

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

May Day - 1921



Awake, Oh Labor, To your
Mighty Power!

PRICE 25 CENTS

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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A TRIPLE ALLIANCE.



THE HOLY TRINITY OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

The Industrial Pioneer

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First of May, 1921

WE ARE living at a time pregnant with tremendous possibilities. On the First of May of the year nineteen hundred and twenty-one the workers of the whole world are face to face with a situation more critical than has prevailed at any time during the last one hundred years. Starvation, unemployment, chaos, death, rule triumphant in all the four corners of the earth, East and West, North and South.

Behold, oh children of men, the blessings of capitalism! In America, the "land of cream and honey," the land of "prosperity," the "haven of refuge" for the oppressed and persecuted of all countries, the gaunt figures and pinched faces of four million unemployed men and women looking for a job! Aye, four millions, at the most conservative estimate, and very likely twice that number, besides all those others who work but two or three days in a week, or but a week out of a month! Unemployed parades, in America! Suicides caused by lack of work, in America! Bread lines, hundreds of them, in America!

When we turn to other countries things are just as bad—or worse. In England, 2,000,000 officially known unemployed; in Germany, another 2,000,000; in France, even more. Wherever we may turn—in Italy, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, the Baltic and the Balkan States, South and Central America, unemployment, suffering, chaos, revolt, stare us in the face. On top of this, the brutal hand and the spiked heel of the White Terror in Hungary, Italy, Spain, Chile, Japan! In these countries thousands of our brother-workingmen are being murdered for daring to raise their voices in protest. Sweet, indeed, are the blessings of capitalism!

In this night of blackness and despair

the one bright beacon of light is Soviet Russia. There, also, is suffering, but it is suffering for the cause of humanity; there, also, death reaps a bountiful harvest, but it is for the purpose of upholding the rule of labor. But there is no unemployment in Soviet Russia, and its ship of state, instead of being headed for the shoals of economic dissolution, is headed full blast for the tranquil sea of Reconstruction.

The one thing that labor is learning in these its days of supreme trial is the need, the absolute necessity, of working class solidarity the world over. The workers of no country can stand alone and win their struggle against the capitalists. Their efforts must be co-ordinated on an international scale, the other alternative being defeat at the hands of the powers that be. And herein lies the great significance of May Day, the international labor day. Never has the edict of Karl Marx, "Workers of the world, unite," been weighted with as profound meaning as today.

For thousands of years has the man who works been trying to become his own master, and yet today he still finds himself in bondage. The mistake that he has been making down the ages has been that of always looking for a Messiah, of expecting somebody else to set him free, of ever depending upon a Moses to lead him out of the desert to the Promised Land. And, truly, thousands of Messiahs has he found, but always has he been led astray, into a wilderness more desolate, and always have the fruits of his struggles and his sufferings been reaped by someone else. The other significance of May Day is that it makes the workers realize with a force multiplied a hundredfold the truth of the old saying that "he who would be free himself must break his chains."

Supreme Court Denies Petition of I. W. W. Prisoners

THE PETITION for a writ of certiorari of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World sentenced in 1918 in the City of Chicago was on April 11th denied by the United State Supreme Court. This means that the case will not be reviewed and that the sentences will be upheld.

Of the ninety-four men who were sent to Leavenworth penitentiary by Judge Landis twelve received one-year sentences, at the expiration of which time they regained their freedom; the sentences of the others varied from five to twenty years. Of these latter forty-six have been released on bond, who will now have to go back to Leavenworth, unless pardoned by President Harding.

The case of the thirty-eight I. W. W.'s convicted in Sacramento also was brought up to the U. S. Supreme Court, and the petition for a review was denied some three weeks prior to the action taken on the Chicago case. This leaves only the fate of the twenty-six men convicted in Wichita in the balance. Their case is at present pending in the Appellate Court. Judging by the actions taken in the other two cases, not much hope can be entertained for them.

April 13th was Amnesty Day. Our hope was that President Harding could be induced to start his term of office by releasing all political prisoners. More than two hundred representatives of organized labor and political and civic organizations presented to Congress and to President Harding a petition signed by citizens of forty-one states, asking amnesty for persons convicted under the war-time espionage act. They were told by the President that he did not contemplate their release until a state of peace with Germany would be officially declared.

How soon a state of peace will be declared is problematic. On the same day that the amnesty petition was presented Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania introduced into the Senate his resolution

declaring an end to the state of war that has existed for four years between the United States and Germany. Our hope is that this resolution may be passed in the very near future and that the President's subsequent action may result in the release of all class war prisoners.

And as for us, fellow workers, who are still outside the prison gates, let us do everything in our power to hasten the day

This Man
got 20 years
for condemning
slavery



when it will no longer be possible to put men in prison for twenty years whose only crime has been that they have tried to educate and organize the working class in order that it may free itself from wage slavery. Stop to realize what it means for men to be torn away from their wives and children, from their work, from everything that is dear and near to them, and to be thrown into a loathsome prison, in the shadow of brutality and despair, to rot there for endless years. Fellow workers, let us voice a protest against the continued imprisonment of all class war prisoners loud enough to be heard from one end of the country to the other. And, as the final and most effective means of obtaining justice, let us go to work with a firmer determination than ever before to build up the One Big Union of all the workers—The Industrial Workers of the World.

Workers of America, may you soon come to understand that "the concern of each is the concern of all" and that "an injury to one is an injury to all!"

The Son of Man

(Dedicated to All Class-War Prisoners Confined in American Jails and Penitentiaries)

NOW, after these weeks have passed, it is the memory of your patience,
Which stabs with the pain of crucifying nails!
How still you were, watching the wheels grind your clean lives to
dust!

How still and patient, there in that cold, white-coiled room, day after droning
day!

"An injury to one, an injury to all," you say, who are too strong and big
to feel the pain I now feel for you.

You it was who showed me plain, the bright, brave face of Courage.

Little brothers, strong and young, or old and bent and work-worn,
The fire of your young eyes lit my dull heart with hope for all the race
of men.

Glittering knights, once on a time, threw gauntlet down
For any cause . . . a woman, or a worthless king or a dead sepulchre.
And their deeds blaze immortally thru song and story;
And you, with bright laughter, throw to the wolves
The slender, running chance Life gave you . . .
Even the all of comfort, shelter, love,
And single-hearted make your tourney,
Under the shabbiness and grime wearing the pure gold armor,
Lance invincible, of Principle—undying faith in Right,
Missing that flanking knowledge to sustain, that your dear Cause,
The Son of Man, the age-old sacrifice, is for the Son of Man today,
And that you are, yourselves, the Son of Man, rejected and despised.

The prince of this world came, and finding nothing of himself in you,
Took you to his own grinding in the mill that makes lives dust.
"The years shall pass," his high-priests say,
"The long, devouring years shall pass, before the bars shall be undone,
Which shut you from the right to your own life!"
But how can bars shut from the light your swift, clear thought,
Your gleaming spirit? I watched it blaze, and poured out tenderest love
To that which is so strong 't needs no love.
No gift that I could give but very poor in the bright presence of the selfless-
ness you gave . . .

And that, not made with hands nor seen with eyes, shall never pass
Beneath the wheels of what the Prince of this world calls his justice.
Never shall it be dust, nor like the dust, more than is starlight.

Listen, my little brothers, my strong and mighty brothers!
Last night I watched a star set, a white point of light,
It dropped with silver silence into the upheld arms, the boughs of a black
cypress.

