkness beyond the theatre, whilst we go in to see "The Mark of Zorro"—Zorro, who went about the land protecting the oppressed and downtrodden, and punishing the oppressors!

After the play we see the pictorial review of the week's news. Many faces flash before us—hard, unsympathetic, often stupid—they are those of the possible nominees for office under the new President. Each man wrinkles his well-fed countenance, raises his well-brushed hat, and loosens his usually iron-clamped jaw for an instant, and receives for this effort a few indifferent handclaps from a few scissor-bills in the audience.

Martens stands before us. "He's got a nice face. Funny, he's a Bolshevik, ain't he?" exclaims a shop-girl in the seat ahead of us. "Give him a clap!" says another girl close to us, but her companion puts his hand on her arm and says: "Hush! It'll only mean trouble!" and the scene changes again.

Now a few political "bosses" stand grinning between two lines of officers. They are reviewing a body of soldiers who trudge past, flags waving and band playing. There is a French couple beside us. The woman has just arrived in the country and cannot read English, but she understands this picture and exclaims: "Ah, les soldats! Toujours les soldats!"

Now a bird's-eye-view of a great group of Uncle Sam's warships. Great, grey monsters, lying so still on the sunny waters. Horrible in the strength, power, wealth and national pride they represent! Death-dealing strength; brute power; ill-gotten, blood-drenched wealth, and national pride. Oh yes, national pride, for now the audience is clapping in earnest. They are pleased at this outward and visible sign of their country's splendour, her standing amongst the lesser nations of the earth. They beat their toil-worn hands together enthusiastically, they are so proud, so thrilled . . .

And outside there had passed a woman who "Hadn't the price" to let her son see this splendid manifestation of Americanism!

Perhaps no man in the history of the nation has stood both so high and so low in the estimation of the people as Woodrow Wilson.

So great is the power of the "invisible government" and the mighty press under its control that it can idolize or ruin one of its adherents at a day's notice.

Having served the power that made him president even too faithfully and well, he is cast aside in contempt by this power the day it discovers another man who promises to serve even better.

There are few who would care to change places with Woodrow Wilson today. One of Henry VIII.'s favorites, who later fell a victim to his wrath, said, "Had I but served the Lord as faithfully as I have served the King, he would not have cast me off in my old age." Wilson, in his sober reflections, might paraphrase this, "Had I but served the people as faithfully as I have served the profiteers—!"

Julia C. Coons.

The Development of Tobacco Growing

By Chas. J. Miller

THE first smoker is unknown. Some historians have made the claim that ages before tobacco was discovered, smoking in some form was practiced in China, and it is also said that Stanley, in his early exploring expedition into Africa, found natives smoking, but in neither case is it proven that tobacco was used.

It was as a religious rite that smoking originated. Among all the aborigines of the Americas, from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, tobacco was regarded as a sacred plant. When the Indians of North America first saw white men, they took them for gods, and presented to them bags of their best tobacco. Some tribes of Indians still burn tobacco as incense to their gods.

Slowly the burning of tobacco passes from a religious rite to a practice of pleasure. The evolution was along the line of least resistance. The medicine man was the prophet as well as the physician of the tribe. To him came the sick and the injured, and for all ills to which flesh is heir he prescribed the smoke of the holy herb-tobacco.

The sick man was set to inhale the smoke by brooding over the burning leaves until he became thoroly intoxicated. On returning to his senses he told stories of having been at the councils of the gods, and of other heavenly visions.

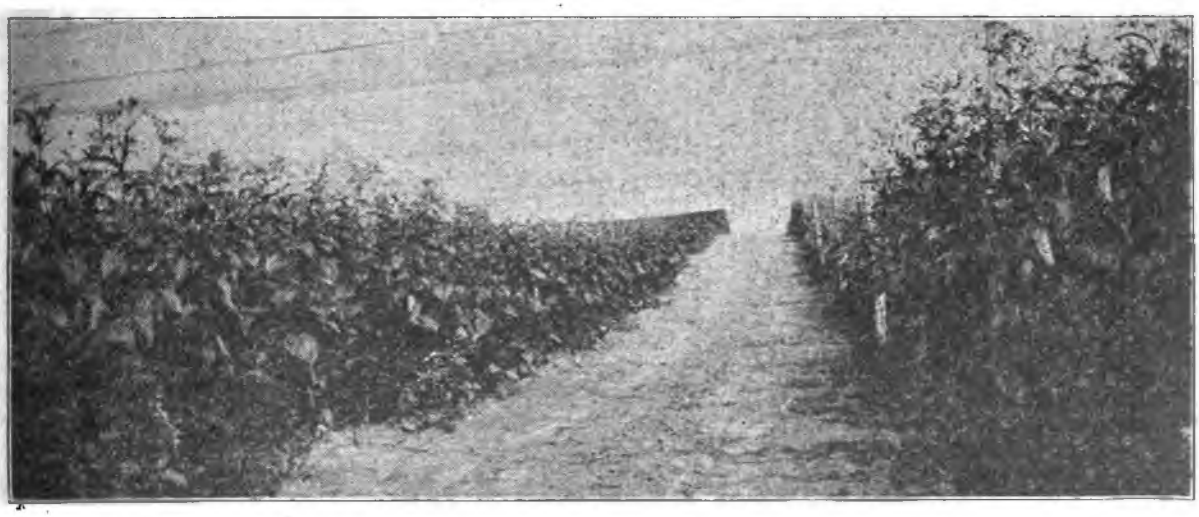
The next and most obvious step was to use a hollow reed or tube which, thrust into the burning tobacco, enabled the prophet, or patient, to inhale the smoke without fumigating his eyes and head. Thus the first pipe was originated. The primitive form of pipe was used in San Domingo when the Spaniards landed there. This was a hollow, forked cane, the thickness of the little finger, resembling a Y in shape. The two ends were placed in the nostrils and the other end over a small pile of the burning leaves, and the smoke was drawn up into the nose and head. The word tobacco has been derived from the name of this native pipe—tobago.

From this it was but a short step to making a receptacle at one end to hold the smouldering tobacco. The smoker of today little dreams that he is observing a primitive religious rite as he puffs at his pipe, cigar, or cigarette.

Smoking was first noticed by two sailors of Columbus' crew, who in November, 1492, on an exploring trip on the Isle of Guahain (San Salvador) saw the natives carrying lighted fire-brands, from which they inhaled smoke, afterwards puffing it out of their mouths and noses. They soon learned that the Indians took the leaves of a certain plant, rolled them up in a stripe of maize, set fire to the roll and drank in the smoke. Thus was tobacco first discovered by the white man.

In every part of the New World, European explorers found that smoking was a common practice. War was proclaimed by sending around the pipe of war, and peace declared by the solemn smoking of the calumet of peace.

Tobacco was first introduced into Europe about 1559, as a drug. Smoking spread so rapidly that before the end of the sixteenth century it was fiercely assailed and opposed. No less a person than



Road-way thru tobacco under "tent." Large bottom leaves have been picked (two pickings, six leaves). Tobacco in blossom, 1920. "Syndicate" plantation No. 2.

Tobacco pickers. Note the age. "Syndicate" Plantation No. 1.

James I. of England led the bitter attack on tobacco. In some countries, such as Russia, Turkey and Persia, the penalty for using tobacco was death. Priests, doctors, and kings fought over it, but to no avail. By the end of the seventeenth century smoking had become universal.

In America, the first English colony, Virginia, was founded on tobacco. It is recorded that in 1615 the gardens, fields and even the streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco. It was not only the staple crop, but the principal currency of the colony. In 1619, "ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt," and in 1621, "sixty more maids, of virtuous education, young and handsome," were sent from London on a marriage speculation. The first lot of these ladies were bought by the colonists for 120 pounds of fine leaf tobacco each; the second lot brought 150 pounds. In 1635 negro slaves were first imported to cultivate tobacco on the plantations.

From this beginning, the tobacco habit has steadily grown until today we find that tobacco is used by a greater number of people and among more nations than any other cultivated product of the earth. With the exception of tea, it is the most highly taxed commodity. In 1918 the United States derived from it $155,757,278 in taxes, and exported to the value of $152,965,286.

The world's tobacco crop in 1918 was over 4 billion pounds. Allowing as a moderate average of 25 cigars, or 100 cigarettes, to the pound, this gives an annual product of 30 billion cigars and 150 billion cigarettes, for the world's consumption, with plenty to spare for all the snuff, chewing and pipe tobacco demanded by other users of the "weed."

Tobacco is grown all over the world. It grows as far north as Stockholm, Sweden, and as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, but only in a few places on earth can a really fine grade of leaf be grown.

The United States produces more tobacco than any other country. In 1918, it raised nearly one and a quarter billion pounds, India being second with about a billion, and China third with one half billion.

Tobacco sewers. Note the age. Some are only 7 and 8 years old. "Syndicate" Plantation No. 1, 1920.

The cultivation of tobacco in this country is highly localized and confined to special districts. The largest acreage is found in Kentucky, with North Carolina next with about half the area. Virginia is third and Ohio fourth.

The Central-Eastern tobacco district is located in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, while another distinct field is comprised of the Atlantic border states from Florida to Connecticut. Outside of these two sections the production is insignificant.

There are about 100 different varieties of tobacco in the United States; nearly all of these have been derived from one variety of Virginia tobacco. All tobacco is divided into three general classes for purposes of cigarmaking, for export and for manufacture.

The methods of culture in all sections are nearly the same. To succeed, a thoro knowledge of conditions and of methods, of cultivation, harvesting and curing are necessary. Altho it is only a "weed," the raising of tobacco demands more care than almost any other product of the soil.

In the raising of Cuban tobacco it was noticed that the tobacco grown in the shade of trees was of much finer quality. So they experimented with artificial shade by covering a section of the tobacco field with coarse heavy cheese cloth. The tobacco grown in this way was found to be far superior to any other; it is now used for cigar wrappers. Consequently, the "tent" system became quite general in Cuba and Porto Rico, from whence it spread to Florida.

In 1900 the Connecticut Agricultural Station experimented with a small field of covered "Cuban seed" tobacco. The result of this experiment was epoch making in this section. It was found that the Connecticut shade-grown "Cuban" tobacco was equal in wrapping quality to any in the world.

With the introduction of this shade-grown tobacco a new factor entered the field. About 1905 the Allied Tobacco Company of Hartford, Conn., a corporation generally known as the "Syndicate," acquired several large farms and covered them with cloth and grew the shade-grown tobacco. Since then they have steadily added other farms until now they control a large section of the best tobacco land in the Connecticut Valley. Other "Syndicates" have made their appearance in other sections.

With the coming of the "Syndicate," tobacco raising has changed from individual production to social production on a large scale.

Prior to this time most of the tobacco had been raised by small farmers, the greater numbers of farms ranging from 50 to 100 acres. The work was done with the help of the farmer's family and a few hired men. At harvesting time extra help would be hired.

Even now about 25 per cent of the tobacco is raised by tenant farmers, and by croppers. A tenant farmer has to furnish all the labor, manure, teams, and cultivating and harvesting implements; the crops are generally divided 50-50 with the owner. The "cropper" only raises and harvests the crop, the owner supplying all the means. He also usually gets 50 per cent of the proceeds of the crop.

A most unusual landscape. From a distance the top of the "tent" looks like a lake. Hazardville, Conn. 1920.

The tobacco farmers have at different times tried to organize, in order to control the price of tobacco. They formed secret organizations; those among them who refused to join were threatened with tar and feathers, with horse whipping and burning of crops. The masked "Night Riders" would come in the dead of night and carry out their threats. Notwithstanding all this, they have not succeeded in getting control over the tobacco industry.

Owing to the danger of destruction of crops thru storms and frost, and the greatly increased amount of capital required in the new method of raising tobacco, the small farmers are rapidly being replaced by the "Syndicates." In one hail storm in the Connecticut Valley last summer the loss to the small tobacco growers was about $2,000000. On

Tobacco shed. Note how it is opened to allow the tobacco to cure. Woodward's Plantation. 1920.

account of the cloth-covered field, shade-grown tobacco was practically exempt from damage.

Just who the men are behind the "Syndicate" movement, and how they got control of the tobacco land, is a closed book; there is no doubt, however, that powerful financial interests are concerned in the deal. The farmers have, in a few instances, pooled their farms and their capital, and have met with a measure of success.

It would be hard to find a finer bunch of "scissor-bills' than the tobacco workers. Before the war many of them worked long hours at hard work for $20 to $30 a month and keep. The wages of the workers at harvest time were from $2 to $2.50 per day. To think of organizing these workers was a hopeless proposition.

The coming of the "Syndicates" has turned every man working on his plantation into a wage worker. The corporation hires the managers, who hire the rest of the help and run the farms. In the spring men and women are hired to sew the cloth and cover the field. They also prepare the soil. On some plantations tractors are used. About May or June the tobacco plants are ready to be transplanted into the fields. The hot-beds are about six feet wide. Boards are laid across these beds and women lay on these boards all day long, pulling plants. And for this back-breaking work they receive $3 for a 9-hour day.

The men transplant with a tobacco setter, or transplanting machine. The machine carries three men: one to drive, and the other two to set the plants, each setting every alternate plant. They can set two acres a day, or 3,500 plants.

After the tobacco is planted, both men and women hoe and cultivate the tobacco until it is ready to be harvested.

The old method of harvesting was to cut down the plants and to hang them up in the shed to cure. The "Syndicates" have adopted a new way. When vacation time comes school children are hired. The boys go thru the rows of tobacco, picking the leaves as they get "ripe." Generally there are five pickings. Starting at the bottom, they pick three leaves at a picking. Men go thru the rows pulling after them long baskets, in which they collect the picked leaves. The baskets are then hauled to the sheds. This work of picking and pulling heavy baskets is hard work, and especially under the "tents," as the cloth prevents any breeze from coming thru, and the temperature is consequently several degrees higher than outside. For this work the boys receive from $2 to $2.50, and the men $4 for a 9-hour day.

In the sheds the girls and women sew the leaves to laths. They sew twenty pairs of leaves (40 leaves) on one lath. For sewing 1 bundle of laths (50 laths or 2,000 leaves to a bundle), they receive sixty cents. The pay for sewers has averaged about $3.60 per day for sewing 12,000 leaves.

These laths are then hung up in the sheds to cure. The sheds are built with about every third or fourth board loose, the boards being hinged so that they can be opened and closed as wanted.

The curing consists not only in the drying of the leaves but in a rapid chemical process as well, for which a certain temperature is required. Sometimes artificial heat is used. The laths are hung in tiers and spaced to permit a free circulation of air. After two to four weeks the tobacco is ready to be taken down. For this, damp weather is required, when the sheds are opened up; allowing the tobacco to become moist; when in this condition it can be handled without injuring the leaves. The leaves are then stripped from the laths and pressed into bales. All the workers help with this work.

The bales are then taken to the warehouses, where the tobacco is put thru a fermentation process, after which it goes thru different processes, according to the nature of the product that it is to be made into.

Many of the tobacco workers are employed in the warehouses during the winter.

The harvesting generally lasts a week or two longer than the regular school vacation, but as the

Seed-leaf tobacco. Shade-grown tobacco in background. Hazardville, Conn., 1920.

authorities are always very considerate of the interests of the tobacco growers, they postpone the starting of school until after the crops are harvested, to allow the farmers to get the full benefit of of child labor.

Thousands of school children, between the ages of 7 and 14, are exploited year after year, going to work as soon as the summer school vacation starts and working all thru the heat of July and August, in order that the tobacco "Syndicates" can get plenty of cheap help and make big profits. The "Syndicates" send their trucks and charter special trolley cars to bring this cheap labor from the surrounding towns and cities, and to take it back again at night. All thru these districts, wages are kept down by the use of child labor, which in turn forces the parents to send their children to work in order to get enough to live.

While the price of tobacco went up during the war from 100 to 200 per cent, the wages were raised only about 75 per cent. The average wages for 1919-1920 were $4 for men, $3 for women, and $2 for children. The wages of the warehouse workers are generally below the field workers, and last month they received a 25 per cent cut in wages.

What effect will this trustifying have upon the tobacco workers? The signs are not lacking that the workers will be forced to organize for self-protection. One hears more and more strike talk, and now and then small group strikes are pulled off. Generally, owing to lack of education, experience, organization and solidarity, the strikers loose their jobs, but very often the strike results in a raise in wages and in better working conditions for the rest of the workers on the plantation.

This summer the manager of one of the "Allied" plantations fired the "boss picker" on account of a personal disagreement. The next day the pickers went on strike to force the manager to take the boss back again. These boys tied up the plantation for several days, until the manager could get a new crew of scab pickers from another town. He first attempted to break the strike by inducing some of girl "sewers" to go into the field and pick leaves and scab on the pickers; some of these girls were sisters of the boy strikers. They seemed to think it a joke to act as strike breakers. This attempt failed mainly because the work was too hard, and the heat under the tent too much for the girls, which made them quit.

However, a great change is taking place in the mentality of the tobacco workers. Now and then one comes across a worker who understands the labor movement. It is no longer simply a matter of leaving one small farmer and getting a job with another. Now it is a case of going up against a corporation, where the employes never see the owner. When they get up against the boss they are not simply up against an individual farmer, but they have to fight the whole company, with all its power of control over the jobs, authorities, black-lists and spies. This will force the workers to organize their power against the "Syndicate." And the Organization is ready and waiting for them. With the proper educational material and the job delegate system of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. in the field, it will not take long to form a strong union among the tobacco workers.

As for the workers themselves taking over the farms and running them, that is not such a difficult step, for they are being run now by men who only a short time ago owned and operated them.

The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky.

Introduction by the Editor.

IT affords us great satisfaction to be able to offer to our readers for their perusal the Report of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, the first part of which is printed below. The second part will appear in the March issue of "The Industrial Pioneer." It is a document of epoch-making significance, and was sent to us direct from Europe. It was written by A. Lozovsky, shortly after the initial steps had been taken for the foundation of a Red Industrial Union International, the function of which would be the co-ordination of the forces of radical trade and industrial unions the world over. It is a clear, lucid statement of the status of organized labor in Europe and America prior to and since the World War, presenting and interpreting the alignment of the various industrial and political organizations. As such it deserves the attentive study of everybody who takes an interest in the onward march of the advancing proletariat.

It is advisable, however, that in the study of the labor and political situation in Europe one thing be always kept in mind: That America is not Europe, that the industrial and economic situation here is vastly different from that which prevails in the European and, for that matter, any other countries. One of the frailties of the human mind is the facility with which it jumps at conclusions; in so doing it follows the path of least resistance, which is also the path of mental laziness. Just because the social and industrial Revolution was accomplished by the use of certain tactics in Russia is no indication that it will—or can—be accomplished by the use of these same tactics in Italy, in England, or in Germany, to say nothing of the United States.

Therefore, when in the course of various articles dealing with the international labor situation, printed in "The Industrial Pioneer," reference is made to Communist activities in this, that, or the other country, and mention is made of the increasing power and influence of the Communist Party in European labor organizations, let us not jump at the conclusion that the mere printing of such information is a tacit admission by "The Industrial Pioneer" of the correctness of the Communist program and the efficacy of its tactics,—as applied to America. By doing so we would make a grievous mistake indeed.

It is impossible to write about working class organizations in Europe without writing about the various political parties, such as Labor, Socialist, Communist, which represent, more or less—mostly less—the proletarian will to power. Working class aspirations on the political and economical fields in Europe are closely intertwined. The brilliant success of the social and industrial Revolution in Russia, accomplished by the working masses under the guidance of the Bolsheviki, or Communists, has lent an incalculable prestige to the Communist parties in all countries. The conditions that obtained in Russia at the time of the Revolution were such that they made imperative the use of precisely those tactics that the Bolsheviki did use. The criticism that some industrial unionists make of the Soviet Government on the score that it is a political instead of an industrial government is puerile. How could they have a purely industrial administration at this early date when at the time when the Revolution broke out there were no industrial unions,—or even trade unions, of any consequence—in existence in Russia? The revolutionists worked with such organizations as did exist, and by means of such tactics as answered the crying needs of the desperate condition that Russia was in at that

time. The only organization that rose to the occasion of rescuing the country from the desperate plight it was in was the Bolshevik, or Communist Party, and the only weapons that they could effectively use under the circumstances were mass action, armed insurrection and the dictatorship of the Proletariat. And, naturally, those who won the battle kept the power.

But it is a far cry from war-torn, bleeding, starving, semi-feudal Russia of 1917, with its tottering and decadent bureaucracy its infantile capitalism and its revolutionary traditions, to the industrial America of today, with its virile capitalism and its bourgeois ideology of long standing. America has wrested from England the right to be called the classic land of capitalism. The problems of the American working class are industrial problems; the tactics which they must use to solve those problems must also therefore be industrial. Politics in America is a joke,—it is the plaything of the ruling class. The so-called working class politics—such as find expression in the Socialist Party—is mainly a manifestation of an imported ideology; people who take politics seriously have not grasped the spirit and the soul of America, which is—industry.

The will to power of the American working class finds its expression in the I.W.W. In the struggle between capital and labor in the United States there is no place for any political party,—neither the Socialist, the Farmer-Labor, nor any other—not even the Communist. For fifteen years the I. W. W. has maintained its position of purely economic action, and it still maintains that position. The ultimate aim of the American working class is the taking over of the industries by the workers, and the running of those industries for use instead of for profit. That cannot be accomplished at the polls, or in halls of legislature, or by parading the streets and holding mass meetings; that can only be accomplished at the point of production,—on the job. Therefore it ought to be self-evident that the place to organize is on the job,—in other words, in industry. Not before the working class has a strong industrial organization will it have the power to take the industries away from the capitalists. A man does not look for work in his capacity of a Democrat, a Socialist or a Communist; he looks for work according to his trade or profession, whether it be that of a carpenter, a chemist, a machinist, or what not. Likewise, future society will not be administered by the worker according to his political beliefs; it will be administered by him according to the requirements of the industry that he works in. It will be an industrial administration, not a political one.