Down it slipped to where I could not see
Into the black net of the cypress tree, but was its light put out?
I heard your marching feet go beating from the echoing room,
The rhythm of your ringing battle hymn, strong, high and clear,
Then dying muffled, down the tunneled way that led to the steel cage.
I saw the fine-frocked servant of the Prince rub his smooth hands and laugh.
O, servant of the Prince, the light of stars is not to soon put out!
That was not all, there in the hollow room!
The trailing battle hymn, muffled at last by walls,
Kindled more stars in souls who heard it pass,
More fire in those, who in the name of Brotherhood, will hold it high,
And be as runners, messengers, for you.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Listen, little brothers . . . strong, great-hearted brothers, for today
I stood upon the edge of a wide pool, left by the storm of yesterday,
And suddenly I knew it was a mirror magical.
It held a universe inverted and bewitched.
The gray and knotted roots of the pines were at its very surface,
While their lifted tops pierced downward to its dregs.
Even the shell-pink clouds flung in the wide glow of the afternoon,
Seemed to be lying down so deep, they could have touched its slime.
Such is the strange world of inverted things,
The values of that realm ruled by the princes of pride you came to over-
throw.
And when we watched you, singing, march away, down the black hole be-
neath
Were we not looking into a grotesquing pool that registers delusion?
Were your firm steps not in reality, hitting a high, white trail,
An upland way, winding invisibly up spiritual heights that end among the
stars!
This was the truth of it, and yet at that dark hour I did look down,
And turned into the gathering dark upon the street,
Too numb for tears, there in the beating rain.
A sudden, wonder scent blew from a florist's stall.
O, dearest God, how strange there were still violets upon the earth!

If those who owe me love and fine allegiance should not pay
I could but bruise a bit of wild herb in my hand, growing beside the path,
Here in the meadows, breathe it in deep, and heal the hurt,
Or push it so far back that it could come no more into remembrance.
But to you, who are betrayed and robbed by those who take
What they can never give the world, or you!
How should I offer comfort! I to whom this hour
The mountain lilac signals with its jewels, sapphire and lapis lazuli . . .
But tenderer bloom and lovelier than jewels—
Why should I ever think of sorrow personal,
Who now can hear the fluting meadow lark across the bright, wet fields!
Where you are near there is not one sweet sight or scent or sound.
Only grim steel, only gray shadows, harsh and most desolate.
You are in there for me. I in whose soul your stars are kindled,
Here in the fields for you! Could you but know their loveliness!
There is a glowing poppy in my hand, its petals spun with sheen so exquisite,
It seems I must behold it in my dream. Yet it is here . . . I touch it,
Upon the same strange garth which holds you in the pit!
This morning, in a warm bend of the beach that curved to hold me,
Like a sheltering arm, I felt the velvet sand slip thru my hand, remember-
ing you,
And watched the little surf beat out its song.
You cannot have them now, but they will stay unchanging.
They will wait like Love, till you are free.

Last night I saw a dense black forest hill
All suddenly aglow with fire!
A golden veil enwrapped it!
A little while, and then, out of the midnight dark
A planet flowered, a yellow shield encircled,
Its light blazoned with strange beauty, and the thicket-wilderness was lit
with sudden, wondrous fire.
So from the blackness of your midnight
Oppression of this night of ours
Shall your Truth blaze its fair, transcendent way.
Comrades, the light is on you!
Your feet have reached the Mountains of High Purpose.
We watchers, waiting in the valley, lacking your valor,
Sight the dawn upon your faces, ere it breaks upon the world!

Carmel-by-the-Sea, February, 1920.

The Truce in England

By Francis Davis

WHILE the cancellation of the British general strike seems a temporary victory for the Government, it actually amounts to nothing more than a truce. The next test of strength between the Government and the workers probably will have a much different result.

For eight years the miners, railway men and transport workers have been striking for wage reforms and for eight years they have been accepting defeats at the hands of astute British politicians. In 1912 the miners struck for a minimum wage and, after a struggle, won it—in principle. Actually, however, they went back to work at wages which were reduced to such a minimum that no man could live upon them decently. During the war the workers were tricked by the politicians in Parliament out of their traditional trade union rights and lost even the right to strike. In 1919 the miners struck for control of the industries and received—the report of the Sankey Commission, and the polite shelving of the entire question. In 1920 the miners and railway men struck again for improved wages and again were tricked out of victory.

In the present strike the miners have demanded that wages be maintained at a level of subsistence, contending that the mine owners' program would reduce wages to a level fifty per cent below the cost of living. To assure themselves of a decent wage they have asked a pooling of profits and a control of the industry similar to war time control. They are going back to work, having lost their demand for control and at wages which, even if fixed on a national scale, will represent a material reduction. This defeat is almost the last straw and the workers of Britain have lost patience with political handshaking. When they strike again they will be prepared to go thru to the end and take control of the industries finally.

There was nothing deliberately revolu-

tionary about the present strike, even tho the demand for control of the mines sounded like a revolution. J. H. Thomas, head of the railway unions, went so far as to say that he deplored revolutions and that he would not have responded to the call of the miners, except that he felt honor bound to support the Triple Alliance decision, having pledged his unions to do so in all emergencies.

The strike might easily have led to a revolution, however, for there is thruout England the growing conviction among the members of the Triple Alliance that nothing short of a complete taking over of the industry and the State for themselves will obtain for them comfortable living conditions. This sentiment would undoubtedly have crystallized had Lloyd George called his ninety day middle class volunteers into action. A single clash between Government forces and the workers would undoubtedly have precipitated a nation-wide civil war and a revolution-by-accident would have been the inevitable result. It was only the wit of Lloyd George, who foresaw such a contingency, that turned the rising tide of sentiment and saved his Government from destruction.

Lloyd George has long been conscious of the growing revolutionary desire of British labor. His statement at the conference table that he felt that in talking to the union leaders he was not speaking to the rank and file, nor obtaining the answers of the rank and file, indicates clearly how delicate he felt the present situation to be. Time and time again thruout the controversy he has charged that he saw behind the strike a deliberate attempt to take over the Government or to precipitate a revolution and take over both the Government and the industries.

The same is true of the conservative union leader. J. H. Thomas, the leader of the railway unions, admitted that he felt that if he did not join the other elements

in the Triple Alliance, the rank and file already impatient with delays, might kick over the traces and strike in spite of the leaders for revolutionary purposes.

But for this growing impatience of the rank and file with anything short of revolutionary action the situation might have taken a middle-of-the-road, political turn and resulted in the discrediting of the Lloyd George Government and the seating of a "Scheidemann" Labor Government. The labor politicians, exploiting the workers' solidarity and their faith in evolutionary tactics, have gained power and should Lloyd George go to the country on a general election, particularly on an issue involving labor—the result might be an overwhelming victory for the labor politicians. For two years the Labor Party has been winning most of the national by-elections and is said to lack only ten percent enough votes to put over a successful election on any issue. Lloyd George, conscious of his loss of coalition support and facing the growing storm of disapproval by labor, declared that this strike was only a political plot on the part of Henderson of the British Labor movement to obtain control. While that statement may have represented the wishes of the men to whom he was speaking over the council table, it was evident that the rank and file were interested in something more than the control of political jobs. Among the rank and file there is a growing conviction that labor politicians are no better than other politicians and that with Henderson and Clynes in control of Parliament, labor will have to begin the work of taking the control away from them all over again. The rank and file of British labor wants the mines and the railways and the ships as well as the State and will not be satisfied with anything short of that result. Lloyd George understood this and understood that he was not only flirting with a political coup on the part of labor, but that if he mobilized the troops and began hostilities he was flirting with a labor dictatorship.

For years the British workers have been building up their economic power, consolidating and strengthening it in every quar-

ter by a larger and larger application of the program of industrial unionism. In 1915 Robert Smillie brought the three great powers in the movement, the railway men, the miners and the transport workers, together in a single organization—the Triple Alliance. This great organization represents a total membership of nearly 3,000,000 men and has affiliated with it the Federation of General Workers, numbering 1,500,000 men. The effect of this union has been the drawing together and emboldening the other trades. In the present strike support was voted from every side and had the general strike been effected there is little doubt that the entire Trades Union Congress, the British organization similar to the A. F. of L., would have gone out at once in support of the Triple Alliance. Whatever the result of the present strike, therefore, it will have been made clear to the workers that they are possessed in such an emergency of tremendous power.

At the same time, the Government has learned its own power. Up to the present it has never had a test of its strength in a social war with its own people. It has fought furious wars in the Cape and in Egypt, India, Mesopotamia and Ireland and in these wars it could always exploit religion and nationalism or some other tradition; it has never had to turn machine guns and cannon on its own island workers. Because it has never had to come to blows at home, other workers have sometimes wondered whether the British workers were not too patriotic to assert themselves on behalf of their own social rights. The statements of leaders such as Henderson have led some Americans to believe that the British workers are imperialistic and are laboring in league with the British politicians to exploit the workers of the "Possessions."

Even if the British workers were so provincial as to be concerned about no movement but their own, they would not be imperialistic. It is said that British workers are afraid of the disintegration of the Empire, because the fall of the Empire would mean the discontinuance of colonial trade and the emigration of fifteen million work-

ers from the British Isles, but it is not capitalism nor imperialism which makes England the great industrial center of the world; it is the strategic position of the British Islands as its center of production and distribution which has concentrated so many great industries there. If anything, the capitalist regime has tended toward scattering industrial activities, finding it easier to exploit African, Indian and Chinese labor, than to pay the union wages at home. If the British workers wish to remain in England and to maintain England as the industrial center which it has become, their hope lies not in the profit system, but in a system of production which seeks to place industry nearest the source of raw materials and nearest the markets and which by a delicately adjusted system of balances seeks to eliminate every element of waste, giving all workers the consumption goods they need. British workers who fear emigration have much more to hope from the social revolution than from the profits system. From the social revolution they have everything to gain and nothing to lose but their profit-taking nobility and gentry.

But the British workers have given the lie to the charge of imperialism. It was the British workers who forced the abandonment of the Churchill dream of conquest of Russia from Archangel, it was the British workers who stopped the sending of ammunition to Poland and blocked the destruction of their Russian brothers from that quarter, it was again the British who thru the Council of Action brought the Irish question to the fore and forced the Govern-

ment to declare its position before the world. The British workers are rapidly growing conscious of their power thru the use of it and if in the present instance they are canny enough not to gamble away their power because they are not yet strong enough and because the Government is yet too strong, they are to be encouraged and urged to continue the successful work of bringing their industrial organization to completion.

When the next test of power comes in England, and it is quite certain to come soon, the Government will find itself with a fully equipped force of middle class volunteers and a paid force of thugs and gunmen, such as are being employed in Ireland, opposing an array of several million workers ready with commissaries and funds and bound together with an unshakable solidarity. In the tilt which follows it will not be likely that political knavery will count in the settlement, for British labor (in the present strike) has learned that its future lies not with the politicians, but only with their own industrial solidarity and that their success depends not on the Hendersons, Clynes and Thomases, but will be achieved only in spite of them.

Today British labor holds the destiny of the world of the workers in its hands. Had a successful revolution been effected in England in this strike, the revolution would shortly have become a world-wide fact. If this is still the case. when the next test of power comes between the British workers and their masters, the wager is safe that British trade unions will not fail their fellow workers in other lines.



All Aboard for "Normalcy"!

IT'S A LONG, long way to "normalcy," but President Harding's heart's right there.

Let any one who doubts the assertion read the text of the president's address to the special session of Congress on April 12th. It is a great deal to ask of any one, to plod thru the verbal slush of a presidential message, but the task will be found to be not without its humorous compensations.

The nation's present chief executive appears to be the victim of a mild form of monomania, characterized by the presence of what psychiatrists know as a "fixed idea." President Harding's fixed idea was first given expression when he startled an unsuspecting world with the long-slumbering word, "normalcy."

Just what was meant by the word, no one appeared to know exactly, Mr. Harding least of all. Nevertheless, as a piece of campaign verbiage, it was very impressive, quite as impressive, indeed, as the high-sounding catch-words and ponderously sonorous phrases foisted upon us by his predecessor, the now disillustrious Woodrow.

On one point, however, we were wrong. The word did have at least some sort of meaning for its foster father. What that meaning was—and is—becomes clear on a reading of the president's speech.

The president begins by telling the Congress that it has been called in special session to give its attention "to national problems far too pressing to be long neglected." "We must invite," he says, "every factor in our citizenship to join in the effort to find our normal, onward way again." The first thing to do it to put our "own house in order." To this end, we must all "join in the give and take which is the essential to firm re-establishment.

The president then goes on to unburden himself of some 7,000 words. In all that number, however, the words "labor" and "unemployment" do not occur once. These two "national problems" are not given even passing mention.

One would think that, with something like 4,000,000 people out of work in the United States at the present time, with actual hunger in a million homes and the gaunt spectre of starvation staring hundreds of thousands of others in the face, with bread lines and soup kitchens in all our large centers of population, with wages constantly on the downward trend and prices falling slowly, if at all, one would think that with all this Congress would find itself provided with just about as "pressing" a problem as any with which it has to deal.

President Harding, however, apparently does not take this view. Either the situation does not exist for him, either he is the Mary Baker G. Eddy of politics, determined to blink the facts at any cost, or, what seems more likely, his silence is a matter of policy.

It may be that he regards labor and the unem-

ployment situation as a little too ticklish a subject, one the least said of which the better. In this connection, the question once put to President Taft may be recalled. Mr. Taft was asked what a working man out of a job with a starving wife and family was to do. His reply, long famous, was "God knows." Maybe, God knows what's to be done to solve the unemployment problem. President Harding evidently does not.

By a process of elimination, then, we arrive gradually at the presidential conception of "normalcy." Whatever "setting our own house in order" and indulging in the "give and take which is essential to firm re-establishment" may mean, it quite clearly has nothing to do with the working class or its needs. True, there are some of us who believe that the workers of a nation are the nation, but we are an insignificant minority of "Reds" and "Bolsheviks."

What, then, does "normalcy" connote to President Harding?

He begins by insisting that "we strike resolutely at expenditures" in order to lift "the staggering load of war debt." The latter, he thinks, can best be taken care of by "orderly funding and gradual liquidation." He has the grace to add, naively, that all this "is far more easily said than done."

"Our current expenditures are running at the rate of \$5,000,000,000 a year, and the burden is unbearable."

What are the remedies proposed? "Rigid resistance in appropriation" and "the utmost economy in administration."

After dropping us the comforting bit of news that taxes for the next two years probably cannot be allowed to fall below the four-billion mark, the president attempts to cheer us up by hinting that he thinks the war tax on ice cream sodas, movie shows, etc., ought to be repealed.