It is therefore with unusual interest that the I. W. W. has followed the steps taken for the organization of a Red Industrial International. Such a body, by insuring concerted action, would add greatly to the power of the workers' industrial unions the world over. Up to the present time, however, the definite formation of such an International has not yet been accomplished. The first congress of the proposed International, the absolute necessity for which is presented in the following manuscript, will take place, according to authentic information, in Moscow on May 1st, 1921.

News has also reached us of several conferences held in Berlin and elsewhere by representatives of German, Scandinavian and British labor unions. According to information at hand, a decision has been reached by them to become incorporated in the Moscow Industrial International. As soon as a full report is received it will be published in "The Industrial Pioneer."

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THE international organization of the trade union movement is proceeding much less quickly than the international organization of the Communist Party. It is already a year and a half since the foundation of the Third Communist International was laid, and the center for revolutionary activity for all Communists and revolutionary class elements in the world labor movement was created, whereas the trade unions have remained right up to the last moment unorganized in a single international organization. More than that, just at the moment when the Second International has become a corpse from which the most opportunist parties are fleeing, and when its most ardent supporters are compelled to admit that it is completely bankrupt,

an international federation of trade unions is being formed at the head of which stand those who were the most active participators in the Second International, and who supported the war policy of their governments.

The trade union movement is lagging behind the Communist Movement. The trade unions are the army, the closely massed columns of the proletariat, while the Communist Party is the advance guard, the pioneer fighting detachments of the working class. The later international organization of the trade unions means that the connection between the advance guard and the army is broken. This is a sad, but an undoubted fact in all countries in Europe and America. This break between the advance guard and the army is explained by the slow development of the social revolution, the continued domination of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the painful form which the class struggle is assuming in Western Europe and America. A sharp struggle is proceeding within the labor organizations, part of which stand solidly for the old capitalist system and serve as a defense of bourgeois dictatorship.

This backwardness and reaction of many trade nnions in capitalist countries found their expression in the formation of an international center, which is but a rather bad edition of the Second International, and whose function is to realize on an international scale that co-operation of classes that was so "successfully" realized during the war.

What is the reason of the backwardness of the international proletarian movement? What forms of international organization existed previously among the trade unions? What has been done and what should have been done to fight against the International of Strikebreakers, as the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions could truthfully be called, and what should be the relations between the newly established Third Communist International and the international organization of trade unions? These are the questions which we have to solve.

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Trade unions arose as organs of the working class to counterbalance the growing exploitation. In its early form the trade union was a union of workers in a certain craft, having for its object to assist its members employed in a definite category of labor. As the capitalist system grew and developed the form of organization of the trade union changed also, and with that the scope and character of its work also changed. It is necessary to observe, however, that the form of organization of the trade nnions always lagged behind the form of organization of capitalism, which during the last nine years has developed such powerful organizations as trusts and syndicates, the competition among whom, as is known, led to the World War.

While capitalism in the course of its development assumed new forms of organization which facilitated it in exploiting labor and subjecting to itself the apparatus of the State, the trade unions lagged behind like a shadow, in many countries preserving the old forms of organization, with all their close corporative character, narrowness and limitations. In counteracting the increasing exploitation, in striving to raise the standard of living, to improve the conditions of labor, and secure the principle of collective agreements, the trade unions always acted on the basis of capitalist relations, and as the unions grew and became internally consolidated the idea of an unbreakable tie between the trade unions and the existing order of things became stronger. The older became the trade union movement, and the more powerful became capitalism, the more clear and definite did the idea become of the necessity for the existence of capitalism, and the co-operation of classes as a condition for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers.

The capitalists of England, America and Germany, thanks to their strength and their dominant position in the world market, were able to make frequent concessions to the workers and were able to imbue them with the firm conviction of the stability of the capitalist system. The national greatness of the country, and particularly the economic importance of industry in the world economy, influenced the minds of the workers and subjected their class interests to the badly understood interests of the moment.

It would be a mistake to believe that the bourgeoisie kept the workers enslaved only by material necessity; the modern bourgeois state has created a tremendous arsenal for the enslavement of the working class. The schools, science, the church, religion, literature, philosophy, created by capitalist society, all represent weapons for the perversion of the minds of the workers. One must confess that the spiritual weapon is much more powerful than those methods which a bourgeois government adopts to subject the will of revolting workers. This spiritual dependence of the workers on bourgeois ideology was in greatest evidence during the war when the trade unions became not only a material support of war policy, but developed a complete theory of class co-operation, the essence of which was that the workers are interested in preserving the bourgeois State and the capitalist system, and should subject their interests to the interests of the whole, i. e., the bourgeoisie.

The history of the trade union movement during the war is the history of the conversion of the trade unions into supernumerary organs of the bourgeois State, an apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Just as during the imperialist war the bourgeoisie split up into two hostile coalitions, each fighting for world hegemony, so did the trade unions in the respective groups split into two hostile camps, not because they had different points of view on principle, but because they had based all their theory and practice on the principle of national defense, and on the support of their own capitalism at the expense of the other.

The war disclosed the extraordinary degree to

which the trade unions were dependent upon bourgeois ideology. The exclusive domination of national motive in the trade union movement is the fundamental reason for the collapse of those international connections that had been made previous to the war.

There were forms of international connection in the trade union movement previous to the war. The majority of trade unions participated in the international Socialist congresses, thus demonstrating their association with the Socialist movement and the international solidarity of trade unionism of the various countries. This connection with the Socialist movement, however, was purely formal, for the trade unions on the eve of the war were opportunist and stood on the right wing of the Socialist movement. The purely formal connection of the trade union movement with Social democracy was evident from the fact that altho the trade unions in Germany were regarded as Social-democratic, they nevertheless conducted a definite policy often in opposition to that of the Social-democrats.

This purely formal connection between the international trade union movement and the International Bureau certainly could not satisfy the demands for unity among the trade unions of the various countries, and so at the beginning of the 20th century we saw the rise of the International Secretariat, whose function it was to inform the workers of various countries on the labor movement in other countries. The International Secretariat, at the head of which was Legien, was not an international organization in the full sense of the word. Organization presupposes unity of action and power to act, while the Secretariat of Trade Unions was engaged in nothing else but issuing literature, and did not even dream of any international action. It was a center which was not responsible to its constituents, each of whom maintained their independent existence. On the eve of the war the trade union movement embraced nearly 10,000,000 workers, divided into loosely connected territorial organizations whose work was confined chiefly to their own national questions. Its internationalism was an abstract principle, rather than a guide in every-day policy. The work of the International Secretariat during the many years of its existence prior to the war shows better than anything else its bankrupt character. For the thirteen years of its existence the Secretariat did nothing more than publish several reports and a few pamphlets. It was more like a post office or an international inquiry bureau than the international center of the working class movement.

The trade unions were inter-connected, but not only thru their national centers. At the end of the 19th century various international unions arose whose defects, however, lay in their being craft unions pursuing narrow limited aims. The international unions existing on the eve of the war, metal workers, miners, textile workers, transport workers, painters, capmakers, woodworkers, builders, tailors, bootmakers, etc., were all constructed on the principle of information bureaux. The national interests stood above international interests, and these international organizations were the germs of international organizations rather than active international fighting centers of their respective category of labor. During the many years of existence of some tens of international unions, it is impossible to recall a single international campaign, not a single example of international action. It is true that there were attempts at international boycott, collection of money for workers on strike in other countries, agreements on conditions of labor, agreements on the transference of membership from one country to another, and a number of other examples of international solidarity, but one has to confess that the outstanding feature of the pre-war trade union movement, was that international solidarity was but in its embryonic stage. The preponderance of national questions over international questions, and the subordination of class interests of the movement were brilliantly illustrated by the war.

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The war broke all the three threads that connected the trade union movement of the various countries. Simultaneously with the collapse of the Second International and its conversion into a tool of the Entente, the trade unions formed diplomatic coalitions, Allied, and Central European, according to the particular government they existed under. The formal advantage lay with the Central European coalition, for the reason that the International Secretariat was in Germany, and Legien, following the example of Vandervelde, strove to use the name of the International Secretariat for purposes having nothing in common with international solidarity. Just as Vandervelde refused to surrender the president's hammer, and used his title of President of the International Bureau for sanctifying the lofty war aims of the Entente, so did Legien set the international into motion in defense of the "just and sacred" war of his government.

The International Secretariat, together with the International Bureau, ceased to exist with the commencement of war operations. The leaders of the trade union movement, Legien, Huber, Jouhaux, Appleton and Gompers, were the civil generals whose task it was to carry out the moral mobilization of the masses. In justice to these gentlemen one must admit that they carried out their instructions brilliantly. The trade unions, these mass organizations of the working class, became the main bulwark of the bourgeois State, and its support in its struggle, not only against the external, but also against its internal enemies.

The activity of the leaders of the trade union movement in this direction consisted in discrediting the leaders of the enemy countries by accusing them of being the servants of their governments, and on the other hand denouncing every anti-government action of their workers as a "crime." The break-up of the revolutionary movement, and the implanting

and fostering of chauvinistic instincts in the masses, was brilliantly carried out by them. The bourgeoisie could not have dreamt of better executioners of their desires.

The Allied trade union leaders made an attempt to set up a trade union international, for which a conference of Allied trade unions was called in Leeds in 1916. The task of this conference was to draw up a program of social legislation, condemn the trade union movement of the Central Empires, and to set up its own International Secretariat of trade unions. Of these tasks the conference carried out only one—it made a demonstration against the criminal association of the German and Austrian trade unions with their governments. The irony of the story lay in the fact that those who condemned the association of workers' organizations with their governments were just those who themselves led the workers in their own countries into shameful slavery to the bourgeoisie.

The individual international trade union organizations by no means cut a prettier figure. They split up according to the coalition on whose territory the center of their organization was situated. Thus the International Bureaux of Textile Workers and Miners, being situated in England, maintained the policy of the Allies; while the International Bureaux of Metal Workers and Builders, having their centers in Germany, adopted the policy of the Central Empires. The peculiar feature of the whole period of the crisis in the international trade union movement is the almost complete disappearance of the old groupings and tendencies. Former revolutionary Syndicalists, pure and simple trade unionists, "new-patented" trade unionists, supporters and opponents of Socialism, all, with few exceptions, became patriots of their fatherland, and politically resembled each other like peas in a pod. Betrayal of the interests of the workers brought uniformity among the most divergent tendencies.

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The end of the war compelled people to think of the re-establishment of international connections, and this raised the necessity for the bourgeoisie to strengthen that co-operation of classes that was developed during the war. The re-establishment of international relations proceeded along two lines; the first by means of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, the second by means of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The fundamental idea lying at the basis of the Labor Bureau it to convert the working class into a shareholder in the international trust called the League of Nations. The League of Nations, as it is known, was the flag around which pacifists and Socialist simpletons of various countries rallied. According to its founder, Mr. Wilson, the League of Nations was to have been the supreme international tribunal, which was to establish justice and truth in the whole world. Of course, it was understood that the League could only carry out its lofty aims with the victory of the Allies. For that reason support of the Allies was a first condition for the creation of the League of Nations. This assistance was forthcoming from the trade unions of the Allied countries, and it is natural that as a reward they demanded the participation of labor in the League of Nations.

It is true that this demand was conceded to a minimum degree. During the war the European and American Gomperses pictured this participation somewhat differently. They wanted to take part in the Pease Congress itself, and to convene an international trade union congress at the place where the Peace Congress itself, and to convene an interpressure on the diplomatists. A number of other combinations were intended in order to secure the carrying of their "own program" thru by their governments. But as soon as the war ended the Entente Governments made their lackeys understand that their mission was ended, and the Peace Congress could very well do without them. Besides this, they were given to understand that to convene in international trade union congress at the place where the Peace Congress was taking place would be very inconvenient, and that it would be much more desirable if they found a spot somewhat further away for their little excursion. Allied diplomacy, however, was opposed to the entry of Labor in the League of Nations only where questions had to be **decided**, but had no objection to it coming in where questions were to be **discussed**. Thus the International Bureau of Labor was established, which was to demonstrate the unity between Capital and Labor, **discuss** questions of labor legislation, **speak** of reforms, **propose** innovations, but to leave the **decision** to the more competent and more interested bourgeois governments. The International Bureau of Labor is remarkable for the fact that it includes representatives of the trade unions of the Central Powers, altho this inclusion cost the latter dear. The Bureau is composed of six representatives of "neutral" governments; at the head is the well-known traitor Albert Thomas. This Bureau of Labor is a symbol of achievement of the Social-patriots of various countries, as a result of their chauvinist war policy. Four years of flunkeyism and treachery, four years of co-operation with the bourgeoisie and talk of new relations on the basis of defense of national safety produced a powerless, insignificant Bureau of Labor whose decisions are obligatory on no one, and which nobody desires. The mountain of class co-operation brought forth a mouse.

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Simultaneously with the setting up of the Bureau of Labor of the League of Nations, the leaders of the bankrupt trade unions commenced to reorganize the Trade Union International which they had destroyed. Immediately after the conclusion of the war an international trade union conference was convened at Berne, at which the representatives of the Allied trade unions, Johaux, Appleton and Gompers, gave battle to Legien and his supporters. This

conference was nothing in the world like a labor gathering, because its main work was devoted to attacking the German chauvinists for supporting their government. It was assumed that for the Germans to support their government was bad, while being lackeys of the Entente governments was conducting "labor" policy. This miserable quarrel ended in a complete victory for the Allied patriots. Legien was removed from his post, and the Secretariat was transferred to Holland. The Entente trade unionists triumphed over the trade unionists of the German Empire.

The second International Trade Union Congress was held in Amsterdam, to which the German and Austrian trade unions were permitted with equal rights as worthy members of the congress. An international organization was formed at Amsterdam, as well as a bureau, and the trade union leaders who for many years called the workers to mutual extermination formed an international union. For what purpose? On the basis of what program? What have these deadly enemies united? What has compelled Legien, Appleton, Huber and Gompers to unite? These questions naturally arise in the minds of every participator in the present day labor movement.

In the first place it is necessary to point out that their striving to set up an international organization of trade unions is a reflection of the tremendous demand of the workers of all countries for the re-establishment of class unity destroyed by the war, and to set up an organization which could in a period of storm and stress conduct a defensive and offensive struggle against the capitalist class. Of course, the Amsterdam Federation was not created for this purpose, but the old trade union leaders very well understood that if they did not hasten to set up an international organization, one would be set up **without and in spite of them.** Thus the main reason for the re-establishment of the international by the hands of its assassins was the fear for their own future.

That our explanation is the correct one is seen from the fact that the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions was formed without any program. After such a tremendous war, after such colossal sacrifices made by the workers of all countries, it should have been natural for real representatives of labor organizations to estimate the effect of the great shock, to give some reply to the great questions which interest the workers of all countries at the present moment, and to show the way out of the cul-de-sac into which the imperialist bourgeoisie have let humanity. But the Amsterdam Conference did nothing of the kind, it silently avoided all the burning questions affecting the present day labor movement, believing they could screen themselves from history by silence. The Amsterdam congress only troubled to create a center and to place at its head the old friends of the Entente; all other things were removed to the background. This aim was achieved; the warm defender of British Imperialism, Appleton, the worthy defender of the French bourgeoisie, Johaux, and several other not less representative persons of the dying social-patriotism came to the head of the International Federation. They united in order to retain the banner of the international organization in their hands, and to use it for the purpose of class co-operation.

It was precisely with this that the International Federation began its work. The very people who restored the class organizations destroyed by the war bound these organizations with the general staff of international imperialism—the League of Nations. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations are connected by personal and intellectual ties, and on the field of class co-operation can be seen the distinguished figures of Johaux, Appleton, Gompers and other heroes of the rear.

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What has the International Federation of Trade Unions done during the period of its existence? Absolutely nothing. One cannot consider the mere existence of the International Federation as activity. One can take no account of the vapid and colorless resolutions which the International Federation passes from time to time and sends into space in order to remind the world of its existence. An international, like a national labor organization, can exist only when it has a definite militant aim, when it knows what it wants, and when, ranging itself against the whole of the bourgeois world, it goes directly for its aim. There is no class definiteness about it. It desires, by means of manifestoes, appeals, by persuading the bourgeoisie, to secure the improvement of the condition of the proletariat. This is the program upon which stand all bourgeois reformists, all the advanced bourgeoisie and the most backward leaders of the most backward labor organizations.

When the International Federation does at last express itself on some question its every word expresses trifling opportunism and compromise. In January, 1920, the Amsterdam Federation expressed itself in favor of the socialization of industry, and in its First of May manifesto to the workers of all countries it put forward two demands: the socialization of the means of production, and the carrying out of the Washington Congress resolutions. But how can the socialization of the means of production be carried out? By persuading the bourgeoisie, or by revolution? Nothing is said about this in the remarkable First of May manifesto. Further, how are the resolutions of the Washington Congress to be carried out? That is, assuming that it is the last word in social legislation. How is this all to be done? Alas! No reply is forthcoming, in spite of the fact that this is the period of the severest class struggle in the world's history. At the moment when the leaders of the Amsterdam Federation see how the bourgeoisie of all countries insist on their privileges, when the experience of Soviet Russia and Hungary cries aloud to the heav-

ens against the hope that the bourgeoisie will make any voluntary concessions, when the bourgeoisie of all countries represent a united block conducting a mortal struggle against all the strivings of the working class for emancipation, to speak of the socialization of the means of production in May, 1920, without indicating how this is to be done, to put forward the demand for the carrying out of the resolutions of the Washington Congress, that labor-bourgeois talking shop, and at the same time call their organization a labor organization, is not only **senseless, but conscious treachery.** It is no wonder, therefore, that the Amsterdam Federation, composed of slaves of national governments, cannot speak in any other language than the language of slavery and treachery.

Under these circumstances, what does the Amsterdam Congress really represent? A guiding center of class unions? A revolutionary staff in the struggle against capitalism? Nothing of the kind. It is the center of reactionary national unions whose task is to confuse class distinctions on an international scale as they have done on a national scale, and to create the illusion that an international labor organization exists, to spread the idea of class co-operation, and class peace,—in a word, it is the international center of labor reaction, and is the most reliable support of international imperialism. It is necessary to prove that such a center must be destroyed, and the trade union center of labor reaction must be opposed by a trade union of working class revolution.

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Immediately after the February Revolution, at the first attempt at forming an All-Russian center, the Russian trade unions stood on the point of view of the necessity of forming an international fighting center of trade unions. Already at the Third Conference of Trade Unions held on 20-28 June, 1917, the necessity was recognized of forming an international trade union organization. The First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions went further, and in the general resolution on the tasks of the trade unions in the period of proletarian dictatorship the Congress resolved that: "The Russian Trade Union movement cannot carry out its tasks without entering into close contact with the international trade union movement. The Congress regards it as its duty to co-operate to the fullest extent of its power in the revival of the international trade union movement, and to make the calling of a general international trade union congress, as well as international congresses of individual trade unions, an immediate question. As a first step in this direction the Congress resolves to convene an international trade union congress in Petrograd on the 5th of February."

This resolution, however, remained on paper. No conference was called for the reason that immediately after the October Revolution, not only did capitalist Europe fling itself with gnashing teeth against Russia and against the Russian proletariat, but even the European social-patriots hurled thunder anl lightning against the "madness and criminality" of the Russian proletariat. The leaders of the European and American labor movement under no circumstances would permit the initiative of calling an international congress to be taken by the Russian workers, and for that reason they hastened to create their own organization, which is a mere substitute for international working class unity.

It was evident from the first day of the existence of the Amsterdam Federation that the path of the revolutionary class unions of Russia and the labor lieutenants of the League of Nations lay in different directions. But our negative attitude to the Amsterdam Federation took definite expression only in connection with the organization and convening of an International Conference of Trade Unions and employers' associations at Washington.

The betrayers of the working class went to the extreme in their endeavors to consolidate their practice of class co-operation on an international scale. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions could not remain silent in the face of this corruption of the trade union movement, and addressed a manifesto to all trade unions in Europe and America denouncing the treacherous policy of the leaders of the international trade union movement.

"They are going to Washington," wrote the Central Council of the All-Russian Trade Unions in their manifesto of the 8th of October, "to work out a program of international labor legislation. After twenty million workers have been sent to destruction, these people now worry about labor legislation! Is this in order to raise fresh crops of cannon fodder to sacrifice on the altar of their imperialist fatherland? They desire to work out a program, and like faithful servants, wait in the antechambers of their patrons, Wilson, Lloyd-George and other experts in the art of crushing the working class! These eunuchs think, that the bourgeoisie whom they served, out of gratitude for their past services in confusing the minds of the workers, will bring them liberal legislation on a plate and say, 'Here are some concessions for your good conduct.' These little people with slavish minds forget that individual persons may receive presents, but that a whole class cannot take a 'tip' or be satisfied with a sop. Many of the labor leaders hanging on to the skirts of Wilson have particularly flexible spines; as the working class does not possess such a spine, hanging around ministerial ante-chambers is foreign and repulsive to it. This is a request to accept the proletariat as a poor relation into the limited company for the exploitation of small and week nations, which in the language of the international marauders is called the 'League of Nations.'"