All this while, however, he is fairly aching to get at the gist of his "message," the old G. O. P. standby, the protective tariff. What would a Republican platform or presidential message be without the faithful old P. T.? Mr. Harding's prologue, it is plain to be seen, bores him. He gets it out of the way with as few words as possible. But when he gets to the tariff—Ah! there he is at home!

The tariff leads naturally to the one subject dear to the presidential heart, the interests of "business." Mr. Harding does not say "big business"—that is a phrase which has been rendered unsavory by the usage of the muckraker—but there is no doubt that it is of the interests of big business that he is thinking. We have heard of the "business man's administration" which we are going to have, with a "business man's cabinet," etc. It is foreshadowed here. Labor and unemployment do not exist, but business—the country, it seems, is run in the interests of business.

"I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business as well as more business in government. It is well to have it understood that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate and righteous way unimpeded, and it ought to have no call to meet government competition."

This, then, is "normalcy."

It certainly ought to warm the heart of the big business pirate, as well as that of the middle-class commuter. The latter hopes to share in the spoils, and both the big and small fry are agreed on one point, that "what this country needs" is a "business administration." Mr. Harding, reckoning, doubtless, that he was elected by this element, does not propose to leave them in any manner of doubt as to where he stands. His words are, in a president, unusually plain and outspoken.

Then, with the presidential habit of facing both ways at once, he turns around and, in the next breath, says what he quite evidently does not mean to be taken with any degree of seriousness. He throws a tid-bit to the "reformers" by promising that "profiteers" shall be, as the newspapers say, "rigidly probed."

Reduction of railway rates comes next. This will probably be popular with big business, but not with the railway workers, when the bosses, in their turn, begin slashing wages.

The development of public highways thru Federal aid, the extension of the U. S. merchant marine, the joining of the United States in an international radio and cable system, and provisions for the development of aviation bureaus are the recommendations next in order.

Then comes the inevitable bit of flag waving in a manifestation of "concern" for the welfare of our crippled soldiers. No presidential utterance would be complete without some such side-play. It appears to be rather hard for Mr. Harding to be completed without some such side-play. too hard-headed, too cold-blooded. He lacks the unflinching "gift of gab" of his predecessor, Woodrow. One can imagine him, however, taking a larger bite off the presidential cut-plug and, after a deliberate aim at the White House cuspidor, settling himself to the task of turning out half a thousand or so words on the subject.

Next comes the astounding discovery that "new social forces" are at work in the United States.

"Events of recent years have profoundly impressed thinking people with the need to recognize new social forces and evolutions, to equip our citizens for dealing rightly with problems of life and social order."

What's to be done about the matter? President Harding thinks a department of public welfare might be founded, "which could be made to crystallize much of the rather vague generalization about social justice into solid accomplishment." "Education, public health, sanitation, conditions of work-

ers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects," including the maternity bill, might, Mr. Harding thinks, fall within the scope of this department.

(May we suggest, parenthetically, that, in our humble opinion, the shortest and simplest route to "social justice" would be the expropriation of the expropriators by the expropriated—but that's too deep for Warren.)

Touching next on the race question, the president opines that "Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy." But his "one proposal" is "the creation of a commission"—and that's about as far as the race question ever gets in a political platform or a presidential message.

Coming to the question of disarmament, the president begins to warm up a little once more.

"The government is in accord with the wish to eliminate the burden of heavy armament. The United States ever will be in harmony with such a movement toward the attainment of the higher aims of peace."

Oh, yes, of course! But—

"But we shall not entirely discard our agencies for defense until there is removed the need to defend. We are willing to co-operate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone."

Really, doesn't the world move, after all? The foregoing words might have been uttered in 1891 or 1871. The great war, with its "staggering load of war debt"—to say nothing of that other debt, the cost in human life, which is glossed over—the war has had no lessons for the master class, the class that made the war, the class that makes all wars. That same class would rush into another world war tomorrow for the sake of obtaining or preserving control of a route to Bagdad.

From disarmament we come to the questions of peace, the treaty, and the League of Nations. There is little in all this—even less than in preceding passages—to interest one whose thinking is done in terms of the class struggle and the coming social revolution. Indeed, there would be little sense in a worker's reading the document at all, if it were not that thereby his conviction of the futility of political action—if by "political" action we mean reliance on government and parliamentary forms—may be deepened.

Mr. Harding wants peace, but he isn't sure just when it may come. He wants a league—not the one that England and France want, but his own G. O. P. brand. What have we workers to do with this? Let us forget government for the present, fellow workers. Let us organize for the capture and subsequent control of industry. And when we have taken over industry, as we shall do, we will find that we, the workers, are the government.

S. P.

George Hardy on the I. W. W.

(The following letter was written by George Hardy and was sent by him from Russia to the Danish Syndicalist paper "Solidaritët," published in Copenhagen.)

FELLOW WORKERS:

AFTER having been in Europe for some months, and after having paid a little visit to Russia, I find that a great deal of misunderstanding prevails in regard to the position of the I. W. W. I have reached this conclusion after speaking to many Scandinavians, among them two Danish revolutionary fellow workers, with whom I had a long conversation in Moscow. These Danish fellow workers were very anxious to know our point of view; but when I emphasized that the I. W. W. is mainly a Marxian organization, they called my attention to the fact that the Swedish syndicalist papers, and even the yellow Branting paper, "Social-Demokraten," maintain that the Swedish syndicalists' position is the same as that of the I. W. W. Of course, the "Social-Demokraten" did not have as its object to be of assistance to the Swedish syndicalists, but it quoted Albert Jensen, who had translated an article from the "One Big Union Monthly," written by John Sandgren, who has now been removed as editor of the above mentioned magazine on account of his anti-bolshevik articles and because he took a similar position to the one taken by Albert Jensen in Sweden.

The I. W. W. is not the same as the European syndicalist organizations. It is a highly centralized, industrial organization. The decentralizers met with a decisive defeat at our convention in 1913. Our speakers have lectured on economic subjects and our locals have conducted study classes in which Marx's "Capital" has been used as a text book. "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy," by Joseph Dietzgen, is the basis for the train of ideas which we sought to convey to our classes, and the materialistic conception of history can be said to be our historical point of view. This gives us an understanding quite different from the humanitarian sentimentality prevailing in the minds of many of those who do not understand the materialistic conception of history; and because they do not understand this scientific and much-needed doctrine, they become opponents of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—yes, even friendly toward the Entente, as was Albert Jensen during the war. On the other hand, the I. W. W. was absolutely against the war, altho without being guilty of "conspiracy" against the United States government, of which we were accused during the war. John Sandgren's removal by our General Executive Board shows our attitude toward Soviet Russia.

There is, however, an individualistic spirit within the I. W. W., but that is on account of the kind of workers of which our organization mainly consists:

lumber workers, agricultural workers, miners and seamen, in America all of whom are, more or less, migratory workers. This gives them an independent spirit and makes them the most revolutionary workers in America. They are not afraid of a fight; this explains the frequency of strikes wherever our members have a functioning organization.

Our members know how to win because they shape their tactics according to the ones used by their opponents. It is, therefore, clear that it is not an anarchistic ideology that makes us individualistic, as the anarcho-syndicalists claim;—quite on the contrary, we are disciplinarians as a result of the very form of our organization, and my personal conviction is that we shall develop more discipline in the near future.