"They desire to secure international labor legislation by means of friendly negotiations with those who have spent all their lives and energy in securing international capitalist legislation. They desire to secure advantages for the workers not by means of their organized, independent, revolutionary class

power, but by means of behind-the-scenes negotiations, cunning combinations and diplomatic intrigue. Petty deceivers! Where have they seen the bourgeoisie grant the most petty, most insignificant social reform without the direct action of the masses? In what country is there a capitalist class that voluntarily makes concessions and surrenders part of its profits and income for the sake of the beautiful eyes of bankrupt labor leaders? There is no such country. Such a state and such a class do not exist. The capitalist class will guard their privileges with all the fibre of their beings, and no waiting on ministers' doorsteps, no slavish humility on the part of the working class will compel the bourgeoisie to change its nature."

"Workers, you are being deceived! Watch the hands and the actions of your leaders. Ask them what the League of Nations has given the proletariat; ask them who crucified the Hungarian Soviet Republic; ask them who placed arms into the hands of the Roumanian assassins; ask them at whose orders and with whose money were thousands and thousands of Hungarian workers murdered; ask them who supports Kolchak and Denekin, who organizes white guard conspiracies in Russia, who supplies money and arms to the Russian monarchists who are exterminating the Jewish population, who pays all these Russian pogromchiks, with whose aid are the fields and valleys of Russia drenched in the blood of tens of thousands of workers and peasants; ask them all this, and when they tell you tales about the League of Nations, about agreements with the bourgeoisie, that the consumptive Second International composed of traitors can restrain world imperialism, that the ruthless dictatorship of capital can be softened by an international armistice, and that all this will be in the interests of the proletariat and Socialism,—answer them in the firm determined voice of a revolted proletariat; tell them what the fighting experience of the Russian trade union says, "Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat; League of Nations or the Third International. There can be no middle course."

"Out of the road, deceivers and hypocrites! The Social Revolution is coming."

From this estimation of the activity of the leaders of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, and consequently of the International Federation, it is perfectly clear that another center of the trade union movement is essential. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions therefore took the next step and sent out an invitation by radio to all the trade unions in the world in which it "invited all economic organizations standing for real revolutionary class struggle, for the emancipation of labor from the exploitation of capital by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to close their ranks against the international league of plunderers, break with the compromising International and together with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions organize a real international conference of revolutionary-socialist trade unions and labor syndicates. All economic labor organizations standing on the platform of revolutionary class struggle are asked to reply to our call and to enter into direct connection with us."

This appeal served as a starting point of a movement in favor of creating a new center of trade unions uniting the revolutionary class unions of all countries. In view of the circumstances which arose, considerable time elapsed between the declaration of the need of creating such a center and its realization. The mere desire of the Russian trade unions was not sufficient, and it was necessary to wait until the revolutionary masses of all countries converted the old trade union organizations from weapons of reaction into weapons of the social revolution.

The Gates of Tomorrow

The time's drawing near when the rain-clouds shall pass,
The gold on the hilltops the gloom shall outlast;
The time's drawing near when mankind's long fight
Must yield palms of victory all to the Right.

The time's drawing near when oppression must cease,
And shriveled be power of king and priest;
The children of men shall send up the glad cry,
"We are free! We are free, by the Brotherhood tie!"

O heart, canst mourn o'er an hour's delay?
'Tis a cloud, like a hand, o'er the dawning day;
'Tis mist from the valley; 'tis drifting afar,
And the gates of Tomorrow are standing ajar.

Julia C. Coons.

Towards an International of Action

By George Andreytchine

"Russia is on strike against the entire capitalist world. She has struck for the loftiest of ideals, for no less a goal than the introduction of Socialism. Our strike committee is the present government of Russia, the Soviet regime. The Red Army is our picket line, which guards our big factory, Russia, that it might not be captured by these scab agents and gang men, Kolchak, Denikine, Youdenitch, Wrangel, and the rest."

Comrade Petrovsky, chief of the Soviet officers' training school of the Red Army, in an interview with Benjamin Schlesinger.—The "New York Globe," December 6th, 1920.

THREE years ago the workers and peasants of Russia went out on strike against their exploiters and oppressors, the capitalists and traders, the swindlers and landlords. For three whole years the Russian toiling masses have been besieged by the gunmen and thugs of the robber class. One by one the scab herders have been vanquished, and still the workers and peasants of Russia are compelled to fight against the new onslaughts of the praetorian guards of the international bandits. No peace, no truce, no breathing space for the workers and peasants of Russia, because they have overthrown the rule of the masters. In its place they have erected a new order, wherein only those who toil govern. They have lit the torch of the greatest revolt in the history of the human race—the revolt of the exploited and martyrized workers of the world. They have smashed the fabric of capitalist society and have torn the mask off of the face of all governments in the world, and have uncovered the ghastly sight of democratic hypocrisy and deception. They have shown all the horrors of Capitalism and all the grandeur of a Commonwealth of Labor. The Russian Soviet Government is a bold challenge to the vultures of the world and an inspiration to slaves.

The bandits hate and abhor the Russian workers. The name "Bolshevik" is uttered by them with the venom of the snake. They are trying to conceal from their slaves the fact that the Bolsheviki are their brothers in blood, their comrades in the common fight against the common foe.

In the war against the Russian workers the bandits have enlisted the services of their kept press, the whining pulpiteers and the traitors from the ranks of labor—the yellow Socialists, yellow Anarchists and yellow Syndicalists. And if the Russian fellow workers are still in a besieged "factory," starved and murdered in cold blood, it is not the fault of the capitalist but of the traitor-leaders of the working class in Europe and America, who encourage the masters in their criminal attempt to extinguish the only torch of light and hope of the slave class.

The humble but brave workers of Russia have suffered much for the Revolution, for all of us who strive to break the chains of economic and political bondage. Many times have the factories of Petrograd, Moscow, Toula and Ivanovo-Voznesensk been stripped of their man power and our fellow workers have silently gone to the international front of the revolution, never to return . . . They have taken the fallen rifles and filled the gaps caused by bullets made, loaded and transported by their fellow workers in France, England and America. But they have not despaired of us. They have not lost faith in us. Fellow Worker Lozovsky-Dridzo, the spokesman of the 5,200,000 organized workers of Russia, said in his masterful speech at Berlin last October: **"The Russian proletariat fights, suffers, but never loses courage!"** And he knows this to be true. He is one of them; he has shared their tragic lot since the first days of the revolt.

But the Russian workers must not be deceived, betrayed by their comrades in Europe and America. We must go to their rescue. We must fulfill our class duty; we must join them in the struggle against the unchained Beast. We must strengthen their spirit.

The world is split into two camps, the Yellows and the Reds. The Yellows are fighting the Reds. All Yellows are in one camp, all Reds must also join hands and think like one, act like one, so that their Red Army, imbued with idealism and beautiful visions and at the same time full of courage, daring and discipline, shall disperse the mercenary gangs of the robbers and exploiters of the world.

Look at the capitalists: they know what class solidarity is. They may have profound different religious beliefs, or their skins may be totally different—but when it comes to fighting the workers, they all combine into one International of Vultures: Japs and Americans, Italians and Czecho-Slovaks, all fighting like one in Siberia against the Workers' Government. Germans and Poles, French and Hungarians, all joining hands to crush the Soviet Government. There is a complete accord among them.

Only in the ranks of the workers do we find strife, mutual suspicion and distrust. Instead of the proud battle cry of yore: **"Workers of all lands, unite!"** we see the ambitious, the morbid-minded, the bigoted leaders urge us to cut each others' throats, and on their ignoble banner we read: "Workers of the world, divide!"

At the most critical juncture of the epochal struggle of the classes, when all differences should be obliterated in order to form **a united front against** a common foe, we see people who pretend to be

revolutionists, betray the workers and try to lead them into the camp of the enemy, or to make them impotent.

We are now at a stage of the class war where hesitation and equivocation is unpardonable. We must make our choice in the war between the Revolution and Reaction, between the Reds and the Yellows. The Industrial Workers of the World knew no delay, no hesitation. It knew its place in the international front of the class war. So did the masters of the world know where we stood. That is why the three letters—I. W. W.—were a symbol of the proletarian revolution, and consequently a nightmare for the exploiters. It was the symbol of unconquerable militancy of labor.

Only a few short weeks ago there appeared editorials in one of our weekly papers, as well as in our monthly magazine, attacking the Bolsheviki in a manner unwarranted by the facts, and betraying very superficial reasoning. We are certainly glad to note that our publications have of late abandoned this suicidal and reactionary policy.

The I. W. W. has principles which cannot be violated with impunity. The very name of the I. W. W. stands for the International Solidarity of Labor. We will not allow any one to use it as a lever in disrupting the workers' ranks.

We cannot allow our name to be used in bolstering up the dubious acts of an insignificant group of bigots. The I. W. W. should not oppose the Industrial International founded last summer by the representatives of the French, Spanish, Bulgarian, Jugo-Slav, Russian and Georgian revolutionary unions. On the contrary, it should join it, and work for its triumph over the Yellow International of Gompers, Jouhaux, Legien, Fimmen and Appleton. If we cannot accept the program of an International which has incorporated our main principles of the class struggle—Industrial Unionism and Direct Action,—the first as a practical and scientific form of organization and the second as an efficatious method of combat, I cannot see what more we want. Shall we follow the Swedish Syndicalists? The little information I have of them is very damaging: their puny paper "Syndicalisten" carries correspondence from Paris written by social traitors, calling themselves Syndicalists. Their paper sided with Jouhaux in the bitter fight between his regime and the Syndicalist left, lead by Pierre Monatte, Monmousseau and Rosmer. The French proverb which reads: "Qui se ressemble, s'assemble" (Birds of a feather flock together), leads us to believe that the Swedish Syndicalists are as yellow as the Amsterdam International.

With the new organization we find groups and unions with which we have for years been associated in common thought and action. There we find, beside the Russian Labor Alliances (5,200,000), the British Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees; the French Left Syndicalists (750,000 strong); the Spanish General Confederation of Labor (1,000,000); the Italian Syndicalist Union (called by the "One Big Union Monthly" the Italian counterpart of the I. W. W.—450,000); the Norwegian Labor Unions (160,000); the Jugo-Slav Confederation of Labor (180,000); the Bulgarian Syndical Union (100,000). Last October the Greek Confederation of Labor joined unanimously the new Industrial International. It counts over 60,000 members in Macedonia and Old Greece. The German Syndicalists also joined, but I see now that they are feeding the fire of dissention and disruption. But their leaders —Rudolf Rocker and Kater—are Anarchists, pure and simple, and we cannot follow them into the pitfalls of anarchist metaphysics, and their worship of the abstract notion of freedom. We are a Marxian organization, based upon the sound program of militant and disciplined centralized action. There is no doubt of that!

We have nothing to fear from our contact with the Russian workers, who have put in practice all what we have taught—**industrial unionism and direct action**; we have nothing to fear from our French revolutionary fellow workers, for they have shown what metal they are made of during the most trying moments of the war. We want an International of Action and not of bigotry and dogma.

The I. W. W. should find its place of honor in the ranks of the above-mentioned organizations, and give its contribution of militancy and fearless action; it should work and fight like a disciplined soldier of the International vanguard of the proletarian Red Army.

Industrial Unionism, endorsed and put in operation by millions of workers, will be our dream realized. But Industrial Unionism militant and revolutionary, not the tame and castrated kind of Industrial Unionism that we sometimes hear preached. **Industrial Unionism will be revolutionary or will not be at all!**

No Industrial Unionism à la Gompers is wanted in our ranks, nor in the ranks of the powerful International of Industrial Unions, whose cornerstone has been already laid by our comrades in Europe.

Then our International, strong, disciplined and aggressive, will assume the offensive against the International of the capitalists and their minions. We shall overthrow their rule and in its place build the New Order—The Commonwealth of Labor.

APPENDA BY THE EDITOR:

(1) We print below a telegram sent to the Industrial Workers of the World by Tomsky of the Moscow Red Industrial International:

December 19, 1920.

Industrial Workers,
1001 West Madison St., Chicago.

Provisional Bureau Council of international organization of trade unions notifies organizations belonging to council that Congress of Red Labor Unions fixed for January first, for technical reasons

postponed, taking place in spring of 1921. Precise date will be announced later.

Secretary-General Tomsky.

Since the receipt of the above telegram we have been informed from authentic sources that the Congress will convene in Moscow on May 1, 1921.

(2) Below is reproduced a clipping from the London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party. In regard to the settling of the differences between the Third International and the I. W. W., it may be appropriate to point out here that the referendum to decide on affiliation has been called in and declared void by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., as the intent of it was in contradiction to the I. W. W. Constitution, which forbids alignment with political groups or anti-political sects. The clipping reads as follows:

"Berlin, Nov. 29.—J. T. Murphy, the delegate to the Moscow Trade Union International from the British shop stewards movement, has arrived in Germany, together with the representative of similar bodies in Western Europe. From him I learn that the difficulties between the Third International and the shop stewards, the American I. W. W., and the Italian, French, and Spanish Syndicalists may be regarded as settled. These organizations are all accepted into the Moscow Trade Union International.

"The work of creating a Red Trade Union International is proceeding. The World Congress will be summoned in Moscow next spring, and in the meantime bureaux will be established in various Western countries.

"Individual trade unions who decide to join the Moscow Trade Union International can still remain in their national trade union federation."

Dad-Burn - It's View of Life

By John E. Nordquist

THE jolly oldest inhabitant's real name was Pete Burnett, but the villagers called him Old Dad Burn It.

"What's your view of life, Dad?" I put the question point blank as I sat down on the porch beside the octogenarian.

"Stranger, you've struck the right shop, 'cause I've dealt right smart in this here article called life, and I reckon there's some on my shelf yet," he drawled, stroking his white beard reflectively.

"Well, Dad, I'm correspondent for the great periodical of Life; would you mind giving me a few ideas for publication?"

"They might be too all-fired raw to print, stranger, but listen and I'll give you a sample lot that ain't been hand picked."

The weazened features glowed with queer flickers of merriment, and the gnarled hands clasped and unclasped as the old man continued:

"May be someone's been telling yon that I'm crazy, 'cause they catch me in rip-snorting fits of laughter occasionally; well, 'tain't so. I just boil over with fun at this fool comedy called life, that's all. Why, stranger, it's got so I can see the comedy in a funeral."

"Comedy in a funeral?" I repeated, doubtfully.

"Yes, stranger, that's what I said. Just try to imagine how many fancy life plots villain Death has nipped in the bud, and you, too, will begin to see the comedy. For instance: every boy is born to be president, but while he is waiting for inauguration, he puts in time at schooling and at other presidential chores, such as working ten hours a day, digging sewers at a dollar and a half per; running and robbing banks and trains, and other institutions, etc. Right in the midst of these games stalks death, and picks out presidential possibilities and throws 'em into hearses. Ain't that comedy, stranger?"

"Go on, Dad!" I countered.

"Then there's the comedy of chasing the almighty dollar. Say—" and he exploded into a paroxysm of laughter, then continued soberly:

"Chasing Villa, or cats off'n back fences ain't in it with this coin chase excitement, believe me. Now for instance, look at that man hurrying past Grosset's store. He's the owner of the smoky old factory over there, and he's chased hundreds of children into untimely graves during his mad chase for dollars. And tell me, stranger, what has he gained by it? Nothing but curses and condemnation, you'll allow. And yet you see him hurrying along faster than ever, chasing after more dollars and more curses. Don't that strike your comic chord?" he laughed in harsh, unmusical sarcasm.

"It's certainly queer, Dad," I had to own up, "but what would you have? We're all after profit, ain't we?"

"That's the point that makes me hilarious, stranger. We chase profits and capture curses."

Dad Burn It exploded in another fit of violent merriment that seemed unending, and in the interim I made my escape.

Report on Waste

By The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research.

PART I. OIL DIVISION.

THE TERRITORY underlain with petroleum deposits in the United States has been surveyed with a fair degree of accuracy, and no reliance can be placed on any unforseen discoveries that would, to any substantial degree, add to the oil-bearing territory already known. According to a recent estimate by the Geological Survey, the quantities of oil underground in the United States—as of January, 1919—and recoverable by the present methods of production, were placed at 6,740,000,000 barrels. Allowing for the oil produced since that date, and the oil that is estimated to be produced during the balance of the current year, there would, at the end of 1920, remain underground in the United States 5,918,000,000 barrels.

Adding the oil deposits still underground at the end of 1920 to the total cumulative production of 5,430,000,000 barrels since 1859—the first year on record when oil was produced on a commercial scale—the oil resources of the country at the beginning of 1859 could be placed as amounting to 11,848,000,000 barrels. In terms of percentage this would mean that about 47 per cent of the country's supplies as of 1859 has been used up by the end of 1920, thus leaving about 53 per cent underground for future consumption.

It is obvious that with a considerable proportion of the oil resources consumed, the future oil supply of the country is rather inadequate, even if the estimates of the Geological Survey should prove to be below the actual oil deposits recoverable by the present methods of production. Greater accuracy than the estimates of the oil available under ground attaches to the estimates of the Geological Survey concerning the geographic areas containing oil resources. So that very little relief is to be expected from new field discoveries. Moreover, the bringing in of new pools but hastens the rate of exhaustion, and brings nearer the day when production will proceed at a declining rate.

Recovery of Crude Oil from the Ground.

All the authorities agree that the most important means of prolonging the life of the crude oil resources of the country will be insured by the invention of a process that would eliminate all the unnecessary waste in connection with the recovery of oil from the ground. There is, however, a considerable difference of opinion as to what percentage of an oil well's contents is brought to the surface. Some express the view that not over 10 to 20 per cent is recovered, while others estimate that it reaches as high as 40 to 50 per cent. The authorities are, however, at one on the point that not more than 50 per cent of the oil which could be extracted from the ground is ever brought to the surface. This means that the estimated oil deposits of the country of 5,918,000,000 barrels could be doubled, giving 11,836,000,000 barrels. An improvement in the method of extracting crude oil from the ground will also make it feasible to bring to life the abandoned well, that, according to the contentions of the above authorities, still contain large quantities of oil. Basing the computation on the most conservative estimates, the 5,430,000,000 barrels already produced at the end of 1920 could be increased by at least 50 per cent of that amount, thus putting at the disposal of the country additional 2,715,000,000 barrels from abandoned wells. It may thus be stated that by the adoption of improved methods of producing oil, the 5,918,000,000 barrels that were estimated to be available for the country at the end of 1920, according to the present methods of production, could be increased by another 8,633,000,000 barrels, thus placing at the disposal of the oil industry for future consumption a domestic oil reserve aggregating 14,451,000,000 barrels. Because of the great importance attached to a radical improvement in the modern methods of extracting oil from the ground as a means of enlarging the crude oil supply of the country, it is of interest to briefly sketch the technological features of the situation. The main causes for the loss in recovering oil at present are the infiltration of water from water-bearing strata, and the escape of unduly large quantities of natural gas in the course of drilling.

Waste Due to Water.

Very frequent are the instances of a reduced rate of recovery of oil from single wells or whole fields as a result of inadequate protection against water. Still more serious are the cases, where failure to shut off the water has led to the complete abandonment of single wells and whole tracts of oil bearing territory. Initial attempts to avert the infiltration of water have already been made in various parts of the country, notably in California and Texas, where the method of cementation has been used as a means of excluding water.

Very often water comes in contact with oil as the result of corroded casings. Casings in oil wells are primarily used to exclude water, but some underground waters contain acids which lead to a rapid corrosion of the casings, followed by a flow of water into the oil sands. The Bureau of Mines has found an effective means of combating this evil by the use of "mud-laden fluid."

Waste Due to Dissipation of Gas.

The significance of natural gas as an energy-producing factor to procure oil from the ground is well established. It is, however, of frequent occurence that in striking gas-bearing formations the drilling of wells has to be suspended while the gas

is allowed to escape into the air. This is done in order to relieve the pressure of gas against which drilling operations are difficult, and very often impossible. The waste of gas as a result of this practice has been estimated by the Bureau to amount to billions of cubic feet. Serious as the waste of this gas for fuel material may be, the situation is still more aggravated by the fact that the dissipation of such tremendous quantities of gas have interfered with an adequate recovery of oil from the ground because of the reduction of the energy pressure resulting therefrom. Here again the mud-laden fluid that has been employed with such success in preventing the corrosion of casings has been advocated by the Bureau of Mines as a means of averting such deplorable wastes.

This method is naturally limited to fields that have not as yet been worked, and furnishes no remedy for wells that have been abandoned, or produce oil at a declining rate because of a declining pressure attendant upon a wasteful handling of the natural gas. Recent investigations have established the effectiveness of compressed air and vacuum as a means of forcing the oil above ground that would otherwise remain at the bottom because of lack of adequate pressure.

Recently a statement was made that every phase connected with the drilling and procuring of crude oil from the ground, such as natural flow, air lift, pumping, agitation, bailing, and methods of completing the extraction, use of vacuum, flooding, introduction of air and gas, can all be improved upon and extended to new methods.

Evaporation Losses.

Less important, altho by no means a negligible factor, is the attempt to enlarge the crude oil supply by eliminating losses due to evaporation. This is especially significant in that the gasoline content of the crude oil is more affected by evaporation than any other factor of the oil.

A study of this subject has recently been made by the Bureau of Mines, the chief conclusions of which are as follows:

(1) Evaporation during storage and handling represents one of the largest losses to which crude petroleum is subjected during its history above ground.

(2) It is possible to eliminate from two-thirds to four-fifths of the evaporation loss by protecting the oil from free contact with air.

(3) The percentage of the original value lost in the case of evaporation is two or three times the percentage of the original volume lost, because the fraction of the crude oil that has escaped is the best grade of gasoline, which has a value per unit of volume two or three times that of the crude from which it comes.

(4) The larger part of the evaporation loss is on the lease when the oil is still fresh, and it is there that the most valuable products escape.

(5) Oil is subjected to large losses from evaporation, even after leaving the lease.

(6) De-hydration by open steaming tanks is the most flagrant existing example of the disregard of evaporation losses.

It has been estimated that, owing to the inefficient handling of crude oil while still in the field, the evaporation of gasoline resulting therefrom equalled one-thirtieth of the total gasoline production of the United States. This has occurred during the few days that the oil was stored on the leases before being taken by the pipe-line, and amounted in 1919, in the Mid-Continent field alone, to 122,100,000 gallons.

It has been further determined that the gasoline in crude oil will evaporate from one-half to one-sixteenth as rapidly as the same gasoline distilled and stored, all evaporative conditions in both cases being the same. The aggregate losses due to evaporation that take place at the various stages that the crude oil covers on its journey between the well and the refinery have been estimated to amount to 510,000,000 gallons of gasoline during 1919 from Mid-Continent fields alone. In other words, for every 100 barrels of crude oil produced in the Mid-Continent fields 6.2 barrels of gasoline are lost by evaporation.

In discussing the conditions responsible for the losses of crude oil above ground mention will also have to be made of the quantities of oil dissipated as a result of seepage, sprays, ebullition and many other defective methods of handling crude oil. The technological problems involved in the elimination of these unnecessary wastes are comparatively simple, and the savings that might be effected thereby are rather of a limited magnitude.

Foreign Oil Supplies.

In addition to the domestic reserves, the oil of this country has been drawing at an increasing rate upon foreign supplies in recent years, as shown by the following table:

Year	Total Barrels	Domestic Marketed Production Barrels	P. C.	Imports Barrels	P. C.
1910	210,128,000	209,577,000	99.73	(a) 571,000	.27
1911	221,910,000	220,449,000	99.34	(b) 1,461,000	.64
1912	229,846,000	222,935,000	96.99	(c) 6,911,000	3.01
1913	265,424,000	248,446,000	93.60	16,978,000	6.40
1914	282,676,000	265,763,000	94.02	16,913,000	5.98
1915	299,243,000	281,104,000	93.94	18,139,000	6.06
1916	321,564,000	300,767,000	93.53	20,797,000	6.47
1917	365,443,000	335,316,000	91.76	30,127,000	8.24
1918	393,664,000	355,928,000	90.41	37,736,000	9.59
1919	430,466,000	377,714,000	87.75	52,747,000	12.25
1920 (9 ms.)	398,170,067	329,952,000	82.87	68,218,000	17.13

(a) Total mineral oil (includes both crude and refined products).
(b) Total mineral oils for first six months; total mineral oils except benzine, gasoline, naptha, for last six months.
(c) Total mineral oils except benzine, gasoline, and naptha for six months; crude oils only for last six months.

From the position of contributing only a fraction of a per cent to the total production available for the country in 1910, the imports for 1919 increased 12.25 per cent of the total production available for the country during the year. For the first nine

months of 1920 the proportion of crude oil has been still larger, amounting to 17.13 per cent.

The growing dependence of the country upon the foreign oil supply is self-evident and needs no further comment. The bulk of this oil came from Mexico, where the American oil companies control between 65 and 70 per cent of the total oil production. There are strong indications that the untapped oil resources of the other parts of the globe will be thrown open to exploitation by American oil interests in the near future, which necessarily will result in the still greater importation of crude oil into this country. The potential importance of the foreign oil supply for the American oil industry can be gleaned from the fact that, according to the latest estimates, the oil deposits of the United States amount to only little over 10 per cent of the world's potential oil resources.

Oil Shale.

The future needs of the country for petroleum products will be able to draw, not only on the additional quantities of oil that will be available as the result of improving the modern methods of crude oil production, but also on increased imports from foreign countries. Another source is looked forward to as containing still greater possibilities in the way of enlarging the petroleum supply of the country, and this is the large scale production of petroleum by the distillation of oil shale. Heretofore, and probably for some time to come, only the porous rocks of the oil fields are exploited for the purpose of obtaining crude oil. Explorations of the Geological Survey that have been carried on for a number of years have definitely established the existence of vast shale deposits in various parts of the country, especially in Utah, Colorado and Wyoming, which are capable of yielding oils that are of a similar character to the petroleum now obtained from the oil wells. The oil contained in these shale reserves is estimated to exceed many times the original oil supply of this country. According to most recent reports the territory located in northwestern Colorado and northwestern Utah alone contains enough of the shale to provide as much as 40,000,000,000 barrels of oil, from which a minimum of 5,000,000,000 barrels of gasoline should be extracted. It is also of interest to note that, in addition to the products now obtainable from petroleum, shale deposits would also yield considerable quantities of ammonium sulphate, a product that is of immense significance for the food industry of the country.

While the importance of the shale deposits as a potential factor in the future oil supply of the country has been definitely established, the availability of the shale deposits as an immediate factor, capable of contributing to the enlargement of the domestic oil resources, has been questioned.

The prevailing view is inclined to defer the period of a large scale utilization of shale oil to a comparatively remote future. In his article published in the Annals, May, 1920, under the title "The Petroleum Resources of the World," David White, of the United States Geological Survey, made the following statement:

> "The development of a great shale oil industry is certain eventually to take place in this country, and, so far as concerns mere costs of production, it would seem that the recent advance in oil prices must bring it near to hand. Nevertheless, in view of the technological problems to be solved experimentally, it appears rather likely that shale oil will be sorely needed long before it is produced in amounts sufficient to bring appreciable relief, and much longer still before it can supply a large part of the consumption demand, even no greater than that of the present day."

Refined Oil Supply.

Attention has been given, not only to enlarging the crude oil supply of the country, but also to the question of eliminating unnecessary waste in connection with the refining of oil, with the view of enlarging the quantities of refined products obtained from crude oil, notably gasoline. Some authorities even go so far as to claim that the burden of meeting the increased demand for petroleum products rests now on the refiner, who must improve his methods of refining to such an extent that larger yields of the products in greatest demand can be obtained from a given quantity of crude oil.

The center of attention in connection with the efforts to increase the yield of refined oil products has been focussed on gasoline, which will be discussed presently.

Gasoline.

At the present state of the refining technique increased efficiency in refinery operations is necessary, and gasoline production can be increased by lowering the volatility, but a universal application of the cracking process would bring greater results than any other known method.

Thru numerous investigations of the Bureau of Mines that have been extended over several years it has been found that the gasoline now produced has a lower volatility than the gasoline produced a few years ago, or, in other words, the gasoline now produced has higher end points. It has been established on the basis of examples in several large cities in various parts of the country that the gasoline had an average end point of 456° F., whereas the average motor gasoline a few years ago was below 400° F. This speaks clearly for the fact that the refineries, in order to increase the yield of gasoline, have been cutting deeper into the crude at the cost of heavier fractions that formerly were included in kerosene.

This has largely been made possible by the extended utilization of casing-head gasoline as a blending factor, which is a gasoline manufactured from natural gas. The extent that the consumption of casing-head gasoline has increased in recent years can be seen from the fact that in 1911 the quanti-

ties of gasoline produced from natural gas amounted to 7,425,839 gallons, whereas in 1917 the figure was placed at 217,884,114 gallons. Evidence on hand points to the fact that the production of casing-head gasoline since 1917 has been increasing at a still larger rate than in preceding years.

It has been estimated that about 80 per cent of the gasoline produced is obtained by straight distillation of crude oil. It is obvious that an improved method in the refining process which might increase the gasoline by only a few per cent would add appreciable quantities to the gasoline supply of the country. Two methods are now in use that tend to increase the efficiency of gasoline recovery from crude oil. One is the method of applying fractionating towers; this has been installed in most of the large refineries. The small refineries, on the other hand, have been rather negligent on this point, increasing their yields of gasoline by cutting deeper into the heavier fractions of crude oil. A more universal application of the fractioning method would undoubtedly increase the gasoline supply without impairing the volatility of the product.

The other method, which has recently been installed in some refineries, especially large ones, has to do with the mechanics of recovering the gasoline from the uncondensed still vapors. It is a fact that considerable quantities of gasoline are not condensed when the vapors from the stills are passed thru an ordinary condenser. In order to save the uncondensed portion of the gasoline, compressors, or absorbers, have been devised, which in some cases report yields as high as 2 per cent of the crude distilled, or approximately 6 per cent of the gasoline produced.

The increased yield of gasoline that is obtained by lowering the volatility of the product combined with an improvement in the refining process, as outlined above, would still fall far below the quantities of gasoline that would be added to the country's supply as the result of a more general application of the cracking process. There are many cracking processes in use, of which the greatest prominence has been achieved by the Burton process. It has been figured out that the Burton process, since it was first installed on a commercial scale, has produced approximately 40,000,000 barrels of gasoline from heavy distillates, and has saved about 150,000,000 barrels of crude oil that would have been necessary to produce an equivalent quantity of gasoline.

The great possibilities of increasing the gasoline supply of the country consequent upon a more universal application of the cracking system will be especially appreciated if cognizance is taken of the fact that all the cracking processes now in operation, including the Burton process, are using as their crude material only distillate oils or comparatively light residuums. There still remains the problem of producing gasoline by means of the cracking system out of the heavy oils obtained in California, Mexico, and the Gulf Coast. A successful solution of this problem will add to the reserves of this country enormous quantities of gasoline. A promising beginning has already been made in this direction in the form of a great many laboratory tests and small scale operations of distilling gasoline from heavy residual oils.

Substitutes for Gasoline.

It is also expected that the heavy demand that falls now upon gasoline as the only motor fuel available for internal combustion engines will be greatly relieved by the gradual utilization of substitutes, namely benzol and alcohol. Both of these products have been in successful operation in Europe, and are looked upon in this country as containing great possibilities as motor fuel in the not very remote future.

Benzol.

Benzol is one of the volatile constituents of soft coal obtained in liquid form, one of the many by-products from submitting the coal to a retorting process. The extent of the commercial utilization of this process is determined largely by the demand for coke or semi-coke. The present production of benzol in the United States is rather limited, because the quantities of coal now treated for the purpose of obtaining multiple products contained in coal in its raw state are very small. However, all indications point in the direction of a more intensive exploitation of coal, as a result of which considerable quantities of benzol will be thrown on the market, and thus prolong the life of the gasoline supply of the country.

On the basis of a yield of 2 gallons of benzol to the ton of coal, the coal currently produced in this country is capable of yielding about one billion and a half gallons of gasoline.

Alcohol.

The possibility of alcohol as an alternative to gasoline has been seriously questioned by some of the authorities of the Bureau of Mines. The most alluring feature about this substitute is the consideration that it can be obtained from organic products which reproduce themselves from year to year, and include vast quantities of stuff that are ordinarily looked upon as waste.

Straw Gas.

There have been successful experiments by the Department of Agriculture in connection with the production of gas from straw. At one of its experimenting stations the department succeeded in obtaining 300 cubic feet from 50 pounds of ordinary wheat straw, and is now working on the problem of condensing this gas into liquid form.

The wheat straw, the corn and cotton stalks that would become available for the manufacturing of gasoline upon the successful solution of the condensation problem of the straw gas run into hundreds of millions of tons. It has been estimated that the average annual production of straw in the United States amounts to 120,000,000 tons, and the corn stalks of the 1920 crop were placed at 207,396,000

tons. Also the cotton stalks for 1920 were computed to amount to 17,752,000 tons. It hardly needs to be stressed that if only a fraction of this waste would be turned into the manufacture of gas, the cubic feet thus obtained, and the quantities of gasoline condensed therefrom, would become a tremendous factor in the gasoline supply of the country.

Kerosene.

From an article of principal importance in the early days of the oil industry, kerosene has yielded its place to gasoline, which lately has been equalled by fuel oil. As is well known, kerosene came first into use as an illuminant, but it is gradually being supplanted by other illuminating agencies. Altho new uses have since been fonnd for kerosene, such as cooking and heating, and altho it is extensively employed as a motive power in connection with farm tractors, kerosene has not presented a serious problem in point of supply, nor is it likely to in the future.

Fuel Oil.

A serious situation is, however, arising, and that is the growing application of fuel oil for steam-raising purposes. The oil industry has been deeply concerned over the possibilities of providing the country with an adequate supply of fuel oil. Generally speaking, since the fuel oil only represents the residuum after all the refinable products have been extracted from the crude oil, the supply can only be enlarged by the methods that were discussed in connection with the increase of crude oil. An increased supply of oil will automatically entail an increase of fuel oil. There is, however, one complicating feature involved in the fuel oil situation that did not come in for consideration in connection with the discussion of the oil supply. This arises from the fact that the fuel oil contents of the crude oil tend to diminish with the further development of the cracking process and an increased yield of the lubricating oils. In order to alleviate the situation the idea of restricting the use of fuel oil for steam-raising purposes has been forcefully put forward. Development of hydro-electric power is also referred to as a promising means of prolonging the fuel oil supply of the country.

Prominence has been given to the question of introducing the Diesel type of engine that has been in successful operation for many years in European countries. This engine, like the ordinary boiler, is propelled by fuel oil and crude petroleum, but its power generating capacity is almost double that of the ordinary steam-raising agency.

According to the latest figures, half of the petroleum currently produced is used as fuel for steam-raising purposes.

The Bars Say: No!

By EDWARD E. ANDERSON
Written in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

In thru the bars streaks the gray
Advance guard of coming day;
Twittering birds welcome the morn;
The gray turns to gold;
And, lo—behold!
Another day is born.
The springmorn hush bids me:
Go worship at the shrine
Of newborn leaf—
Harbinger of purple wine
And golden sheaf—
But, I cannot go;
The bars say: No!
Ah, for a smell o' the newplowed loam;
And a chance in the woods to roam;
Watching songbirds building nest
High on a branch;
And the dance
O' the wind o' the west
Blowing the leaves o' yesteryear
In to the brook so clear.—
Ah, for more than a glancing look!
Ah, for a chance to follow the brook,
Hastening on to the sea!—
But, I cannot go;
The bars say: No!

Evolution of the Lumber Industry

By James Kennedy

Logging.

UP TO the beginning of the nineteenth century, science and invention had made slow progress in the lumber industry. The methods and tools employed had changed but little from those used for centuries in Europe. The same was true of all other industries. About this time occurred one of the most important events in human history; an event of tremendous and far-reaching consequences, which has revolutionized industry in all countries: the invention of the steam engine.

In 1782 James Watt patented the double-acting steam engine in England.

In 1804, in Wales, the first locomotive ever to run on rails was built by Richard Thevithich.

The same year Col. John Stevens constructed a boat on the Hudson, driven by a Watt engine and having a tubular boiler of his own invention, and a twin screw propeller.

The same year Oliver Evans used a steam paddle-wheel boat on the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.

In 1807 Robert Fulton built the "Clermont," and permanently established steam navigation on the Hudson River between New York and Albany.

In 1811 the "Orleans," of one-hundred tons, the first steamboat on the Mississippi, was built at Pittsburgh by Fulton and Livingston. She had a stern wheel and went from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in fourteen days.

By 1830 there were eighty-six steamers on the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, in addition to a large number on the Great Lakes and in the Western waters.

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the American steamer "Savannah," three hundred and eighty tons, in 1819.

In 1826 the first railroad in the United States was built near Quincy, Mass.

It was inevitable that all these events should have a tremendous influence on the lumber industry. By aiding in the development of the country, they caused an increased demand for lumber. By improving transportation, they widened the market for lumber. By demonstrating the practicability of steam as a motive power, they hastened its application in the lumber industry.

Soon after the invention of the steam engine, steam began to come into general use as a motive power. In the saw-mills it gradually displaced wind power and, to a great extant, water power. But it was not until long afterwards that it came into use in logging, or even, to any great extent, in transporting logs from forest to mill. In the eastern states, at that time the principal field of logging operations, most of the forests were within reasonable distance of creeks and rivers. The cold winters and heavy snow-fall furnished good sleigh roads over which the logs were hauled to the streams, to be driven to the mills during the spring freshets. In the early days of logging in the Lake States, methods were practically the same. Creeks and rivers carried the logs from forest to mill. But, with the logging off of the timber nearest the streams, the lengthening of the sleigh haul, and the increasing demand for lumber caused by the rapid development of the country, other and more efficient means of transportation became necessary. The building of the railroads supplied this need.

The Pacific Railway, the first of the half dozen transcontinental railroads, was completed in 1869, and by that time the Eastern States were fairly well gridironed with railroads.

The successful use of steel-rail logging roads began in 1876, when Scott Gerrish, a logger in Southern Michigan, built a railroad for transporting logs from Lake George to the Muskegon River, down which they were driven to the mill. The number of logging roads increased rapidly, and in 1881 there were seventy-one in operation in Michigan, and five in Wisconsin. In 1910 there were approximately two thousand logging railroads with about 30,000 miles of track in operation in the United States.

The logging railroad was a great advance over previous methods. Altho transporting logs by rail cost more than by water, it was far more reliable. It was not dependent on weather conditions, and it enabled many mills to run all the year around, instead of being shut down half the year for want of logs. Much timber that could not be profitably logged by the old methods, being too far from a drivable stream, was now made easily accessible.

Further application of steam power to logging soon followed the logging railroad. One of the most successful power loaders was put on the market in 1885, and since that time many forms have been brought out which differ in the manner of locomotion, character of booms, and other details to meet special requirements.

Steam skidding was introduced about the same time as steam loading. The first patent on power-skidding machinery in the United States was granted on November 13, 1883, to Horace Butters of Ludington, Michigan, and covered an overhead cableway designed to get logs out of "pot-holes" and swampy places in the white pine forests. Perceiving the possibility of using a machine of this type in the cypress forests of North Carolina, the inventor built some machines which were mounted on scows and floated in the bayous and sloughs. They did not completely solve the loggers' problem as they were

A Washington fir saw log, 12 feet in diameter and 32 feet long.

limited in range from seven hundred to eight hundred feet, and consequently could only reach a small part of the timber.

In 1889 William Baptist put a ground system in operation in a Louisiana swamp. It consisted of two large drums and an egine and boiler mounted on a scow from which an endless cable passed out into the forest for a distance of one half mile. This later developed into the modern "slack rope" system now used on pull boats.

A third method, called the "snaking system," was a later development in the pine forests of the South.

Since that time many improvements have been made and many new devices adopted in power skidding.

In the Eastern States most of the timber is now cut out, and four-fifths of the timber of the Lake States is gone. In these regions practically all the skidding is done, by horse power, and it is not likely, for obvious reasons, that steam skidding will ever be introduced there to any great extent.

The great bulk of the logging in this country is now carried on in the South, the Rocky Mountain Region and the Pacific Coast States.

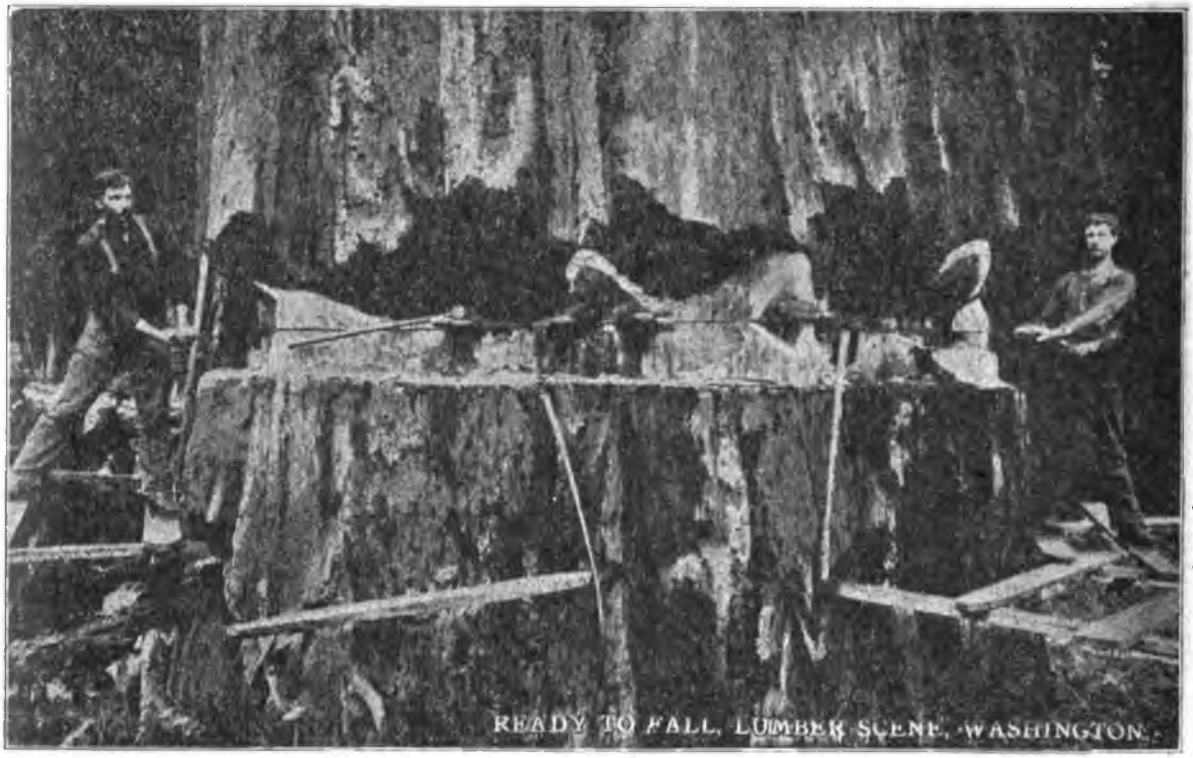
In the South the logging railroad is in general use, the rivers in that part of the country not being suitable for log driving. In some places the skidding is done by horses, mules, or oxen, in other by steam. Most of the loading is done by steam.