Nevertheless, we felt that we must co-operate with all the syndicalist organizations in all countries, understanding that they have developed under conditions much different from those in America. If we refused all alliance on account of these differences, we would not be justified in calling ourselves scientific, which we do.

We strive for a very elastic program, which will allow us to develop new tactics, etc., during a critical period. Even our point of view in regard to parliamentary action is elastic, altho firm. We are non-political, not anti-political, as many claim, altho some of our members may be. We take the position that economic organizations existing under American conditions would succumb if they officially took part in elections. Therefore, our program is: "We refuse all affiliation with political and anti-political 'sects'—we are non-political."

This means that our members can choose their own individual, political course. There is no doubt as to which way they will go, with a sound economic understanding of their class position. It can also be said that our membership is a great voteless mass because it consists of migratory workers, which is one more good reason for our non-political program.

I am afraid that I am taking up too much space, but I feel that I must give you this information, because the more correct information we have concerning each other the better will we be in a position to act during a crisis. The I. W. W. claims that revolutionary success to a great extent depends on our doing the right thing in the right way at the right time. If this holds good nationally, then it also holds good internationally. That is what we have learned from the Russian revolution, and altho the revolutionary crisis may become very different in countries which are more highly developed than Russia, we can be sure that the dying capitalist class will not act any more leniently elsewhere than it did in Russia, and therefore we must prepare ourselves for international action. The coming con-

gress of the Industrial International will be the expression of the highest revolutionary activity on the economic field. We must all support this congress and fight the yellow Amsterdam "International." I presume that this is obvious to everybody. There is no choice for the I. W. W. between Amsterdam and Moscow.

Hoping that you will have great success in Denmark and with greetings to all Danish revolutionists from the I. W. W. members in tyrannical America, I remain,

Yours for Industrial and International Freedom,

George Hardy.

CAPITAL AND LABOR

By John O'Hara

CAPITAL and labor are enemies, combatants drawn up on the field of battle with a real no man's land between them. They have been at war with each other for centuries and cannot sign peace until one or the other scores a complete victory. One faction only will survive after peace is signed. Which one shall that be?

Capital and labor can come together only in conflict. They cannot mix anymore than can oil and water.

Disease, poverty, orphanages, and asylums, are the expressions of the casualties suffered by labor.

Labor's chief protection and defense lies in unions. When unions are beaten labor is beaten.

Capital's defensive and offensive force lies in its One Big Union. What a strong and powerful union it is! Solidly, systematically, scientifically organized, its members fight shoulder to shoulder in every sector and along the whole firing line, while labor retaliates by striking back in a puny, weakened effort which has little effect on capital.

Imagine the United States going to war with Germany one state at a time, or one city at a time! But it needs no imagination to see labor going to war with capital one trade union at a time, or one local at a time; that is an actuality. Is it any wonder, then, that capital always triumphs?

Uncle Sam's army has its artillery, its machine-guns and infantry, its engineers, tank corps and intelligence divisions; there are many other branches to it, but they work together in harmony and are

thus able to present a solid front against the enemy. With Labor's army, however, which is unscientifically organized, the case is vastly different.

It is split up into a great many divisions that meekly attempt to fight capital each by itself, and sometimes refuse the help of other crafts by an assumption of artificial superiority. The lack of team-work weakens labor's forces and causes retreat, sometimes "according to plans."

Up to the present time capital has always been victorious. Its weapons—financial power, the church, the press, the courts—are mighty, and its strategic moves are shrewd.

The I. W. W. are the shock troops of labor's army. When others retreat we hold the fort.

Mr. Workingman and woman, this is your fight: as well as ours. Join us. You need us more than we need you. While you will give us the strength of one more member, we will give you the strength of our whole organization.

If you want to own a home and cover the dining room table with clean, wholesome food; if you want a shorter work-day whereby you can sleep an hour longer in the morning and be home an hour earlier at night; if you want all the good things of life and add ten to twenty years to your life; if you think the good things of life rightfully belong only to those who work for them, then, Mr. Workingman and woman, your place is in the ranks of the One Big Union of all the workers.

MAY DAY, 1921

I sing you a song, O my comrades,
O my comrades in the dust,
O my brothers, vanquished and torn.

I sing you a song of the new day;
And of resurrection.
Of the future that is yours—the green future.

The deep, dull dawn is born in the East
Amid muffled cannon roars
And the cries and struggles of the dying.

And the old order is giving up to the ghost;
And the new warrior is cleansing himself
To go forth to battle;

The young, straight warrior going forth
Without arms or armor,
Raising the blood-red standard.

And you, O my brothers, O my tired, defeated
brothers;
Lying low, spurned and sore;
I see the coming rays touch on your maimed limbs.

O my brothers! O my comrades!
See you not the vision in the East?
The vision of hope, resplendent, eternal?

There is a vast stirring, and a sigh
Like the sob of the wind thru the western cornfields.
My brothers see the dawn—they are rising.

J. S. W. M.

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THE THIRTEENTH CONVENTION OF THE I. W. W.

THE Thirteenth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which will meet in Chicago on May 9th, will be confronted by some very big problems. However, before setting to work on their solution, the delegates will find inspiration and confidence in remembering that the I. W. W., altho it has been subjected for years to the worst persecution ever meted out to any organization in America, is today as virile and strong as it ever was, and that the basic principles of the I. W. W. are being accepted today by millions of workers the world over. The powers that be may as well realize now as at any other time that as long as a vestige of intelligence or a ray of hope is harbored by the American working class, just so long will the I. W. W. continue to exist and flourish.

The present unemployment crisis is showing up the futility of craft unionism better than the best kind of industrial union propaganda could do. Lack of work, wage cuts and the "open shop" are the order of the day, and the now existing trade unions have proven themselves utterly incapable to put up any kind of resistance against these onslaughts of capitalism. The unorganized, of course, are in a worse condition than any other class of workers.

Thus we see that conditions themselves are paving the way for the coming of revolutionary industrial unionism. During the last year a great change has taken place

among all classes of workers in their sentiments towards the I. W. W. They are no longer as scared of the three terrible initials as they have been in the past. Large masses of workers are paying earnest heed to the message of working-class solidarity; in places they are positively eager to receive it.

The biggest issue before this, as it was before all previous conventions, will be **Education and Organization**. How can we put out the right kind of propaganda in the right place at the right time, so that it will result in the greatest good to the organization? What are the best tactics to use to increase both the numerical and the moral strength of the organization? These are weighty problems, the correct solution of which will require the best minds in the movement.

SECRETARY DAVIS URGES "A FAIR DEAL FOR CAPITAL"

TO THOSE benighted individuals in the ranks of labor who still look to governmental and similar agencies for "reforms" which shall alleviate the intolerable conditions of their unconscious slavery, the words contained in the first public utterance of James J. Davis, the new Secretary of Labor, should prove sufficiently disillusioning. Secretary Davis spoke in Chicago on the evening of April 12th, at the annual banquet of the Greater Chicago Lodge, Loyal Order of Moose, of which order he is a national officer. On the platform with him were such typical representatives of the working class as Capt. Marshall Field, H. H. Merrick, former president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, and Edward H. Litsinger of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

In view of his audience, Secretary Davis' speech is a little more understandable. Otherwise, one would not expect quite so much frankness. As it was, it appears to have "gone over big."

"Mr. Davis," the account contained in the Chicago Tribune the morning after tells us, "uttered a plea for a fair deal for capital, a decent living wage for labor, larger

profits for farmers thru lower shipping rates, and the settlement of all industrial disputes thru conferences between employer and employe.