In the Rocky Mountain Region and in the Cascades there are still a few river drives, but by far the greater part of the logging is done by railroad. Skidding is done both by horse and steam power. Practically all loading is done by steam.

In some places, principally in the South, specially constructed wagons are used for hauling logs. The pole road and the stringer road are still in use in a few localities, but they are not common, for they cannot compete with the steam logging road in efficiency. In mountainous sections the log chute is in common use. In some parts of the West logs are transported by flume. In some parts of the Louisiana swamps logs are made into rafts and floated out during the wet season. For falling trees and cutting logs the axe is no longer used, except for undercutting; this work is now done with cross-cut saws.

In the Pacific Coast states where the timber grows to a great size, power logging has reached its highest development and, in large operations, is used exclusively. It has entirely replaced the picturesque, many-yoked ox teams of earlier days. The size and power of the donkey engines used in moving the logs are being gradually increased. The latest improvements on a large scale are the overhead cableway and high lead. Many different systems and devices are used for skidding and loading. Among the most efficient of these is the duplex loading donkey.

Big timber logging is highly specialized thruout. The principal species in Oregon and Washington is the Douglas fir, and in California the redwood, some specimens of which are the largest trees in the world. Over one-half of the entire remaining timber of the country is in these three states. On account



READY TO FALL, LUMBER SCENE, WASHINGTON.

of the size of the timber and the outlook for the future, the new science of logging engineering is being more rapidly developed on the Pacific Coast than in any other section of the United States. In this section the logs are cut the full length of a flat car, on account of which it is known as the long log country.

The Saw-Mill.

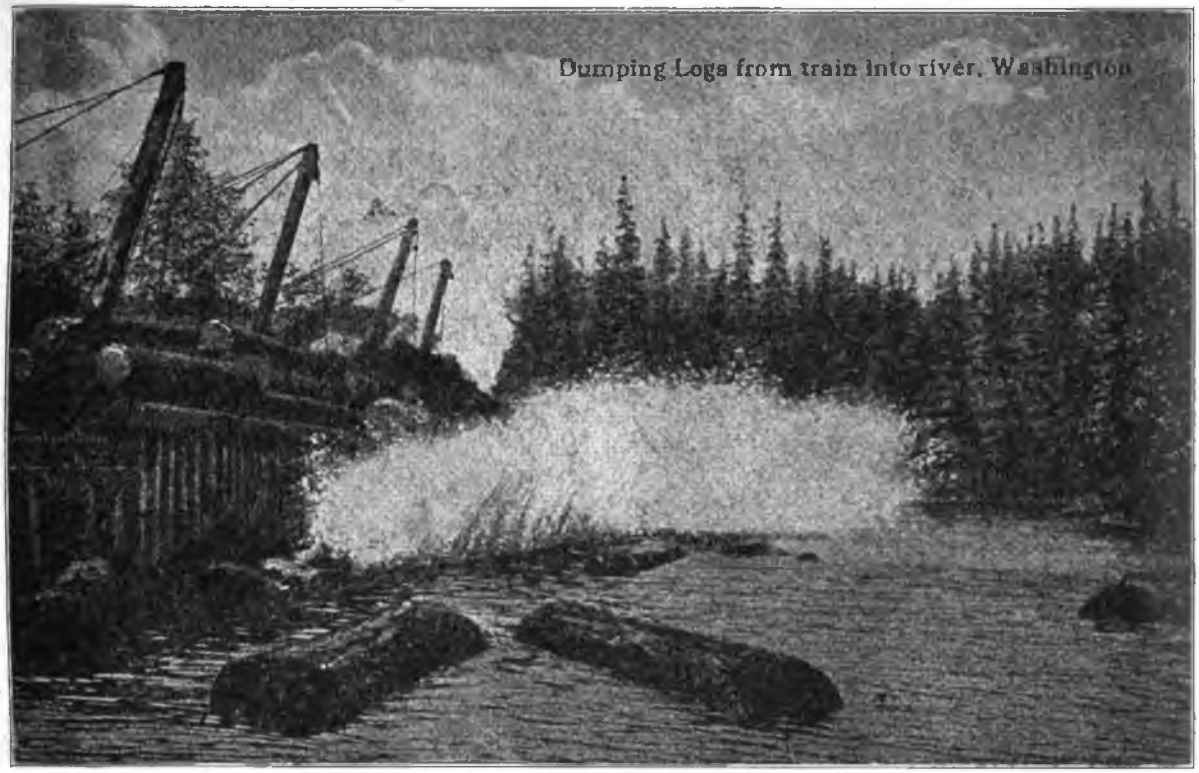
In the saw-mill even greater changes have taken place than in logging. The saw has been the great pioneer in wood-working machinery. It is said this tool was first invented by an ancient Greek. Having found the jaw-bone of a snake, he employed it to cut thru a small piece of wood. By this means he was induced to form a like instrument of iron, that is, to make a saw. The circular saw was the type most commonly used in the nineteenth century. It was invented in 1777 by an Englishman named Miller. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that it was generally applied, and its great work belongs to that period. The first insertable teeth for this saw were invented by W. Kendal, an American, in 1826.

The first type of saw to which mechanical power was applied was the old-fashioned "gate saw," also known as the frame or sash saw. The first improvement on this was known as the "muley" saw. To increase the efficiency of these saws they were arranged in gangs, so as to make a number of cuts at one pass of the log. This style was especially used in Europe, but on the up-stroke there was no work done, and hence half the time was lost. This and other difficulties led finally to the adoption of the circular type, whose continuous cut and high speed saved much time and greatly increased the output.

Mounted on a portable frame, this machine was forests, and for many years this type of saw-mill put to its great work upon the logs of the American held sway. An enormous amount of work was done thru its agency. Among its useful accessories were the set works for adjusting the log-holding knees to the position for a new cut; the log turners for rotating the log to change the plane of the cut; and the rack and pinion feed, by which the saw carriage was run back and forth. Next came the rope feed, by means of which the carriage was drawn back and forth by a rope wrapped around a drum.

The greatest advance in saw mills in recent years has been the steam feed, in which a very long steam cylinder was provided with a piston whose long rod was directly attached to the saw carriage, and the latter moved back and forth with the stroke of the piston. This was also known as the shotgun feed, from the resemblance of the long cylinder to a gun barrel. It was invented by De Witt C. Prescott in 1887. The value of the steam feed was to increase the speed and efficiency of the saw by expediting the movement of its carriage, as many as six boards per minute being cut by its aid from a log of average length. With the modern development of the art, the ease and rapidity of steam action have recommended it for use in almost all of the work of the saw-mill. The direct application of steam pistons working in cylinders has been utilized for canting, kicking, flipping and rolling the logs, lifting the stock, taking away the boards, etc.

The bandsaw is an endless belt of steel, having teeth formed along one edge and traveling contin-



Dumping Logs from train into river, Washington

uously around an upper anl lower pulley, with its toothed edge presented to the timber to be cut. A form of a bandsaw is found as early as 1808 in a British patent. In 1834 a French patent for a bandsaw was granted to a man named Etiennot. The first United States patent for a bandsaw was granted to B. Barker in 1836. But the bandsaw did not attain its prominence in wood working machinery until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. That it did not find general application at an earlier period was due to the difficulty of securely and accurately joining the ends of the band. For many years the only moderately successful bandsaws were made in France, but expert mechanical skill has so mastered the problem that in recent years the bandsaw has gone to the very front in wood-working machinery. Today it is in service in sizes from a delicate filament used for scroll sawing, to an enormous steel belt fifty feet long and twelve inches wide, traveling over pulleys eight feet in diameter, making five hundred revolutions per minute and tearing its way thru logs much too large for any circular saw, at the rate of nearly two miles a minute.

A modern form of bandsaw with teeth on both its edges cuts in both directions, thus requiring no offsetting mechanism.

Other improvements in saw-mill machinery are the endless chain for bringing the logs into the mill, and mechanical carriers for lumber and refuse. In addition to these there are the shingle, lath, and slab saws, which by using up inferior material reduce the amount of waste.

Saw-mill plants vary greatly in size and output, from the portable plants, with a capacity of from five thousand to ten thousand feet B. M. per day, to the immense stationary plants characteristic of the Lake States, the Southern Pine Region, and the Pacific Northwest, with a capacity of 150,000 to 500,000 per single shift. Portable mills and many of the small stationary mills are still equipped with circular saws.

Planing Machines.

While the saw plays the initial part in shaping the logs into lumber, it is to the planing machine that the refinements of wood-working is due. Its rapidly revolving cutter-head reduces the uneven thickness of the lumber to an exact gauge, and simultaneously imparts the fine smooth surface. The planing machine is organized in different shapes for different uses. When the cutters are stright and arranged horizontally, it is a simple planer. When the cutters are short and arranged to work on the edge of the board, they are known as edgers; when the edges are cut into tongues and grooves it is called a matching machine; and when the cutters have a curved ornamental contour the planer is known as a moulding machine, and is used for cutting the ornamental contour for house trimmings and various ornamental uses.

The planing machine was one of the many wood-working devices invented by General Bentham. His first machine, patented in England in 1791, was a reciprocating machine, that is, it worked back and forth on the boards to be planed. But in 1793 he

patented the rotary form along with a great variety of other wood-working machinery.

Bramah's planer, patented in England 1802, was about the first planing machine of the nineteenth century. It is known as a transverse planer, the cutters being on the lower surface of a horizontal disc, which is fixed to a vertical revolving shaft, and overhangs the board passing beneath it, the cutters revolving in a plane parallel with the upper surface of the board. The planing machine of Muir, of Glasgow, patented in 1827, was designed for making boards for flooring, and presented a considerable advance in the art.

With the greater wooded areas of America, the rapid growth of the young republic, and the resourceful spirit of its new civilization, the leading activities in wood-working machinery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century were transferred to the United States. A phenomenal growth in this art ensued, many new inventions and improvements being made.

In modern planing machinery the climax of utility is reached in the so-called universal wood-worker. This is the versatile Jack-of-all -work in the planing mill. It planes flat, moulded, rabbited, or beaded surface; it saws with both the rip and cross-cut action; its cuts tongues and grooves; makes mitres, chamfers, wedges, morties and tenons, and is the general utility machine of the shop.

Fear Not, Organize!

An Appeal to the Lumber Workers.

FEAR is the curse of all mankind. Shivering terror is an inheritance from the past; it retards development and growth. When man still lived amongst his trees and still matched his puny wits and strength against the monsters of primordial days his cowardice saved the human race from extinction. The instinct to flee every danger saved many a tender body from the devouring beasts of the primitive period. Human society is in very fact the child of fear.

Today man is cursed with the same instinctive fears and reactions that blessed him but a few thousand years ago. Fear can only be overcome by a greater fear, or by dispassionate study and control —understanding. We have seen soldiers of Autocracy driven to great deeds of bravery and fearlessness because they were too cowardly to refuse to fight at Autocracy's bidding.

Fear is the weapon used by all oppressors to keep their victims in subjugation. Since greed first manifested itself in the dealings of men, the greedy masters have used fear and terror to keep in subjection the exploited. In a thousand cunning ways have the instincts of self-preservation been used by the world's master class. The ancient tribal slave-owners had their medicine men, their ghosts, and vendors of the evil eye, to keep all rebels against privilige in check. The modern capitalist uses all the old weapons of priestcraft and a millon new ones of modern development to keep his wage-workers submissive and slave-like.

Oppression.

In addition to death, which is held always apparently barely in check by the masters of modern industry, each worker has the lesser fears held over him and his family. Jail, unemployment, social ostracism, and mobs, the police and the armed force of the military are ever used, not to exterminate the workers, but to instill chattering, unreasoning fear into their hearts.

These weapons for the manufacture of terror are present to some extent at all times, and affect all members of the working class; but especially against those workers who see and understand the nature of the bitter struggles going on in society all the terror-inspiring machinery is directed. Against the Industrial Workers of the World, with their program of emancipation of the working class, every organ of capitalist terror has been and is being used.

The reason for the shooting of Joe Hill, the hanging of Frank Little, for the Bloody Sunday of Everett, and the cowardly Centralia Raid was not to exterminate the little band of workers who have carried the battle-brunt of the working class for so long. No—that was not the reason.

These murderous deeds were committed in order to drive terror into your heart, fellow workers in the craft unions, and in youfs, you unorganized fellow workers everywhere. The vile press of the country spread broadcast the tortures heaped on the heads of the members of the I. W. W. At the cost of losing respect of the whole world those infamies were advertised in order that those new members in this fighting organization should be scared into giving up their membership; so that the organization should become impotent and weak and be no longer able to fight the workers' battle and win.

There is one thing of which the master class of the United States and of the world are more afraid than anything else, and that is the solidarity of the

workers. Craft unionism presents no solidarity, nor any chance of it. Unorganized workers are as chaff before the wind. But the workers, organized correctly in One Big Union, inspired by the solidarity of industrial unionism, are invincible—and the employers know it. Wherever the Industrial Workers of the World have organized any section of the workers even to as high as 75 per cent they have won in their battles with the boss hands down. To allow the workers to organize in the One Big Union the I. W. W.—is suicide to capitalism, and capitalism uses the only weapon that it has in its emergency: brutal force to inspire terror.

The Result of Disorganization.

The strike of the textile workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, was taken in hand by the I. W. W. The striking workers lent themselves to the program of organized solidarity presented by the I. W. W. in a spirit whole-hearted and unafraid. Because they were organized and because they acted with solidarity ever in mind, these poorly paid, uneducated workers won their battle for immediate gains. Then came the real test. Every possible method was used to instill fear into the minds of the workers so as to force them to give up the organization that had brought them to victory. The woolen trust was successful in a great measure. Within a few short years the workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, were as badly off as they were before. Faced with another strike, they lost, after a bitter period of learning the necessity of solidarity and proper organization. **All that the I. W. W. had gained for them was taken away because they were fearful and allowed their fears to influence them to give up their organization.**

Lawrence, Massachusetts, is a bitter lesson to the membership of the I. W. W. In the lumber woods of the Northwest that history is being repeated today. The masters will be successful there, as in Lawrence, unless you, fellow lumber-workers, cast aside your fears, scorn your terrors and take organized action to stem the tide of oppression and reaction that is sweeping toward you.

The bitterly fought battle for the eight-hour day was fought and won by the membership of the I. W. W. In a long drawn out fight they displayed a solidarity and fearlessness in action that was bound to lead to success. Better conditions of life were the result to every lumber worker in the Northwest. Today the lumber trust has scared many of the lumber workers into giving up membership in the I. W. W. Hundreds of members no longer carry their cards on the job. Meetings are no longer possible in some camps on this account. Former members have not kept in good standing, and the once powerful hold of the I. W. W. on the lumber woods has weakened to the extent that the bosses no longer give concessions but are now figuring on taking away those that were so bitterly fought for.

The history of Lawrence must not be repeated in the woods of the Northwest. Imaginary fears must not allow us to once again bear the slavery of the hideous ten-hour day and the blanket-roll. Industrial organization and solidarity are the only weapons with which to combat the brutality of the master class. As you are now men, and not the scurrying, fearful beasts of primitive times, down the terrors with which plutocracy seeks to enthrall you and join—openly and unafraid—the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Too long have the workers pleaded with their masters to be less brutal. Too long have we complained about our persecution and have assailed the courts of plutocracy to have that persecution diminished. Now is the time to organize and force our demands upon a capitalism that is weakened and staggering from the carnival of world slaughter and the body blows of proletarian Russia.

Let us cast cowardice from us and once more gather on the industrial battlefield and maintain all that we have won and go forward by the only method possible of success—Industrial Organization. Remember, lumber workers, the issue is squarely up to you. If you are too much the craven to give battle in order to maintain your status and to gain more, you do not deserve the conditions you now have. If you intend to weakly submit to the bosses' will and still refuse to line up and carry on organization activities on the job, then you deserve fully all the misery of the starvation and slavery that is held out to you.

Fear is the master's weapon. Solidarity is the hope of the working class. Take your choice and abide the issue.

Be Brave

By John E. Nordquist

When a deep dark cloud is passing,
Herald of the storm that's massing;
Don't give way to fear and fretting,
All your care-free calm forgetting,
But prepare to meet the blow
Ere the shadows deeper grow.

International News

By George Andreytchine

WE SHALL soon have a pleasant surprise for the readers of **"The Industrial Pioneer."** We intend to make one of the outstanding features of our magazine the proposed Department of International News, in which we will publish vital information about foreign countries. Our plan is to get the international news **first hand**, from fellow workers who are able writers and real doers in the labor movement of their respective countries. Imagine every month a column of red-hot stuff from the pen of Jack Tanner or Tom Barker from England; Godonnèche or Rosmer from France; Tom Glynn or some other Wobbly from Australia; Angelo Faggi or Duilio Mari from Italy (both of them members of the I. W. W. and at present active militants in the Italian Syndicalist Union); deported I. W. W. members from Spain, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Bulgaria. We shall have news from Turkey, from the International Labor Union whose birth we signaled in this magazine. There are Wobblies in Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay, and there is a strong I. W. W. administration in Chile with over 25,000 members; Fellow Worker Chamorro will write us all the news from there,

Then Russia. Oh yes! We must not forget the only Workers' Commonwealth in the World. We promise our readers that we shall give them fresh news every month of the great doings over there. There are many observers whose views we share and who can give us the straight goods. Many of our European Syndicalist friends have gone to Russia, some of them never to return. Some of those who did not get caught in the death-net (blockade) of the Christian nations are writing about what they have seen with their own eyes. There are a number of such fellow workers. Jack Tanner, Dick Beech, John Clark, Jack Murphy, Wullie Gallacher of the British Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees; Armando Borghi of the Italian Syndicalist Union; Angel Pestana of the Spanish Confederation of Labor, and Alfred Rosmer, co-editor of **"La Vie Ouvriere"** and delegate of the Left Syndicalist unions in France, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Council of International Trade and Industrial Unions, founded in Moscow last summer. The other two delegates from France, Fellow Workers Lepetit and Vergeat, were drowned on their trip back from Russia in the Arctic Ocean.

Keep an eye on this section! We are bent on making it interesting enough to warrant the expenditure of your quarter for that one reason.

A brief resumé of the present international situation follows:

RUSSIA. The workers are still in control and intend to stay there. If you don't believe us, go and ask Denikin, Youdenitch and Wrangel, not to mention Kolchak, who is too deep in Dante's "Inferno" for any worker to seek, even the most "sinful."

Now that Poland and Wrangel are keeping their hands off we can follow the constructive doings of the workers, of their unions and factory committees. H. N. Brailsfort has given a magnificent picture of the creative work of the local Soviet of the city of Vladimir. He was there for two months and speaks with authority. He gives an account of the educational work of the Commissariat of Education, and says that it is the most glorious achievement of the revolution. Lunatcharsky and Mme. Lenin-Krupskaya are conducting this monumental experiment. To give you an idea of what they are doing, we quote below a part of her report:

> "The war and the revolution have awakened in the masses a passionate longing for knowledge. In order to understand how great is this thirst for knowledge, one should see with what deep attention the crowds listen to some chance speaker; how they stand motionless for hours for fear of losing a single word. And this interest of the masses is manifesting itself not only in respect to the current problems of the day, e. g., the soviet of some remote and out-of-the-way little village asks for a traveling lecturer to lecture on such subjects as "The Stone Age," "The French Revolution," "The Position of Woman," etc.
>
> "A propaganda train with a book shop, stopping at some village, soon attracts a long line of old men, old women, and boys and girls. It seems as if they would buy everything if it only were possible, but the train is in a position to offer but a part of its riches in books; it is necessary to preserve some for the other villages.
>
> "It seems that there is no field in which the workers and peasants are displaying so much initiative as in the field of education. They are building "people's houses," arranging clubs, libraries and circles, and all this with the utmost zeal. Shows are a matter of course. All Russia is playing, old and young, all are playing with ardor. If there are no plays, they write them for themselves. There are provinces where there are more theaters than in the whole of France. Sometimes the provincial center itself is unaware of the number of educational institutions in the province. It is easy to work in such an atmosphere.
>
> "Of course, the present conditions make it particularly difficult to carry on such work, there being no manuals or school books, and a limitation on the publication of newspapers. The war, compulsory labor, and the hard conditions of work are distracting the people to other tasks. There is a lack of teachers, lecturers and librarians. Besides, the work being new, it is necessary to study it. Finally, the insufficient railways and the bad postal conditions, together with all other difficulties, are aggravating the isolation of the villages. But, in spite of all, the educational work is being carried forward at a rapid pace."

In spite of the fact that the major portion of the Russian workers is used up in the war against the international bandits and their lackeys, the education of the grown-ups and the little ones is going on at top speed. Especially interesting is the campaign against illiteracy. Let us permit Mme. Lenin to tell us about it:

> "The last session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee also decided that the eradication of illiteracy must be considered as one of the most important tasks, and that it is therefore necessary to lend the Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy every assistance.
>
> "How fast the work of eliminating illiteracy is progressing can be seen from the following examples:
>
> "According to the data of the Educational Department of the Tambov province, 48,000 people graduated from the schools for illiterates during three months of 1920.
>
> "According to the data in the report of the Educational Department of the province of Cherepovietz, 57,807 people went thru the schools for eradication of illiteracy; in the province of Ivanovo-Voznessensk, 50,000 people.
>
> "In Novozibhov the whole male population up to 40 years went thru the schools.
>
> "In Petrograd there are 500 school districts with one or two schools in each. Nine thousand people went thru the schools; 25,000 people are attending the schools at present.
>
> "In Kaluga 190 schools have been opened; in the government of Saratov 1,000 schools, in Kosmodemiansk 130 schools, in Gzhatsk 40, in Zhizdra 40, in Arkhangelsk 180, in Omsk 190, in Yelabuga 70, etc.
>
> "The Council of People's Commissaries has sanctioned a budget of 4,500,000,000 rubles to cover the expenses of the Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy.
>
> "The Fuel Department officially declared that the schools for illiterates would be supplied with kerosene.
>
> "The Commissariat for Foreign Trade has ordered pencils, pens and paper for 6,500,000 people who are to attend the schools for illiterates during 1920.
>
> "In addition to the direct work which is being done for the eradication of illiteracy, the Extraordniary Commission is carrying on a broad propaganda, for the most part by means of placards."

We are sorry that our space does not permit us to give you more extensive information about the great work of educating the masses that is being carried on in Russia today. In future issues of the magazine we intend to publish data concerning the workers' control and management of Russian industry thru their unions and factory committees.

We will now come a little further west and take in at a glance the doings in

GERMANY, where the yellow Socialists cheated the workers of the fruits of their struggle, and put the capitalists back in the saddle. According to Savel Zimand, an honest American journalist who in the fall of 1920 investigated conditions in Germany and in the Balkan States, the most important development in Germany since the reign of Noske's bloody terror, is the phenomenal growth, in numbers and militancy, of the Workers' Councils, which are under the guidance of the Left Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists. They have become more important than the political groups, and all the recent strikes in Berlin and the Ruhr have been waged under their auspices.

The Workers' Councils have welded together the different groups in the revolutionary labor movement, and promise to become the instruments of proletarian revolution.

BULGARIA is the most important little country in the Balkans. Its population is less than five million, but the labor and Socialist movements there put to shame nearly all similar movements in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party has a strong, well disciplined and well trained contingent of 40,000. The labor unions, which have united now under the leadership of th Communist party, count over 100,000 industrial workers. Until September last there were two sets of unions—50,000, mostly unskilled and low paid laborers, members of the **General Syndical Union**, closely attached to the Communist party. The secretary of the union is member of the Executive Committee of the party. There was a General Confederation of Labor, more or less resembling the Italian General Confederation of Labor, which was under the control of the yellow Socialist party. That party has completely been snowed under and now the unions of the two groups have combined into one solid body, and are an integral part of the Red Moscow International of Industrial Unions.

GREECE is another one of those "backward" countries where the labor movement is rapidly becoming a factor in the social life of the land. The Confederation of Labor, in its second congress, held late in October, 1920, counted over 60,000 members, which includes several labor exchanges—"bourses du travail"—in Cavalla, Saloniki, Athens, etc. The organization had to fight for its very existence during the bloody reign of Venizelos, Wilson's friend; unions were disbanded by the military, strikes were broken, active militants imprisoned and exiled (à la Palmer). Among the exiled was Fellow Worker Benaroya, who is a veteran of the labor movement on the Balkans, having taken part in all struggles in Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece. He stayed on a small island for over a year and was released a few months ago.

At the congress mentioned above the Greek Labor Confederation unanimously voted to join the Red International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The organization has had some bitter fights against the masters and their government. Last spring the railroad workers in Macedonia went on strike, and after a short struggle, overcame the opposition of the bosses and the State. Their demands were granted. Back wages were paid for the time they were on strike. There's the kind of a union to have!

YOUGO-SLAVIA. In the new state of Croats,

Serbs, Slovenes and Montenegros, the labor movement is growing fast. There are 160,000 members of the unions, which adhere to the Red International Council of Moscow. Many and bloody have been the fights of the union against the government and the employers. Recently a general strike was proclaimed for two days.

FRANCE. Before the war the General Confederation of Labor was more revolutionary than the Socialist party in France. It was an inspiration to the workers of all countries. But when the masters let loose the war dogs, nearly all the leaders of the C. G. T. became jingoes and aided the bosses to carry on the butchery of the slaves unmolested. After the war, when the time for settling accounts with the financial swindlers and vultures had arrived, some of the prominent militants who "held the fort" against the war for 3 years and more, got "cold feet" and scaled the barricade, going over to the other side with Jouhaux, whose name is a symbol of social treason.

Alphonse Merrheim, secretary of the powerful Metal Workers' Federation, who went to Zimmerwald in 1915 and was the closest friend of Monatte, went strike-breaking for Clemenceau during the summer of 1918, when the patience of the workers was almost exhausted. Georges Dumoulin, once leader of the miners, followed suit. The defection of these two leaders made a deep gap in the ranks of the Syndicalists, who, however, remained true to themselves and to the traditions of class-conscious Syndicalism.

Pierre Monatte was in the army at that time. When he came back home in March, 1919, he gathered the remaining broken ranks of the revolutionary opposition and started **"La Vie Ouvriere"** as a weekly organ of revolutionary Syndicalism. Slowly but surely around him began to rally all the healthy elements of the labor movement. One by one the unions began to shake off the trance of jingoism, of social treason and of class collaboration. The railroad workers were in the vanguard, after them came the metal and building workers, and others.

Everything looked bright, especially after the militant unionists, lead by Fellow Worker Monmousseau, captured, April, 1920, the Railroad Workers' Federation with 350,000 members. The general railroad strike began on May Day. But the treacherous leaders of the C. G. T. betrayed the strikers, and the government took advantage of the opportunity offered them by Jouhaux and his "cabinet," and dealt a blow to the revolutionary Syndicalists. Monatte was arrested on May 3rd; after him Henri Sirolle, one of the joint secretaries of the R. W. Federation. Monmousseau and Midol, the two other secretaries, were arrested later. These, together with Monatte, Loriot and Souvarine (the three members of the Committee of the Third International), and many others, were charged with "plotting against the security of the State."

That gave a set back to the revolutionary awakening that was taking place. The reactionaries, taking advantage of the fact that Monmousseau, Delagrange, Leveque, Olivier and Sirolle were in jail, and Midol in exile, convened a congress of the railroad unions, and again saddled themselves upon the membership. They gained power by a small majority, but they are there now—until the next convention.

The first cheerful event since the black days of defeat was the convention of the unions of the Department of Seine (Paris and suburbs) in November. The newly organized **Comité des Syndicats Révolutionnaires**, whose organ is **"La Vie Ouvriere"** and whose secretary is Monatte (now in prison), succeeded in defeating the yellows, and today the most important organization in France is under the control of the revolutionary Syndicalists. After that the **Meurte-et-Moselle** union of unions (something like a district organization of unions) by a vote of 3 to 1 was captured by the same group. In December, the unions of the Rhone department, second in importance only to the Parisian **Union des Syndicats**, went over to the revolutionary Syndicalists. It is a stubborn fight, but a fruitful one, from the viewpoint of the advancing proletariat.

The next skirmish between masters and slaves in France will find the revolutionary workers ready to tackle a real solution—the taking over of industry by the workers.

Let's now go to the Orient.

JAPAN seems to be scared dizzy at the mere mention of the I. W. W. According to a special cable to the "Daily News" from Tokyo, the police there have seized the October issue of the New York **"Nation,"** which contains "what is purported to be a description of the American Industrial Workers of the World."

The Japanese police is co-operating with Scotland Yard in trailing the Bolsheviki. It is reported, says the same dispatch, that Bolshevist circulars have been found distributed in many soldiers' barracks.

The men considered to be the most dangerous to capitalist supremacy appear to be the teachers, many of whom are serving penitentiary sentences for teaching Bolshevism to their students. A professor of the University of Tokyo is in prison for translating and commenting on some of Kropotkin's works.

Labor unions and secret revolutionary groups are growing like mushrooms in the Empire of the Militarists. Strikes, "go-slow," and all kinds of industrial "ills" are befalling the heads of the Japanese capitalists.

There is a report that the workers in Japan have formed a One Big Union, but as yet it has not been verified. We hope it is true.

Laborare est Orare

(Work is Prayer)

The country carpenter, lured into the town by high wages, utters his disillusionment after ten years in the power-loom sheds.

LABORARE EST ORARE?
P'raps for parson, prig or fairy!
D'ye think it stands
True for me,
With my hands
No longer free?

Why, ten years ago I just loved my hand's craft:
As I worked with my plane, it rushed and laughed,
And I'd ring out, like shavings, my curling songs,
While the scent of the wood, oak, chestnut, and pine,
Gave life to my labor—like cowslip wine—
And little cared I for Man's Rights and Wrongs!
Such songs, like the birds', came a deal nearer praying
Than the psalms you grind out like a jackass's braying!

But now I am dumb,
My bitter heart numb;
For, harassed and goaded
By roaring machine,
It grovels, lead-loaded
In the dull routine!
Handicraft gone
In handcuffs on;

My birthright of craft, I sold it, I sold it,
And what is now left—well, it's me: just behold it!
My only prayer
Is for Saturday night,
And my unfettered right
To drown all care
In liquor's delight;
Then, robbed of my brains,
Bitter thoughts run dry,
And eased of my chains
I can laugh and sing and the devil defy!

God, say you, in Heaven will make all amends?
Ay, p'raps for directors,
Old England's protectors,
Who rake in their ten-per-cent, fat dividends!
But for a weaver,
His soul in mad fever,
With ghastly, red sores 'neath his hand-galling fetters,
First take off his shackles,
Then he'll list to your cackles
Of God who can save him the same as his betters!
Your kind of religion won't help me along,
When God has no wit to undo the great wrong.

What! pray as I cherish
This dead, blasted loom?
Then, here goes . . . God perish
Your child in the womb,
And drive your fat soul to its Gadarene doom!

Sorry! P'raps after all you're a brother,
And you, even you, had some sort of a mother!
Though your dibs and investments, your exalted station,
Your heavenly perquisites, ex officio salvation,
Make you think us but hands bound to labor in meekness,
That you may go praying in yellow-glowed sleekness!

No son of the Dales and their flowers can feel
Love alongside of a belted wheel;
Nor hope in a blood-stained, grudging wage
That's shoved in my face with no kind word uttered,
A scowl for my thanks, or a curse half muttered,
And my hands set itching with revenge and rage!
Prayer as they work is for God's money-grubbers,
Not for wrecked weavers, dull spinners and slubbers.

You've doubled our wages? Right! . . . but you've doubled the sin
of the mire we and you must go wallowing in—
You! gilded rats with your smiles hypocritical
Basking in sunshine and fed parasitical;
We! angry squirrels, a-scramble in cages,
Who plot revolutions to quench our red rages!
The wrong done our hands can never be mended
Till all the show's scrapped and its infamy ended.

Well! well! for peace' sake in this turmoil and strife
—With blacklegs or boss, always war to the knife—
To please you and God, I will pray as I work . . .
Look, God, at these manacled hands at prayer!
Look at them bleed, nailed thru with iron!
Look and behold Him crucified there,
A Craftsman forsaken by man and Thee!
Sweat and thorns His white brow environ,
And above writ the Truth—just in mockery!
Broken His passion, finished His strife,
'Tis Christ stark-dead on the Tree of Life!

And so I pray
In the whirling fray
Of formless looms in endless array,
I work and I pray . . .
And God? . . . He just heaps Hell-fire on!

Reprinted from "The Vineyard," published in London, England.

FARMER JOHN READS BETWEEN THE LINES.

Truth

Truth lives: She throws her banner o'er the plains;
Tho crushed beneath the despot's iron heel,
Tho flayed with knout; banished to trackless wastes,
Chained, and in reeking dungeons forced to kneel
Before red-handed priests; today Truth lives;
Before her stretch the everlasting years
Of recompense for all her misery and tears.
Russia is free from czars; today Truth gives
To Russia all; and by her beacon light
All mankind shall be free.

J. C. C.

Technique and Revolution

By G. Cannata

CHAPTER I.
INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE.

THE smallest autonomous unit of capitalist production is the factory; by analyzing the problems of the organization of production in a factory even of limited proportions, we shall meet the distinguishing features and problems of industry as a whole. Industries vary greatly as to the degree of complication in their functioning, and some do not present technical problems other than the efficient disposition and choice of the personnel.

The significant and most interesting fruit of modern industry is the highly complicated and highly technical industries, such as the chemical and electrical. In our illustrative exposition we shall consider one of the factories in these industries.

The factory is a relatively complete productive unit; it may, or may not, be divided in departments, according to its size. The personnel of the factory is oligarchically organized, with the supreme power invested in the **general manager**, who derives his authority from, and is responsible to, the financial group which exercises the right of property over the factory. The functions of the **general manager** are those of supervising in a general way the functioning of the factory, and maintaining the necessary relations with the employers. He may have under him **department superintendents** who exercise a more localized and more expert supervision, and are responsible to him. These superintendents may again have **foremen** chosen from the most competent workers, and charged with a minute supervision of the factory operations and sometimes with the actual performance of the most delicate tasks.

Technical education among these directing elements of industry is highly desirable, but much of the managing and organizing ability is innate and is developed thru a thoro experience in a certain industry.

The above-mentioned elements with the factory operatives constitute the so-called "plant force." Besides this body of actual producers the factory is furnished with two other very important units: the factory office and the testing laboratory.

The functions of the office of a modern factory are essentially as follows:

I. To take and keep inventories and cost data on the factory production.

II. To arrange for the ordering of raw materials and the disposition of finished products.

III. To carry on all necessary correspondence.

The factory office must not be mistaken for the company offices, ordinarily situated in the large business centers and having functions in the purely financial and speculative spheres, which are not of direct interest to the problems of efficient production.

The scientific and testing laboratories carry out the following important work:

I. Testing of purchased material, to determine whether it conforms to the established standard.

II. Testing of the factory products for the same purpose.

III. Scientific research, with the object of bettering the product, economizing on the cost of production, or developing new processes.

The directing elements of the factory, together with the personnel of the factory offices and laboratories, rarely reach a total of ten per cent of the total number of employes. Still, the functions performed by this group of workers are of such importance, that without it, industry may lose much of its efficiency, and may eventually fall into complete disorganization.

Essentially the object of the managers and the technicians of industry is that of improving the processes of production in all respects; improving, by a suitable disposition of the working-force, by utilizing new mechanical appliances, by introducing changes in the technical details of manufacture, and always with the double object of reducing the cost of production and perfecting the quality of the product. With the scientific progress of industry thru the past sixty years, each industry has accumulated a literature of its own, which might be called the **culture** of that given industry, while the more precious details and methods intimately connected with the factory processes are woven into the daily practice of the plants, and carefully guarded as "company secrets."

The men who at present monopolize this **industrial culture** and also the mental aptitudes and intellectual ability and training necessary to the solution of the complicated problems of modern industry, are the industrial managers and technicians.

The point which the revolutionary proletariat must continuously keep in mind is that these units in the great army of production, despite their present political and class affiliations, are fundamentally the most legitimate citizens of industrial society, and must be utilized in the future as the most useful single constructive factor in the upbuilding of the industrial Communist order. Certainly, the useful work performed by these managers and technicians today is inevitably connected with the exercise of authority in a low and mean sense, and sometimes with the intensification of the exploitation of the manual workers. This fact may diminish this social group in the esteem of the class-conscious

workers, but these would indeed be short-sighted and foolish if they failed to realize that the factors of social enviroment and the evil impulse of the present system of society have a particularly easy prevalance upon a caste which is ordinarily so absorbed in its useful work that it has no time or inclination for political thinking. The techinician is essentially non-political; his work is often his religion. The single and incontrovertible fact that industrial technique aims at the perfection and improvement of industry, and is able to effect such improvement, is sufficient to give it an important place in the calculations of the revolutionary workers' movement, whose object is the realization of the new civilization of the producers.

The bourgeois sociologists have already classified the industrial technicians in the "middle class," together with the lawyers, ministers of God, prostituted journalists, dilettanti literateurs, "white collar" office workers, and other semi-parasitic elements of bourgeois life.

The sociology of the revolutionary workers judges the value of the various social groups with quite different measures; it weighs and classifies men according to the "socially useful labor" which they perform. Judged with this criterion, the industrial technicians must be considered as one of the most essential factors to the reconstruction of the productive world upon a Communist basis, which is now taking place.

CHAPTER II.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE.

In order to examine the question of industrial technique in relation to the Russian revolution, it is first necessary to describe briefly the peculiar economic status of the Muscovite empire. Amongst the great powers at the beginning of the world-war, Russia occupied a unique position because of the fact that she derived her economic importance from the vastness of her natural resources of raw materials and man-power. She was the great European source of wheat, lumber, mineral oils, flax, platinum and other products which appear on the international markets without undergoing the complicated processes of modern industry.

The agricultural pursuits were still carried on in primitive ways; the metallurgical and chemical industires were still in the embryonic stage of development. Russia depended for her machinery and many other factory products almost exclusively on Germany and other western nations. The number of graduates of the polytechnic Institutes in Russia was insufficient to fill the needs even of the few industries existing; many factories were owned by foreign capital and managed by imported technical staffs.

The scarcity of technicians in Russia has given to this social group a prestige and importance which it has never had in any other country. The Russian technician, because of his privileged position, felt completely separated from the "dark mass" of laborers and peasants; he was one of that small minority which could boast a university education; a man accustomed to exercise power; well-fixed financially, and associating with the middle and higher classes in a social way.

This situation of the Russian technician, it is evident, is the exact opposite of that of the technicians of America, Germany, England, France, Austria and Italy, where a century of well-diffused university education has created a numerous class of professionals and engineers, who, because of the excess supply, are reduced to economic conditions but slightly removed from those of the manual workers.

The Russian revolution, in its initial phases, assumed of necessity the character of a veritable civil war, during which the proletariat was pitted against all social classes with counter-revolutionary tendencies, amongst these the industrial technicians. The latter, feeling that their prestige was menaced by the fall of the bourgeoisie, revenged themselves by refusing their services to the industries, and by a systematic sabotage of the industrial system, which was already on the verge of collapse thru the deleterious effects of four years of war and revolutionary tumult.

It has been the fortune of the Russian people that in Nicolai Lenin they have had at the service of the revolution one of the most able and practical men that have ever emerged in a period of crisis. Lenin saw, among many other things, the vital importance of industrial production, and the inescapable fact that the problem of the management of industry required immediate and special measures. The Soviets established severe penalties for acts of sabotage, and at the same time offered special privileges and high salaries to those technicians who worked faithfully for the upbuilding of industry.

This is what Lenin himself has to say on the subject:

> "Without the direction of specialists in different branches of science, such as technical men, the transformation toward Socialism is impossible, for Socialism demands a conscious mass movement toward a comparatively higher productivity of labor on the basis which has been attained by capitalism. — — — — —
> — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
>
> Many saboteurs are coming into our service, but the best organizers and the biggest specialists can be used by the state either in the old bourgeois way (that is, for a higher salary) or in the new proletarian way (that is, by creating such an environment of uniform accounting and control which would inevitably and naturally attract and gain the submission of specialists)."—(N. Lenin: "The Soviets at Work," p. 14.)

The general supervision of all the Russian industries is in the hands of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and that of each single industry is confided to a committee of nine members, three representatives of the Supreme Council of Public Econ-

omy, three technicians from the industry and three manual workers from the respective industrial union.

This system evidently substitutes the capitalistic directing bodies with a committee composed of equal representations of the consumers and each of the two essential factors in production: the manual workers and the managers and technicians. (See "The Structure of Soviet Russia, Economical and Political," by W. R. Humphries.)

As far as the management of the single factories and departments is concerned, it seems that in the tumultuous period of civil war and internal disorganization, when industrial production acquires such a vital importance, the Russian revolutionists have found it advisable to continue the system of individual authority and responsibility in use under capitalism.

> "With respect to the second question on the significance of individual dictatorial power from the standpoint of the specific problems of the present period, we must say that every large machine industry—which is the material productive source and basis of Socialism—requires an absolute and strict unity of the will which directs the joint work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. . . . . And today the same revolution—and indeed in the interests of Socialism—demands the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those who direct the labor process."—(N. Lenin: "The Soviets at Work," ps. 35-36.)

Leonid Krassin, the famous Russian technician and revolutionist, found it necessary to revert to the application of individual control and responsibility in management in the railroad industry, in order to remedy a deplorable condition of disorganization and inefficiency.

The Russian workers have learned thru their revolutionary experience that the most vital problem of any revolution is that of continuing production; that the proletariat cannot afford to antagonize a social group whose services are indispensable to production, but must rather employ all means to conciliate the industrial technicians and win their precious experience and knowledge to the task of Communist reconstruction.

This conciliation has practically been effected in Russia already; most of the Russian technicians are today working honestly and faithfully for the upbuilding of Russian industry. If there still is disorganization and industrial anemia in Russia, this condition is almost exclusively due to the havoc wrought by the world-war, the destruction incidental to the revolutionary struggle against the subsidized counter-revolutionary invaders, and to the merciless blockade enforced by the Allied Powers.

Even today in martyred Russia there are being projected and executed great feats of engineering, which the corrupt czarist burocracy was unable or unwilling to carry out in normal times.