"He warned labor that if it is to take a share in the policies of the nation it also must share the national responsibilities, declaring it was up to labor to see that transportation conditions were such that the farmer could make a fair profit.

"He upheld the right of capital, as well as labor, to be given a fair chance to present its side of all controversies, warning it, however, that a decent living wage was necessary to assure loyal Americanism in the ranks of the workers.

"From time to time," said Mr. Davis, according to the Tribune account, "large employers of labor have been made the football of muckrakers, some of them with justice. They have been painted in every color, save that of the lily, and when they have striven to give their side, they have been charged with spreading propaganda.

"They must be given credit for one thing at least—a desire to keep the wheels of progress going, of operating their factories even at a loss."

And finally, the secretary concludes with this sublime piece of school-boy humor:

"It would be much easier if capital and labor got together and settled their differences among themselves. I am sure they could reach an agreement easier than by having the secretary of labor or any one else try to adjust the differences. Above all things, however, neither side should try to put anything over on the other."

Poor old capital! It's in a hard way, indeed, when even the secretary of labor has to come to its defence. What about a fair deal for labor? It might not be altogether unbecoming in one who bears the title "secretary of labor," at least to keep up appearances a little. Of course, we all know which side of the fence he's on, but such frankness is rather shocking.

And what a monster this big bully, Labor, must be! Always picking on poor little Curlylocks Capital. Why doesn't he pick on somebody his size?

Seriously, Mr. Secretary, which side

needs the fair deal more at the present moment, labor or capital?

Labor, however, if he's a good little boy, keeps his face and hands clean, doesn't tear his blouse, stays in his own back yard, and doesn't play with that naughty little Bolshevik boy next door, is to be given a great big cookie. What is it? A "decent living wage." Not even a "fair day's pay" in return for a "fair day's work," mind you (we wonder, incidentally, what's become of that hoary old A. F. of L. slogan?) but merely a "decent" wage.

Ideas of "decency" vary. We're not sure that we're willing to trust Mr. Davis.

And if labor doesn't behave—Secretary Davis doesn't say what will happen, but the "fair deal" is not far removed from the "square deal," and we all remember Mr. Roosevelt and the "big stick."

Another think that Mr. Davis is greatly wrought up about is Farmer John's profits, and he actually expects labor, represented by the transportation workers, to see that Farmer John gets, not merely profits, but more profits. (The farmer, of course, is "the backbone of the nation." Labor is merely a sort of useless vermiform appendix, or at best a very minor vertebra.)

After all this, we should not be surprised to hear the secretary springing the old chestnut about the credit which should be given to capital for keeping "the wheels of progress going." Labor has had no share in that! The picture which is drawn of the poor manufacturers, "operating their factories even at a loss," is heart-rending.

And what a nice little plan that is for labor and capital's "getting together." It's really a capital idea! We can see the happy pair on the way to the conservatory for a little tete-a-tete right now!

True, Mr. Davis, in the language of the street, "said a mouthful," when he opined that it would make things "much easier" if such were the case.

And "above all things," neither side should attempt to put anything over on the other. Oh, no! War is a game of ping-pong, and both sides must play fair. But Mr. Davis, presumably, has never even heard of the class struggle.

It would be a waste of white paper to quote so silly a speech at such length, if it were not for the humor of the thing and the fact that there are certain lessons to be learned from it which need to be driven home in the minds of hundreds of thousands of workers—members of the A. F. of L., adherents to the old craft-union form of organization, and the still vaster army of the unorganized. For, after all, Sammy Gompers, Jimmy Davis, Herb Hoover and the rest are all tarred with the same brush.

The fundamental error which blinds the eyes of these workers is the so-called "philosophy," imposed by capitalism, of "social

solidarity." It is the old advice, given by the big-business buccaneer to the ambitious office boy: "Make your employer's interests your own, if you want to succeed."

Only when the words of the I. W. W. Preamble: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common . . . Between these two a struggle must go on . . ." Only when these words have been burned into the consciousness of the workers will Labor at last wake up and, when it hears such drivel as comes from Mr. Davis, give a big Hee-haw, followed by a little action from the hind hoofs.

The Striker

By Robert Whitaker

Many have sung the soldier
 From the rude, red days of old
 To this madder hour of more murderous power,
 And death schemes manifold.
 But no one has sung the striker,
 Tho a better fighter he
 For the living cause and the larger laws
 Of the empire that is to be.

Many have sung the statesman,
 Of nation and state and clan;
 Tho he served himself from the purse of pelf,
 And lorded it over man.
 Yet greater than he, the striker
 Lacking both fame and fee,
 At the cost of all he has built the wall
 Of the city that is to be.

Some day, when all are toilers,
 And nobody toils for naught,
 When the worker rules over kirks and schools,
 And shapes all the realm of thought:
 They shall sing the song of the striker,
 No longer an outcast he,
 But with arms abreast he shall stand confessed
 In the triumph that is to be.

Many have sung the scholar,
 Maker of books and school,
 Tho his ease was earned by the throng unlearned
 Who slaved that the few might rule.
 But the lore and the law of the striker
 Setteth the whole world free,
 Neither ease nor toil shall the spirit spoil
 In the knowledge that is to be.

Many have sung the saintly,
 The pure of all times and creeds;
 But alas, the good have denied the food
 For even the children's needs;
 Kinder by far the striker,
 And truly more righteous he,
 For he stakes his meal on the common weal
 And the justice that is to be.

How the I. W. W. is Organized

By James Kennedy

The Fallacy of Craft Unionism

AS TO the necessity for working-class organization there can be no question. The point to be decided is: How shall the workers organize? This question is of supreme importance. If the workers allow themselves to be misled and tricked into organizing in a way that will not only fail to free them from wage-slavery or even to better their condition, but will put them more thoroly in the power of the industrial masters, much valuable time will be lost and discouragement and despair will result. What is needed is unity of thought and action. Far better no organization at all than a fake form which divides the workers against themselves and misleads them in the interests of the employers.

Such a form of unionism exists today. It is know as craft unionism and is represented by the American Federation of Labor. Craft unionism splits the workers up into as many different unions as there are crafts. Each of these unions is tied up by a separate contract with the employers, and all these contracts expire at different times. In this way united action is rendered impossible. Not only does the A. F. of L. divide the workers in industry but it teaches them the economic lie that the interests of labor and capital are identical. It stands for "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." This may sound reasonable enough to these ignorant of economics and unacquainted with the real nature of the wage system. In reality it means nothing except that the A. F. of L. puts itself on record as upholding the wage system and condemns the workers to perpetual exploitation. Who can determine what is a fair day's pay? Wages and profits go together. One cannot exist without the other. If a worker admits his wages are fair then he must also admit that his employer's profits are fair. One might as well talk about a fair night's plunder for a burglar. Employers think a

fair day's pay is just enough to keep the workers in working condition. Intelligent workers know labor produces all wealth, and they demand the full product of their labor. This would leave no profits for the boss and so would mean the end of the present system which is based on wages and profits.

The workers are organized to produce wealth—not by crafts but by industries. To get out logs the donkey engineer cooperates, not with engineers in other industries, but with fallers, buckers, choker men and all others on the job. In carrying on industry he is only remotely connected with engineers in other industries. He cannot come to an agreement with engineers in the mining and construction industries as to how many logs are to be got out by the crew with which he works. That agreement can only be made or carried out by the men who make up the logging crew. The stationary engineers are organized in a craft union. Their local union is made up of stationary engineers in all industries in that locality. At their business meetings engineers from the logging industry come together with engineers from all other industries. It is impossible for them to arrive at, or carry out an agreement to exert any control over the job, for their union separates them from the other men on the job, with whom they work.

The different local unions of a craft are brought together in so-called international unions. These cut across all industries and bring together a small section of the workers in each industry. It is impossible for workers organized on the craft plan to ever exert any appreciable control over industry because only the workers remotely connected in industry are brought together in the union, and those directly connected in industry are separated and tied up by separate contracts. On one job there may be a dozen or more different unions, each tied up with a separate contract. Thus the men

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organized by the bosses to work together to produce, are organized in craft unions to prevent their acting together to control. Could any more effective system be devised to keep the workers divided and powerless? Could any arrangement better suit the masters than this Machiavellian policy of "divide and conquer"? The only explanation is that craft union officials are agents of the capitalists and traitors to the workers.

Not all A. F. of L. unions are craft unions. The United Mine Workers, for instance, is not divided on craft lines; but it is organized so as to prevent concerted action by its members. Instead of separating the workers by crafts it separates them by districts. These districts are all tied up by separate contracts expiring at different times. When one district is on strike the rest remain at work. The orders are transferred from the strike district to the others, and in this way one district scabs on another. Often the strikers go to work in other districts, thus scabbing on themselves.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

Revolutionary industrial unionism, as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, aims to organize the workers according to industry, on the basis of one big union in each industry, without regard to craft or the tools used; all these unions being brought together under one head and all co-operating together towards a common end. The I. W. W. is not only industrial in form but it is revolutionary in character. It is based on the principle that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common" and that "labor is entitled to all it produces." Its aims are threefold:

(1) To organize the workers in such a way that they can successfully fight their battles and advance their interests in their every-day struggles with capitalists.

(2) To overthrow capitalism and establish in its place a system of Industrial Democracy.

(3) To carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown.

The Job Branch.

The workers are organized by industries to carry on production. The job is the unit of these capitalist-controlled producing organizations. Each job is 'controlled' by a capitalist's agent—a foreman. The object of the workers' organization is to control industry, therefore it must follow the lines of industry, and its unit must be the job branch. At the job branch meetings the workers who work together, come together in conference. At the meeting they can come to an agreement to work in whatever way is most beneficial to themselves. When they go back on the job they can co-operate to carry out this agreement. In case of strike all quit together. The foreman's control is exerted to speed up the workers and get the greatest amount of work done for the least money. Control by the organized workers is exerted to secure for themselves the greatest possible percentage of the wealth they produce. On all organized jobs the workers' control is centralized in a job committee whose function is to see that all legislation passed at the job branch meetings is lived up to.

The Industrial Union

But little can be gained by organizing on one job if the other jobs in the same industry are unorganized. The workers on each job co-operate with the workers on all other jobs in the same industry to run that industry—for the capitalists. Capitalist control of the different jobs in an industry is centralized thru the medium of foremen, superintendents, general managers of companies, and industrial associations of capitalists until it culminates in the trust—or one big union of bosses—that dominates that industry. In the early days when employers were small and unorganized, the workers on one job might have organized and struck successfully. But shutting down one job brings little pressure to bear on a big company that owns many jobs. Even if all the jobs of one company were shut down by strikes it would still be

possible for that company to continue to do business by transferring their orders to other companies in the trust. The union must cover the whole industry. But even if the workers on every job were organized their power would be small unless they had some means of coming to a common understanding with the workers on all other jobs so they could act in unity:

Therefore all job branches in an industry must be brought together to form one big industrial union so they can all cooperate to control that industry for themselves. They must have some means of arriving at a common agreement, and must keep in touch so they can co-operate to carry out that agreement. To this end annual or semi-annual conventions are held, composed of delegates from all branches in the district or industrial union. At these conventions a general agreement is reached as to how the business of the union is to be conducted. The convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file on the job. As boards of directors are elected at stockholders' meetings to look after the interests of the company, and are responsible to the stockholders, so the executive committees of the union are nominated at the conventions and elected by referendum vote, and are responsible to the membership. The job branches of an industrial union are further kept in touch thru the medium of a weekly bulletin published at industrial union or district headquarters. This bulletin prints the minutes of all job branch meetings so each branch knows what all others are doing at all times.

One Big Union of All Workers

The workers in each industry are organized to co-operate with the workers in all other industries to carry on industry as a whole. Each industry is dependent on, and linked up with all other industries. The whole complicated system of modern industry is run by capitalist-controlled producing organizations of workers. Control of the whole system culminates by means of interlocking directorates, common own-

ership of stock, "gentlemen's agreements," etc., in the hands of a ring of great financial magnates with headquarters in Wall Street. This is the one big union of capitalists who control all industries. The industrial unions of the workers in each industry must be brought together in one big union of the entire working class, so that the workers in each industry may co-operate with the workers in all other industries to control industry as a whole and run it for their own benefit. The connecting link between the different industrial unions is the general convention of the I. W. W., composed of delegates from each industrial union; and the General Executive Board, which is nominated at the general convention, and elected by referendum vote of the rank and file. The G. E. B. has general supervision over the affairs of the organization between conventions. As in each of the industrial unions the general convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file.

Industry is world-wide. It pays little attention to national boundary lines. The modern wage worker has neither property nor country. Ties of birth and sentiment which connect him with any particular country are slight and unimportant. It makes little difference to him what country he exists in, but he must have a job. Therefore he follows industry. Capital seeks the most profitable investment. If an American capitalist can invest more profitably in the Krupp Works of Germany than in the Steel Trust of the United States he invests in the Krupp Works tho he knows his money may be used to finance the manufacture of submarines to send American sailors to the bottom of the sea. Capitalists often try to cover up their crimes with a cloak of patriotism, but the only patriotism they know is that of the dollar mark. The revolutionary unions of the workers must not confine themselves to geographical divisions or national boundary lines, but must follow the world-embracing lines of industry. The workers of all countries co-oper-

ate to carry on industry regardless of national boundary lines, and they must organize in the same way to control industry. To promote unity of thought and action among the world's workers, international conventions are held, composed of delegates from the unions of different countries. But as industrial development proceeds industrial lines grow stronger and national lines become relatively less important. It is probable that in future these conventions will be composed of delegates from the different branches of one great world-wide industrial union.

Revolutionary Tactics.

When the workers are educated to the real nature of the profit system they lose all respect for the masters and their property. They see the capitalists in their true colors as thieves and parasites, and their "sacred" property as plunder. They see state, church, press and university as tools of the exploiters and they look on these institutions with contempt. They understand the identity of interests of all wage-workers and realize the truth of the I. W. W. slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Organized industrially, the workers are in position to strike at the very heart of capitalism. Even with only a small percentage of workers organized there are many ways in which they can use their economic power for the benefit of their own class, and to weaken capitalism. Railroad men can refuse to transport scabs or material produced by scabs. They can refuse to haul gunmen or soldiers to be used against strikers. They can carry union men free of charge. Union longshoremen can refuse to handle munitions to be used against workers in any part of the world; or to load vessels beyond the safety limit. Union telegraph and telephone operators can fail to transmit messages detrimental to labor. Union printers and publishers can refuse to print distorted news, anti-labor editorials or advertisements for scabs. Union cooks and waiters can refuse to serve rotten food to union men or any food to scabs. Union store clerks can sell the best goods

to union workers and reserve shoddy clothing and adulterated food for scabs and parasites. Union steel workers can refuse to manufacture armored automobiles, trains or tanks to be used against their class. Union factory workers can refuse to manufacture rifles or ammunition for use against workers. Union food workers can refuse to can rotten or diseased meat or to adulterate food in any way. Union construction workers can refuse to handle scab material, or to build jails or dangerous, unsanitary houses. Union lumber workers can refuse to supply lumber to scab construction jobs.