The experiences of the Russian workers during the revolutionary period teach us above all that many of their difficulties are due to particular conditions which have no parallel in the more modern Western nations; as Lenin says: "Russia is the country where Socialism will triumph with the greatest facility and be applied with the greatest difficulty."

The systems of industrial organization under the Supreme Council of Public Economy are simple and practicable, and worthy of study on the part of those working-class organizations which aspire to the assumption of leadership and responsibility for the proletarian regime during the revolutionary period.

The spokesmen of international capitalism, today so keenly intrested in pointing out the industrial "chaos" in Russia, will soon learn to their sorrow that Communism will triumph over capitalism thru superior productive efficiency, just as it is triumphing today in the hearts of the world's workers thru its moral superiority.

(Editor's Note.—These two chapters will be followed by two more: "The Workers' Organization and Industrial Technique," and "Industrial Technique Under Communism," which will appear in the March number.)

The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

CHAPTER III

The Shipowners' Organizations.

IN MY rough sketch of the rise of the marine transport industry I have pointed out the advantages that the different generations of shipowners have gained from technical discoveries. The "swallowing process" of capitalism has concentrated the power of control into ever fewer and fewer hands. The ehormous profits gained during the war period have been re-invested in all corners of Mother Earth. One-time independent concerns in far distant places have passed one by one into the control of gigantic combinations.

In order to show some of the ramifications of these great world organizations, I am going to use portions of a vast amount of carefully collected material made public by Fellow Worker J. T.Walton Newbold, M. A. Fellow Worker Newbold has rendered splendid service to the working class movement of the world by his compilations. He suggests the weapon of Industrial Unionism as the alternative to the present Industrial Autocracy. In the course of this booklet we will point out methods of bringing about a form of organization on the sea which will rid the workers for ever of both their slavery and their masters.

In a very striking pamphlet that ought to be read by all sea-faring men, Mr. Newbold presents facts compiled from various authoritative sources, showing the complicated and far-reaching connections of the marine transportation interests. In "Solidarity Among the Ship-Owners (Reformer's Bookstall, Limited, 126 Bothwell Street, Glascow. Price 2d.), he takes as examples the enormous holdings of several great British magnates.

Introduces a Representative Boss

Sir J. Reeves Ellerman is the king-pin in the Ellerman Lines. His papa was in the timber trade and made a fortune out of it. After the manner of capitalists, he handed it down to his son. His son set to work to own more timber. He succeeded. Sir J. Reeves Ellerman—they have dropped an "n" since leaving the land of their own origin—is now a big shareholder in the "Times" and the "Daily Mail," in addition to other large newspapers of varying political creeds. He is also connected with the Lion Brewery and the Deisel Engine Works at Whiteinch, Scotland. Under the control of the Ellerman Lines come the Papayanni Line, which trades to the ports of the Near East, as well as the Harrison Line and the Hall and City Line, which run to the Far East. Brother Ellerman (pardon the familiarity) is interested in Frederick Leyland & Co., Ltd., and Shaw, Saville & Albion Co., Ltd., which trade to New Zealand thru the Panama Canal. He has large interests in the Wilson Steamship Company and the North Eastern Shipping Company, which connects Holland with the Humber. Thru the North Eastern Railway Co., Ltd., he is associated with the Hull and Netherlands Steam Shipping Company Ltd., and the Pyman Steam Shipping Company, Ltd. Thru his connection with the Shaw, Saville & Albion Company, Ltd., he is represented in the International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey, U. S. A. This latter combination controls such large companies as Ismay, Imrie & Company, Ltd.; Oceanic Steam Shipping Company, Ltd.; and the International Navigation Co., Ltd.

The International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey is under the control of the American International Corporation. John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan & Company stand behind this corporation. Morgan and Ellerman are of different nationalities, religions and temperaments, but their interests are the same. Taking the case of Ellerman as an example, we find workers of diverse nationalities and colors toiling in all the corners of the earth to enrich the single man and the single corporation. The London newspaper reporter, the English brewer's drayman, the Scotch mechanic, the Greek docker, the Burmese stevedore, the Dutch tugboat engineer, the North Eastern railway shunter, the Panama locks-man, the New Zealand crane driver, and the "free-born" British seaman, all work in the interests of Brother Ellerman. And I guess you will agree with me, fellow workers of the sea, that it will take more than a national political party to put our future fellow worker, Sir J. Reeves Ellerman, into dungarees.

"Fellow Worker" Inchcape and His Little Set.

We will now introduce, thru Fellow Worker Newbold's kindness, Lord Inchcape. This distinguished ship-owner is also a journalist—of a kind. He writes letters to the "Times"on the tyranny of trade unionism. He is irritated with his seamen for working only two watches on deck. There were, apparently, in the good old days iron seamen who worked 24-hours shifts seven days a week. It was a pity that the thyroid gland of eternal youth was not discovered in the days of Lord Inchcape's forebears, or we would have an eternity of iron men creating profits for an eternity of Inchcapes. Lord Inchcape did very well out of the war. Fortune smiled on him; danger was far away; he was never wakened from his bunk by th lookout-man's cry of "Submarine!" Today he is president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, which is the parent body of thirty-four great shipping companies, with an almost unlimited capital at their command. Like the British and American railway companies, the British ship-owners realized long ago the stupidity of cutting each others' throats. They leave that busi-

ness to the working class and its trade union Jonahs.

Lord Inchcape is the head of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, Ltd. Thru this great concern, which touches every port of importance from London to Yokohama and Auckland, N. Z., he has a controlling influence over the famous British India Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., which with the P. & O. has recently absorbed the Hain Steamship Company and the Nourse Line. Associated with the P. & O. is the Blue Anchor Line, Ltd., the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., and other shipping concerns with interests in the South Pacific. Inchcape has his finger in the pie of the Eastern Telegraph Company, Ltd., and was appointed by the democratic British government to be chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Ltd., which has the honor of supplying oil (for cash on the spot) to the British navy, and any other navy that can pay an honest price. Quite a nice little military force was utilized to invade Persia in order to protect the pipe-lines from the Persians, who seem to have some notion that the oil belongs to themselves. Mr. Newbold tells us that this little business is a big weight on the entire life of the East. Lord Inchcape is only an ordinary man, sleeps in one bed at a time, eats much the same number of meals as a navvy—when the latter can get 'em—and is allowed only one wife by law; yet he appropriates the joint product of the labor of tens of thousands of workers in all the corners of the earth.

Lord Inchcape is on the board of directors of the Suez Canal Company, The Eastern Extension Australasian and China Telegraph Company, the Salonah Tea Company and the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders. There is a popular legend abroad that he obtained his original $100,000.00 by selling "Old Moore's Almanack" outside Lime Street Station, Liverpool. As this is not mentioned in "Who's Who," we must take it for granted that the legend has no foundation. "But," says Fellow Worker Newbold, "It will be realized what an important personage he is in the commercial world 'east of Suez.' He is, in fact, one of the mighty potentates of the Indian Empire, and one of the most influential persons in British finance and politics." When Lord Inchcape wants anything, Lloyd George immediately discovers that the thing wanted is a "national necessity."

Other Mighty Potentates and a Puny One.

Messrs. Inchcape and Ellerman—God bless their iron souls—are not the only pebbles on the beach by any means. There are others. In Britain we have, in addition, the Geddes, the Pirries, the Rhonddas, the Mond, the Mordens, the Furnesses, the Andersons, the Vickers, and the Beardmores. Their gripping fingers close on everything that is a need to the race. They reach overseas into the back waters of the Amazon and to the paddy patch of Borneo. All must pay tribute,—or be damned. Alongside of them we have good old, tame old, self-satisfied old trade unions, which, according to a recent speech of the Lord High Cardinal of the British National Union of Railwaymen at Prague, in Checho-Slovakia, are going to buy the business from these gentlemen with the workers' savings, which are placed in one little corner of one of the banks owned by the aforesaid gentlemen. After that wonderful statement, we feel that in the future we had better go to a Weddell Sea penguin for our economics. One of the future humorous sketches of labor-in-politics will surely be enacted around the business of buying out the bosses.

Across the Atlantic.

Fellow Worker Newbold presents a good deal of illuminating information in his little book on **"The Menace of American Capitalism"** (British Socialist Party, 21 a, Maiden Lane, London, W. C. Price 2d.), in which he analyzes the composition of the American International Corporation. As already stated, this corporation is linked up with both the Rockefeller and the Morgan interests. Not only do the strategic industries of the United States lie under their control, but they are also predominant in China, Mexico and South America. In certain mines in Chile they have their own government and police force, and their own laws.

In the chapter devoted to **"Wilson's 'Sea Shuttles,'"** Fellow Worker Newbold writes as follows:

> "Banking and exchange were the first considerations, and, after that, the provision of a native mercantile marine. This the ubiquitous American International Corporation set out to obtain. It began by taking over the Pacific Steam Navigation Company (a British concern), and then acquired the New York Ship-building Company. In April, 1917, the vice-president of the corporation stated in **International Marine Engineering:** 'We are generously equipped, ready to begin our struggle for our place upon the ocean . . . We have arrived at a crisis in our commercial history . . . If we grasp it, our trade will be enormously extended.'
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> "Meanwhile McAdoo had set up the United States Shipping Board and, in this very month, established the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, a federal concern in which the United States held a majority of the shares, and which, with a capital of $50,000,000, set out to purchase and to build ships to charter or to lease to U. S. citizens to operate in the foreign trade. This new corporation not only took over all the interned German and Austrian ships lying in the U. S. harbors, but by the autumn of 1917 the Shipping Board had requisitioned every ton of shipping under construction in American yards. The larger part of these ships were being constructed for English companies . . . This drastic action placed in the hands of the Shipping Board 403 ships of 2,500,000 tons. (**World's Work,** December,

1917.) About this time, the American International Corporation secured from J. P. Morgan and Company the control of the International Mercantile Company and others, of fleets of the White Star, Leyland, American and other lines, and a measure of control in the ship-building firm of Harland and Wolff, Ltd. Since that time, the Belfast firm has been making vast extensions on the Clyde, at Liverpool and elsewhere. It was this deal that caused the Federation of British Industries to send out a frantic 'S. O. S.' It is the $90,000,000 of ships belonging to these lines which the U. S. Government would not permit to be sold to a British syndicate. The Hamburg-America, Nord-Deutscher Lloyd and American 'pool' steamships, which, before the war, did a prodigious trade to the East, to Central and South America and to Europe, are now under the control of the American International Corporation, the protection of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation and the spreading folds of the Star Spangled Banner.

Cyclonic Ship-building.

"To beat the German submarines, the Emergency Fleet Corporation embarked upon a colossal ship-building effort. It made the American International Corporation its agent, and this body founded the American International Ship-building Corporation to look after its ship-building business. A 'world's record' yard was laid out at Hog Island on the Delaware, to construct fifty ships simultaneously and to build into them 7,500 tons of steel a day. (This means that a 4,000 ton ship could be built in 28 days, which indeed happened.—Author.) The Bethlehem Steel Corporation had been making enormous profits, and had, just outside Penn's city of Philadelphia, a cynical monument to Christian brotherhood busy on $250,000,000 of munition orders in the biggest ordnance factory on earth. Charles M. Schwab, its president, having under his control the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, the Ford River Yard in New England and other establishments, set out to help the Government transform the United States into 'one huge factory for the production of ships.' He, first of all, bought up several big steel works, put down immense new rolling mills for ship-plates, and proceeded to lay out new Bethlehem yards in California and in New England. (Here the reader will notice the coming of the "standard ship," which simplified and accelerated construction, and, as a result, displaced thousands of workers, that under the old system of construction would have had employment.—Author.) Then," continues Fellow Worker Newbold, "says 'Syren and Shipping' (Jan. 1, 1919), Schwab was 'persuaded, on the personal appeal of President Wilson; to become Director-General of Ship-building. By October, 1919, the United States Congress had voted $3,449,000,000 for ship-building purposes . . . They had more yards, more ways, and more workers than any other nation. There were 200 shipyards with 1,020 berths . . . The United States had become the leading ship-building nation in the world.' The head of the Shipping Board said officially, 'We are building a merchant fleet of 25,000,000 tons. Vast ships will run to every port. Once more we will have a real U. S. merchant fleet under way, backed by far-reaching policies for efficient operation."

And at the end of 1919, the United States already possessed 13,091,773 tons, compared with Great Britain's 18,607,875 tons. Owing to its losses in the submarine war, Britain's tonnage had shrunk from over twenty million tons at the commencement of the war to the above figure. During 1920 Great Britain is again holding her own in building, and then again many United States ships have been found to be defective. They are about as useful for commercial purposes as Leavenworth Penitentiary is for stopping the advance of Industrial Unionism.

Argentina and New Zealand.

The tentacles of the huge marine transport interests can be found everywhere. The great Mihanovich Company of the River Plate and the Rio Paraná, which monopolizes the vast trade of that district, has now passed into the hands of the octopus. They have the same grip on the Eastern Latin American Republics as the Canadian Pacific Railway has on Canada. When the Federación Obrera Marítima of Argentina (the local seamen's and firemen's union) struck against the Compañía Mihanovich in 1920, they found that they had also struck against the Argentine Government. It was big British and American interests that forced Brazil and Perú into the war, as a pretext for seizing the interned ships of the Central Powers. They also made a strong effort to do the same in Chile in order to get possession of the eighty odd steamers and windjammers which were interned in Punta Arenas, Valparaiso, Chañaral, Mejillones and other ports of the Republic.

The Union Steam Ship Company, Ltd., of New Zealand, is another huge over-seas combination directed from London. It was one of the links in the famous "All Red" route, connecting both Vancouver and San Francisco with Australasia. When, in 1913, the workers of these companies struck thruout New Zealand, the N. Z. Government, headed by the cow-punching Massey, filled the jails, cells and corridors, with striking seamen and laborers from the wharves. The U. S. S. has a stranglehold on the workers of New Zealand; the commands come from London.

In the Royal Belge Lloyd we see a vast concern owned by British and Belgian magnates. Some of

their ships fly the British flag and the others the Belgian ensign. Some sail from London and the remainder from Antwerp. In over-seas ports one can often see American-owned ships flying the Italian, Chinese, Cuban or Roumanian flags. The flag that flies on a ship today is no indication of either the nationality of her owners or her crew. The latter can only be classified as the "skinners" and the "skinned."

Towards the One Big Union of the Bosses.

In spite of internal squabbles, the tendency of all the great shipping interests is towards consolidation, or what Justus Ebert in one of his books calls integralization. In their efforts to bring this end about, the shipping magnates may hurl Great Britain and Japan into another war; but this time with the United States. Such an event would not prevent ultimate consolidation; more likely it would hasten it. War always strengthens the tentacles of financial and economic interests. Even war cannot really divide the closely interwoven connections of the International Marine Corporation of the United States and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom.

Paste This in Your Hat, Fellow Worker!

Let this fact burn itself into the brains of the marine workers of the world: **If the two countries do go to war, don't forget that the Inchcapes and the Ellermans and the Pirries would sooner marry their daughters to the sons of the Morgans and the Schwabs and the Spreckels than they would to the captains or the engineers or the quartermasters aboard their own ships.** They would sooner give their daughters away to the depraved scions of the ruling class of an enemy country than to clean, intelligent workers in their own country. Class is of more importance to them than nationality. That was why Hughes, the Australian renegade politician, sent the captain of the German raider, "Emden," back to this country as an honored guest, while his crew had to rot for nearly four years in the concentration camp at Holdsworthy, New South Wales.

The spectacular wrangles between these gentlemen is no concern of the men who go to sea on ships, nor of the men who load and unload these ships. When we are skinned, it is not for us to prefer one skinner for the other. It is our business to abolish the skinning business for all time. It is a world disease, and we have to find a world remedy for it. When we see the far-reaching connections of the world power of capitalism, we can well understand the incompetency of trade unionism, and of national labor and Socialist parties and politicians. Capitalism is an economic force, and has its being in the FIELD OF THINGS! It is a concrete, tangible power. This cannot be said for either trade unionism or labor politics. The political institutions of a country are determined by its economic basis. We cannot change the weather by tinkering with the barometer, nor can we re-shape a substance by fooling with its shadow.

We have given above a rough description of a certain section of capitalist organization. Daily it becomes more scientific, more powerful and better organized. If the labor movement wants to conquer the world, it can do it only by building something bigger, something better, something more scientific than what capitalism has built. That is the only way to power; hard road, long road as it is, IT IS THE ONLY ROAD. The workers have to get POWER, real, tangible, concrete, demonstrable, actual power. Such a thing does not come by nose-counting every three years, nor is it manufactured by hot-air opportunists, whose idea of a revolution is generally that of a coup d'état. In the thoro-going world of capitalism, success to our class can only come thru the building up and taking over of the control of industry, upon which the future of the workers depends almost entirely. "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."

In the London "Star" of November 4th, 1920, I note that Lord Pirrie, the British Shipping Controller, is making a visit to the United States. He is to interview the chiefs in the American shipping world. He is to discuss the fitting of all ships with oil-burners, and other matters of importance. When Schwab and Pirrie meet, they are not going to put on the gloves, or attempt to throw one another down the lift well. Their meeting is going to make a big difference to every man in the stokehole, the galley or on the docks, not only in Britain and the United States, but also in Hankow and on Christmas Island. They are making their One Big Union more workable, less reliant upon labor, more profitable. They are wiping out their own "demarcation" disputes, and leaving that line of difference to the "bush lawyer" trade union officials. Out of this they will obtain greater profit, which in its turn will mean correspondingly greater investments, greater power and wider influence.

As to the Future.

When I consider the mighty world-organization of Capital, I feel how totally inadequate my capabilities are to describe it as it deserves to be described. I see the world of Labor with its wrangling intellectuals, who wrap up a simple fact in a mass of verbiage and fine words, and then squabble over the wrapping; the "surface scratchers," who clamor for red navies while there are yellow marine unions in existence; the Socialist academicians, whose revolutionary studies have taught them to be so careful as to make their attiutde verge upon cowardice; the "dyed-in-the-woolers," whose lifelong object it is to smell out "fakirs;" the humbugging political parties, who wish to take upon themselves the arduous task of disciplining vast organic sections of workers; and, lastly, the "amalgamators," who believe that by dumping one trade union slum property on another they are creating an industrial mansion. I also see the petty squabbles of aspiring politicians, the lack of real industrial knowledge

and requirements, the parish-pump stunts of municipal milkers; I hear the mouthing of platitudes and see their utter uselessness.

The world movement of Labor has to come from the bottom up, from the intelligent and militant rank and file. It has to learn to perfect its power by using it. The philosophy of Industrial Unionism, as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, teaches the workers how to organize industrially; it teaches them how to become powerful enough to abolish capitalism, and efficient enough to carry on production for the benefit of all mankind. There is no national political party that can fully express the requirements of the shipping kings of modern times. While the government's authority does not extend beyond its three-mile limit, the authority of industrial despotism extends to all the ports of every country. Not even within its own frontier could a proletarian party fight such a huge organization. The Worker's Mastery of the Sea can only come thru revolutionary industrial unionism, organizing ALL the workers of the sea into ONE fighting force.

And above all, it is a work for the marine workers themselves, and least of all for politicians. But as politicians have had little to gain from the voteless pariah of the sea, they have worried little about him. We of the Old Guard of the Sea look forward with confidence to the time when the shipping magnates will be working on the ships they used to own, and the politicians will be employed in the sanitary department, for which their peculiar character of obtaining a present day living admirably fits them.

Long live the Marine Transport Workers of the World!

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOILERS OF THE SEA.

After discussing the "lords of hoarded gold" we will take a brief look at the obscure men who work on ships, the men who take their lifes in their hands, work hard and die early. Old merchant seamen are almost as scarce as ice water in hell. Marine workers are the most cosmopolitan body of men in the world. They are the hardest worked, the worst paid and the oftenest sold. I have traced some of the effects of new processes and machinery upon the lives of these men, and it is safe to say that great changes are taking place today in the mentality of of all the grades of men about ships under all flags.

The Seaman-Tradesman.

The old-time sailorman was a rough-hewn chunk of humanity, who feared little on this earth. He was hard and rough, with calloused hands from long hours of work in the rigging. He read little or nothing, but had a retentive memary for stories dealing with his calling. These stories were one of his relaxations in the long voyages, when it was his turn below. He usually went to sea when he was young, and in the majority of cases he stayed at sea until fate called him to his watery grave. For there was many a floating coffin went to sea in those days, whose loss sent a flinty smile across the owner's face. The seaman was a tradesman and he knew his business. His trade required nerve, coolness and calculation, for there is no room aboard a windjammer for weaklings. There was a time when Great Britain used to produce these sea-tradesmen, but that day is past; they have yielded the palm to Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic. A few come from Chile, but nine-tenths of them, even on the English sailers, are the blond-haired boys from the fjords.

But while the seaman was quite at home aboard ship, he lived a very rough life. The foc's'le was usually a grimy blackened hole, with a number of wooden bunks nailed along the sides, and a greasy table stuck in the middle. A varied collection of bugs and fleas generally shared the bunks with the humans, and seemed to thrive upon the atmosphere of salt junk and oilskins. There was seldom room for more than two of the men on the floor at once, the remainder having to wait out on deck or stay in their bunks until it was their turn to get out. On long voyages epidemics of yellow fever and scurvy were common, and the British government in the greatness of its solicitude for the men who built up their merchant marine, prescribed occasional doses of limejuice to counteract the effects of too much salthorse. To this day British ships are known as "limejuicers." There have been many mutinies on board ships, usually due to some injustice perpetrated upon the men. Captains had power of life and death in their hands, and they used it liberally. For standing on his feet like a man, many a good man and true has finished his last voyage with a rope around his neck. Others seized their ships, put up the "Jolly Roger" at the peak, and, armed to the teeth, engaged in the business of piracy.

A Few Words About Food.

The food issued in many cases was, and is, indescribable muck. The pork was rotten or diseased, the biscuits mouldy and weevily, and the peas as replete with rottenness as a politician. I remember a Danish barque in Buenos Aires having such a stench from her brine tubs that I asked the captain if he had a cargo of dead Chinamen aboard. He was annoyed, and afterwords, when, at the request of the crew, we were discussing this junk with him, he hit the saloon table a bang and roared, "I'm going to be captain of my own ship!" I replied, "If you leave that stuff on board a little longer, it will not only drive the crew ashore, but you too. So if you are going to continue to be skipper, you had better get a gas mask." I do not know what the skipper did with the sticking muck, but I do know that he didn't take it to sea with the ship. If he had, he would have had to bend his own sails and take the wheel as well.

Spiritual Food Cheaper than Material.

The food issued today on English ships is disgraceful, and infinitely worse than the food issued on Norwegian and Danish ships. The best ships for food, on the average, are American and Australian ships. The "blue-nose" ships that sail out of Nova Scotia are notoriously skimpy. The English scale was compiled by a collection of pot-paunched British politicians, and they laid it down as a minimum. The poverty-stricken British ship-owners saw to it that the minimum was also the maximum. However, with their typical kindness, they compensated the seamen for the lack of food by a liberal supply of spiritual consolation thru the agency of the Sailor's Homes and Missions to Seamen in different ports in the world. These missions usually have a weekly concert to which YOU, the sea-faring men, are cordially invited. Everything is quite democratic: the "officials" sit in front, the men with jobs in the middle, and in the rear come the boys who, for the time being, have not the honor of keeping a boss living in luxury. After playing the "Land of Soap and Glory" as an overture, a couple of young ladies sing a soul-stirring duet, which is vigorously applauded by the admiring apprentices in the fourth row. The missioner then sings "Sons of the Sea," the while he "keeps his eye peeled" to see whether you, the unemployed, are doing your share of the applauding. Then there is a goody-goody recitation or two, a word of warning from the pastor anent the booze, the "lady nicotine," and the scarlet women, followed by a tame cup of tea and an effort at cake-making, after which everyone stands on his hind legs and bawls "God Save the King." At Christmas there are free pipes, a tract, and another cup of tea. Roast duck is not plentiful, as it is surmised that it interferes with the proper functioning of stomachs which have been well displined to dry-hash and stockfish. Sorry to say, there is a type of man whom this spiritual hog-wash satisfies. In militant inventory we class him as a door-mat.

I have seen dry-hash that had to be held down by the full mess. I have sniffed stockfish that would wake the dead. I have seen salthorse scare the captain on the bridge and drive him into the chart-room. I have seen mean stewards who earned buckshee suits of clothes from the skipper by saving the stores and stinting the crew. I have seen margarine that would make you wilt when you looked at it. But not in the for'ard saloon, bless you! Any kind of god-damned rubbish is good enough for Jack the Sailor, while the ship-owners poodle has to be fed on dainty cuts and cream. But there's a time coming when the ship-owner will have to eat his poodle, or go hungry.

"Sailors' Homes."

Talking about Seamen's Homes, here is a brief description of the "hotel" at Rosaria, Argentina, taken from a copy of the "Marine Worker" of Buenos Aires, and written by Julius Muhlberg, late secretary of the Marine Transport Workers' Union of that city.

> "When I went up to take charge I thought it would be a good idea to see how matters stood in the Sailors' Home and to see how they stood towards the M. T. W. in that institution. So I went up there to spend the night. The room that I was shown into was small, dirty and strewn with scraps of paper. The wall was well illustrated with cow-webs, and the floor seemed as if it had not been washed for six months. There were no sheets, and the pillows were coverless. Under the spring mattress there were pieces of scrap iron to prevent the occupants from going thru on to the floor.
>
> "I was handed one blanket from the store. No more than one. On the other stretcher, on my return, I saw a naked negro sleeping . . . In a little while the candle flickered out, and I was left in darkness to spend a sleepless night. Next morning I was up at dawn. After a long wait I was given breakfast at 7:30. I found that I had eight companions, four white and four colored. The coffee was only half sweetened and the milk in it was sour. The bread was hard, dry and unpalatable."

In most of these institutions over-seas, the men are rooted out of bed early in the morning and the bed rooms locked until night time. The boarder must be in early, or be locked out for the night. They are conducted like jails, and are about as popular among seamen as the latter place. I have met large numbers of marine workers who would sooner spend their night in box-cars, railway-wagons, or on a park seat than in these dumps, supplied by the God-fearing ship-owners for their jobless and homeless slaves. Even the message of the Lord Jesus Christ fails to gild the pill. The food is shoddy and scanty, the cooking execrable, and the atmosphere depressing.

The Glorious Liberty of the Seaman.

Personal liberty among marine workers is almost non-existent. Scandinavian ships are the best in that regard towards their crews, and will usually pay off their men anywhere, altho not always. The Scandinavian counsuls do not generally place obstacles in the way. American seamen are supposed to wallow in freedom and luxuriate in liberty since the passing by Congress of the famous "Seamen's Bill," which was pioneered by Andrew Furuseth and Senator La Follette. It may confer a considerable measure of freedom on the seaman in his home ports, but when he gets to other parts of the world he has less freedom than a Greek. Whether this fact is due to the U. S. authorities, I cannot say. I have seen American skippers anxious to pay off some of their men, and the men anxious to leave, but the consul would invariably refuse their applications, altho there were plenty men ready to fill their

places. The seaman is still a chattel, and all the bills in all the parliaments will not affect his position until he has POWER on his side.

The Seaman and the Consul.

The British seamen, and the seamen on British ships, God help 'em, are even worse off. Under the exigencies of hunger they are compelled to sign articles sometimes running into years. They cannot leave a ship until their articles expire, without forfeiting their wages, and risking a long term of imprisonment. The British shipping interests have seen to it that colonial and foreign authorities will seize their deserters and jail them. The ordinary liberty that the average shore worker enjoys of leaving his job when he likes and getting paid up to the last cent does not apply to the seaman. For the least infringement of innumerable petty-fogging rules he can be penalized by the captain. His word counts for nothing before a court, or a consul. The marine worker sailing in the most powerful merchant navy in the world cannot claim the inviolability of his wages, like the worker ashore. The hand of the world and of authority is against him. Advantage is taken of his ignorance of languages in foreign ports, and he is arrested upon the flimsiest excuses. Isolated by his calling from the mass of his fellows, brutalized by rough work, he has never had an opportunity of thoroly organizing himself in order to win respect and justice.

With regard to consuls, I find from an extensive experience that they do not care a damn about their fellow countrymen who earn a living on ships. Judged from the seamen's standpoint, they are, in the mass, a collection of insufferable, supercilious nincompoops. A decent consul is as rare as an honest politician. To their narrow, middle class vision, it is the right thing to cringe before their economic superiors and to browbeat their supposed inferiors. And it is significant that the bigger and more powerful the country, the more contempt has the official for the workers whose misfortunes take them into his office. I have seen them in Buenos Aires deliberately keep a seaman on the beach by refusing to give him a passport, without which he could not get a ship. If you venture into their offices they bawl, "Take off yer hat," and from thence on you are doomed. They hate unions, and conspire against officials of the unions in foreign ports, and are not above making false accusations and complaints in order to cover their own malpractices. There are exceptions, it is true, but they are confined to the smaller nations.

Hindoos, Chinese and other colored workers are maltreated even worse than their white fellow workers. Vile cases have been hushed up by consular officials, One thing is undeniable, and that is that consular offices exist for the benefit of the commercial interest of the ruling classes of different countries, and NOT in order to see justice done to the working classes of those countries. And I know whereof I write.

In Over-seas Ports.

In a foreign port the marine worker has no friends. Thieving sharks lay in wait for him, his drinks are drugged, he is fair game for the local police, and is at the mercy of everyone else. The immigration officer takes a dislike to the shape of his head or the color of his hair, and he is refused a permit to go ashore. There was a time—before the war—when the merchant seaman, by the nature of his calling, could travel the world over without either passport or identification paper. Today, however, he is examined at every port, and even his dunnage is overhauled and searched by the zealous authorities. He is shipped on boats that carry wheat and no shifting boards, boats which turn turtle at sea, simply because the owners are too mean to pay the cost of the boards.

All these abuses are eloquent examples of what the seamen's unions have Not done, and of what the International Transport Workers Federation has NOT accomplished, nor made an attempt to accomplish. But before going into the various forms of the existing disorganization which prevails in each country, I will devote a chapter to the gentle art of "shanghai-ing," which I am able to discuss with some authority.

The Defense Situation

By John Martin

WHETHER the eventual results of our long legal conflicts, thruout the country, be acquittals or convictions, the heavy drain on energy and funds continues. But this expenditure of money and effort should not be begrudged when the liberties of our best and most militant spokesmen are in jeopardy. The continued freedom of a rebel worker, to organize and agitate, is of far more value than any amount of money. And, lately, we have succeeded in gaining, for some of our defendants, that liberty to continue on the fight, which they so much prize.

Good News from the Nortwest.

From the Northwest District Defense Committee, comes the cheering news that Fellow Worker Charles Craig, indicted at Spokane on a criminal syndicalism charge, has been released for "lack of evidence." Evidently the sleuths of the prosecution found some difficulty in framing the necessary amount of "evidence" needed to railroad this fellow worker to the penitentiary. Also the cases of Fellow Workers Charles Butt and James Stevens have been dismissed in Spokane. These two fellow workers have been tried four times on charges of criminal syndi-

calism. The legal capitalist watch-dog does not easily relax its grip, once its jaws have closed on an enemy of its masters' greed. The defense in the Northwest is also preparing to appeal against the Spokane injunction.

From Portland, Oregon, comes word that the local criminal syndicalism cases have all been quashed by the grand jury. There are, however, some other cases—some being deportation charges—pending in that city.

Wichita Appeal Soon.

The appeal in the Wichita case will come up before the Federal Court of Appeals, in St. Louis, during the month of January. To date, merely preliminary arguments have been entered. It now remains to be seen how the Court will deal with the matter.

In the meantime efforts are bing made to secure the release of the Wichita boys on bond. They have decided amongst themselves that bonds for the following fellow workers should be obtained first: M. Sapper, F. Grau, S. Forbes, M. Hecht, George Wenger, O. E. Gordon, P. Maihak and E. Henning. Bonds have already been secured for the first two; and arrangements are being made for the rest. The rapidity with which these fellow workers may be released depends upon the activity of local bail and bond committees and individuals, in raising the necessary loans.

Chicago Disorderly Cases Dismissed.

The men who were arrested in the Construction Workers' Hall in Chicago recently, and charged with "disorderly conduct," have all been set free thru the dismissal of their cases. This is just one more instance of the tyranny of irresponsible police officials who swoop down upon a crowd of peaceable workers, assembled in their own hall, and arrest them without any cause. Even the courts would not sustain this arbitrary and tsar-like procedure.

On January 11th, at Fargo, North Dakota, were fired the opening guns of the prosecution of Nolan, the gunman who shot and killed Fellow Worker Bagley. Our attorney, Harold Mulks, is assisting the prosecution.

In the case of Henry Tonn, who was recently convicted of criminal syndicalism in Linn County, Iowa, a protracted legal fight has been proceeding to force the county to pay the costs of the printing of the court transcripts of his trial. After carrying the matter to the Supreme Court of Iowa, the defendant won his point. The conviction of Fellow Worker Tonn is now being appealed; and his bond has been set at three thousand dollars. The fellow workers in Sioux City, Iowa, are trying to raise the necessary amount. Tonn was sentenced to an indeterminate term at the Iowa state penitentiary, not to exceed three years.

Convictions in Kansas.

Fellow Workers William Murphy, Thomas Payne and Robert Dilgar have been taken to the Kansas state penitentiary, at Lansing, to begin serving their sentence, after having been convicted, at Wakeeney, on a charge of "jail breaking." Payne and Dilgar received two years each. Murphy, who preferred a silent defense, and rejected the aid of our attorney, accompanied them to the penitentiary; but the length of his sentence has not yet beet ascertained. Caroline Lowe and Harold Mulks conducted the defense.

The case of Robert Barker, who is prosecuting the sheriff and the stockyards company of Wichita, is still dragging on. The defense has been pleading continually for delays.

Raids and Arrests in Kansas City.

On December 31st, Fellow Worker Felix Thornton was arrested on the streets of Kansas City, Mo., but later released on bond, charged with vagrancy. That same day, seven police officers came down upon the hall and arrested eleven members, namely: Henry Shaver, John Thorack, J. R. Burns, Felix Thornton, Will Bradley, Stanley Gedmin, Frank Ontrata, Pat O'Keefe, Warren Doile, Robert Barker and F. Zinkoff. During the raid, the representatives of "law and order" tore up and dismantled everything in the hall. Postage stamps, stationery and supplies were stolen. The general appearance of the place, according to the fellow worker who reported the incident to us, was as tho a man-sized cyclone had swept thru the hall. The eleven men were kangarood at the local court, and fined one hundred dollars each. They are now at the municipal farm. Their case is being appealed, and bonds are set at two hundred dollars each. To date, only one of the fellow workers, Robert Barker, has secured bail.

Solidarity Message from Deportees.

Some time ago, a large gathering of workers, at a mass meeting in the City Hall at Lawrence, Mass., sent a telegram of encouragement to the fellow workers at Deer Island. The imprisoned men have sent the following reply: "We, the class war prisoners, greet the workers of Lawrence and say that, in spite of all tortures and privations that are being inflicted on us by the exploiters, and the constant dragging of us from one prison to another, our indomitable revolutionary spirit remains unbroken and as strong as ever. The more they persecute us, the more inspired we become with our revolutionary ideals, and the more strength we acquire for our further struggle against the oppressors. In spite of the fact that we are behind prison bars, we are with you in the struggle for the liberation of the whole working class."

Aid from France and South Africa.

Further to emphasize the living fact of international working class solidarity, come two letters, one from France and one from South Africa, each accompanied by donations from workers in those lands who know the details of the persecution to which militant proletarians are subjected in the far-away United States.

One is a letter from some French Syndicalists of

"the Left," enclosing a donation list totaling 202 francs, or twelve dollars. The letter states, in its quaint English: "I most regret not being able to send you more and having collected only such a little sum, but you know certainly how little solidarity feelings are developed among the French working class, and on the other hand there is really an excuse for it just now, for a large number of workers are out of work since many weeks and the general situation is rather dark. Well, may this small contribution bring its little part of help to our imprisoned comrades to whom we send all our best wishes."

The other letter comes from Cape Town, South Africa, and is written by the secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa. The letter says:
"Dear Comrades:

"A few weeks ago I sent you a draft for £13-16-0 towards the Defense Fund of the I. W. W. I have great pleasure in enclosing a second draft for £8-10-0 collected by our branch in Johannesburg, and for which please send receipt, so that we may know it reached you safely.

"The members of the Communist Party of South Africa wish to express their pride in, and deep admiration for the members of the I. W. W., in my humble opinion one of the most militant and courageous bodies of class-war fighters in the world. Very often, steamers and sailing ships passing thru here have carried many Wobblies from the Pacific coast, etc., and always we have found them comrades to be proud of.

"With fraternal greetings from all local comrades, I remain,

"Yours for Communism,
"M. Lopes."

A Prisoner's Advice.

At the General Defense Committee's meeting held on January 8th a letter from Forrest Edwards, one of the Chicago indictment defendants, now in Leavenworth, was read and the Committee decided to embody the following quotation from Edwards' letter in the Defense Bulletin:

"I think that the next two months should be chiefly devoted to the task of convincing Mr. Harding that the people expect him to make the liberation of all political prisoners his first official act. Send so many letters and resolutions to Marion, Ohio, that he will despise the sight of the mail man. Send a copy of each resolution in duplicate to President Wilson and to the Speakers of the House and Senate. Hold thousands of public meetings and at every one, large or small, in the street or in the hall, pass a resolution and send it to Marion. He will get them now, whereas, if you wait until he has gone into seclusion in the White House, some secretary will file them all in the waste basket. Urge that personal letters be written and send an occasional telegram to break the monotony. Why not arrange a meeting at Marion and have Bill and others go there to speak, inviting Mr. and Mrs. Harding to attend the big amnesty meeting? Impress him with the idea that the people desire him to make the liberation of political prisoners his first official act."

Funds Are Needed.

Funds are urgently needed for defense; and our members are asked to arrange meetings, smokers, socials, etc., so as to replenish the treasury of the General Defense. There is much work to be done in regard to relief and to legal defense; and, without money, it cannot be attended to. Fellow workers, do your utmost to aid our imprisoned members. Do not let them think that your spirit of solidarity is evaporating. Action has always been the way of the I. W. W., rather than words; so let us not have to beg you, but ACT AND ACT NOW!

Make checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee, or to John Martin, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

How I Failed in My First Business Venture

By "Operator"

Having bought coal for many years, and always having been liberally supplied with clinkers in the coal, and also having had an eye open for business, it struck me as being possible to make some money in the coal business.

To that end I scouted around until I found a nice place where stones and lumps of clay could be had for the taking and proceeded to blacken them so as to be able to mix them with real coal. I bought a couple of tons of coal and did the mixing myself so as to not give the scheme away to any outsiders. This way of doing business was to be a secret with the firm. I had some business cards printed, distributed them, and awaited results. Customers appeared in due time and everything looked as rosy as could be. I already commenced to figure how much I would be able to make on every ton of "coal" sold and figured that if I could open up on a bigger scale my fortune would soon be made.

But, alas! I had not taken into consideration that I had entered on a field of business that already was well "regulated." One day there appeared on the scene a solemn-looking individual and summoned me to come down to a place in the loop, a place the address of which I was not to reveal. I asked what authority the solemn-looking individual had to summon me like that, and if he belonged to the police force. He said he did not, and added that if I cared any for my own interest I had better come.

Curious to know what it was all about, I went down to the place mentioned. There I found about

a dozen of men, if possible even more solemn-looking than the fellow who had summoned me. I was told to be seated, and so they began to ask me questions.

First one wanted to know if I didn't consider it a fraud on the public to deliberately mix stones with the coal that I sold. At first I pretended not to know whereof he spoke, but then he got mad and started to give me a lecture about decency and business honor. When he was thru talking I asked him if I didn't have the same right to charge for coal and deliver stone as the rest of the "coal" dealers. Then he got madder yet and nearly choked, so another of the wise men spoke up and said:

"All of us assembled here are coal dealers, and we want to tell you that your business has been watched from the start, and we think that you are going a little too strong. If people complain, and you can convince them that that is the way the coal comes from the mines, they will probably grumble a little, but they will pay. But if the coal customers get wise to your trick where you go nature one better, they will certainly not stand for that. They will demand an investigation, and if such a thing is once started, nobody knows where it will end. So as a matter of self-protection we intend to stop you from butting in on our business, and we assure you that we have the necessary power to put you out of business any time we want to. We know that you have sent out circulars thru the mail and we will have you arrested for defrauding thru the mail if you do not do as we tell you."

At first I tried to stand up for my rights as a free citizen living in a country where trade is "free," but I was soon convinced that my case was hopeless, and so I resigned to my fate. So ended my first business venture.

The Scenery Spoiler

By Card No. 247770

IT was a splendid highway, a masterpiece of engineering, as the newspapers of the state had pointed out when it was first opened for traffic. As the tourists rolled along in their luxurious limousines over the smooth-surfaced, new road which followed one of the big rivers down to the Pacific Coast, they waxed enthusiastic over the magnificent scenery. But the "bindlestiff" with the big roll of blankets on his back did not notice the grandeur of the snow-capped peaks in the distance, nor the ever-changing beauty of the valley below. Only one thing was on his mind, expressed by the three letters j-o-b. A job—if he could but find a job so he could again fill his stomach with food three times a day! Two years ago, when the road was being built, it had been easy to find a job, but now it was different.

Shifting his bundle to ease the weight he noticed the remnants of one of the construction camps a short distance from the road.

"Why," he exclaimed, "if that isn't the old camp where I used to work!"

A little farther away, where the road swung out around the face of a cliff, he stopped to look up at the towering granite wall.

"Seems it was only yesterday when I worked here," he mused. "Up there is that shelf where I pretty near went down when I slipped. I sure would have broke my neck if old Mike wouldn't have grabbed me in time." He could almost see cheerful old Mike turning the drill while the young Swede and himself were swinging the hammers and it seemed as if he could hear again the rhythmic sound of steel on steel. He turned and looked over the railing, set on top of a slanting high wall, which followed in a perfect curve the low side of the highway, the rocks being fitted without mortar. "Some job, it sure took some sweating to get some of them big stones into place, dangerous, too. I wonder what became of that Dago who got his leg smashed down there? I have never seen him since they pulled him out from under the rocks. Yes, some job, but it sure looks pretty now that it is all finished."

A big motor truck coming around the curve interrupted his thought, and he stepped over to the other side of the road to get out of the way. A horn sounded behind him and a big touring car coming from the other direction almost came to a stop before the man with the bundle of blankets had a chance to get out of the road. The occupants of the car looked curiously at the rough-looking "bindlestiff," and a cultivated feminine voice was heard from the tonneau of the automobile as it passed by: "Why do they allow those tramps on the highway? They and their horrid packs are spoiling the scenery."

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