By mutual agreement organized workers can slow down on the job, thus conserving their energy and lessening the army of unemployed by causing more men to be put to work. They can dictate who shall be hired or discharged. They can refuse to work under objectionable foremen and can choose their own foremen. It might be objected that such action by workers would cause their discharge. This would depend on how strongly they were organized. Some of the examples given would require the backing of a strong union, others could be done with very little organization, but all have been put into practice in recent years both in this and other countries. Little is heard of such cases because, for obvious reasons, they are seldom mentioned in the capitalist press.

When the capitalists feel their control of industry slipping they will probably declare a lockout and try to cause an extensive shut-down of industry, hoping by this means to starve the workers into submission. But the organized workers, confident of their power to run industry, will remain on the job and continue to carry on production and distribution. These tactics were used on a large scale by the Italian workers in 1920. The metallurgical workers demanded higher wages, which the employers refused. They did not go out on strike but stayed on the job, and by the slow-down strike reduced production one half. The employers then declared a lockout, but the workers refused to leave the job. They put the bosses out and contin-

used to operate the plants. Owing to lack of sufficient organization in other industries they were forced to let the capitalists take control again. But when they resumed work for wages it was on much more advantageous terms in regards to hours, wages and conditions.

No doubt the same tactics will be used many times in different countries before the final collapse of capitalism. With each trial of their strength the workers will gain experience and learn their weak points. As working-class organization grows stronger capitalism grows weaker. It has already outlived its usefulness. It is unable to run industry efficiently, and fails to supply the needs of the great majority of the people. With the workers organized industrially and understanding their interests and their power as a class, failure is impossible, and it is only a matter of time before they take full control of industry and abolish wage slavery.

Facts About the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is non-political. It is not concerned with the empty forms of a fake political democracy. Industrial unionists know popular government can never be anything but a fraud and a sham under a system of industrial autocracy. Knowing the industrial government is the real government, they refuse to waste time electing the hirelings of Wall Street money kings, but aim straight at the root of all human power—control of industry. The aim of the I. W. W. is industrial democracy, which means that those who run industry shall control industry and that every worker shall have a voice in its management. Control of industry by the workers means a social revolution—a complete turning over of the social system. With control of industry in the hands of the workers production will be carried on for use and not profit, and all activities of society will be for the benefit of the workers instead of for the maintenance of a parasite class.

The I. W. W. believes in, advocates and practices direct action. Direct action means the direct use of their economic power by the workers themselves—as in strikes—as

opposed to parliamentary action by which the workers try to elect politicians to represent them in capitalist governments.

Initiation fees and dues in the I. W. W. are low in order to be within reach of all. The I. W. W. aims to take in all workers regardless of race, creed, color or sex. It is not its object to build up an exclusive job trust, but a great working-class union. Keeping workers out of a union by a prohibitive initiation fee forces them to scab and eventually destroys the union.

The I. W. W. is democratic in principle. It tolerates no official autocracy within its ranks. Officials are elected and all important questions decided by referendum vote of the rank and file. Strikes cannot be called on or off except by vote of the men on the job.

It is against the principles of the I. W. W. to sign contracts. When workers sign a contract not to strike they sign away one of their strongest weapons. Past experience shows employers only respect contracts so long as the workers have power to enforce them. When the workers have power to enforce them contracts are unnecessary, but when they lack such power contracts are useless, for the employers will break them whenever it suits their purpose.

There are no high-salaried officials in the I. W. W. Wages of officials are determined by the average wages of the workers in industry. There are no permanent officials, the term of office being limited to one year. Ex-officials must work at least six months at the point of production before they are eligible to hold office again.

In its battles with the system the I. W. W. does not depend on big treasuries. It realizes the power of labor is industrial, not financial, and that the few nickels and dimes of the workers can never prevail against the billions of the capitalists. No attempt is made to build up a big treasury, all funds not needed for actual running expenses being used to carry on the work of education and organization. Big treasuries are more a source of weakness than of strength. They cause a union to become

conservative, and in time of strikes can be confiscated by the courts or tied up by injunctions as in the case of the Danbury Hatters and the United Mine Workers of America. When any industrial union or branch is on strike it is backed up by the solidarity of all members in all industries. Meetings are held, collections taken up and subscription lists circulated. This method has never failed. Some of the biggest and most successful strikes ever carried on in the United States have been financed in this way.

There is a universal transfer system between the different industrial unions of the I. W. W. When a worker moves from one industry to another he can transfer from

one union to the other without expense or inconvenience.

The I. W. W. is the result of the past experience of the labor movement. It has learned from the mistakes and failures of former organizations. It is a natural result of capitalism. So long as the conditions which produced it remain it cannot be destroyed.

For further information write to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor's Note—The above article forms a chapter in James Kennedy's book on the Lumber Industry, which will soon be published by the Industrial Workers of the World. Two other chapters from the same book have already been published in previous issues of The Industrial Pioneer.

The W. W. I.

By JOHN BANKS

By reading the popular press I have found
(And, mind you, the press cannot lie),
That the cause of all sin, from without and within,
Is the W. W. I.

The cause of all murder and arson and theft,
Sedition and treason, most high—
In short, the one cause of all insulted laws
Is the W. W. I.

The scapegoat bore all of the old Hebrew's sins,
And was left in the desert to die;
But goats are now scant, and so we take a slant
At the W. W. I.

If Adam had eaten the apple today,
And the Lord in His anger drew nigh,
He would not blame Eve, as he did, but would say,
" 'Twas the W. W. I."

Should you call up old Nero and ask whom to blame
For the burning of Rome, he'd reply,
"It was not the Christians who kindled the flame,
"But the W. W. I."

A hail storm has beaten the cotton crop down;
The chinch bug has taken the rye;
A cyclone has literally wiped out a town:
Pinch the W. W. I.

If the weather is warm, if there comes a cold storm,
If gloomy or azure the sky;
If it shines, if it snows; if it's calm, if it blows,
Blame the W. W. I.

Vile coal miners strike and are ordered to hike;
Bold house-maids their matrons defy;
A menacing stare greets the chaste millionaire;
Cause: The W. W. I.

You have hammered your thumb, you have bitten
your tongue;
A cinder has blown in your eye;
You've a catch in your back 'or you've stepped on
a tack:
Bless the W. W. I.

If your mother-in-law doth eternally jaw,
If your triplets get choleric and cry,
If their ringlets are red or they fall out of bed,
Curse the W. W. I.

If your cellar caves in, if you bark your poor skin,
If your old brindle cow goeth dry,
If your pancakes are tough and your sailing is rough,
Soak the W. W. I.

The cause of consumption, of asthma and gout,
The hook worm, the tape worm, the fly,
Of bedbugs and lice, of rats and of mice
Is the W. W. I.

And therefore I bless our Great Popular Press;
On its every report I rely;
It knows whom to blame for all sin, and the name
Is plain W. W. I.

Mexico; Its Government and Labor Movement

By W. J. Lemon

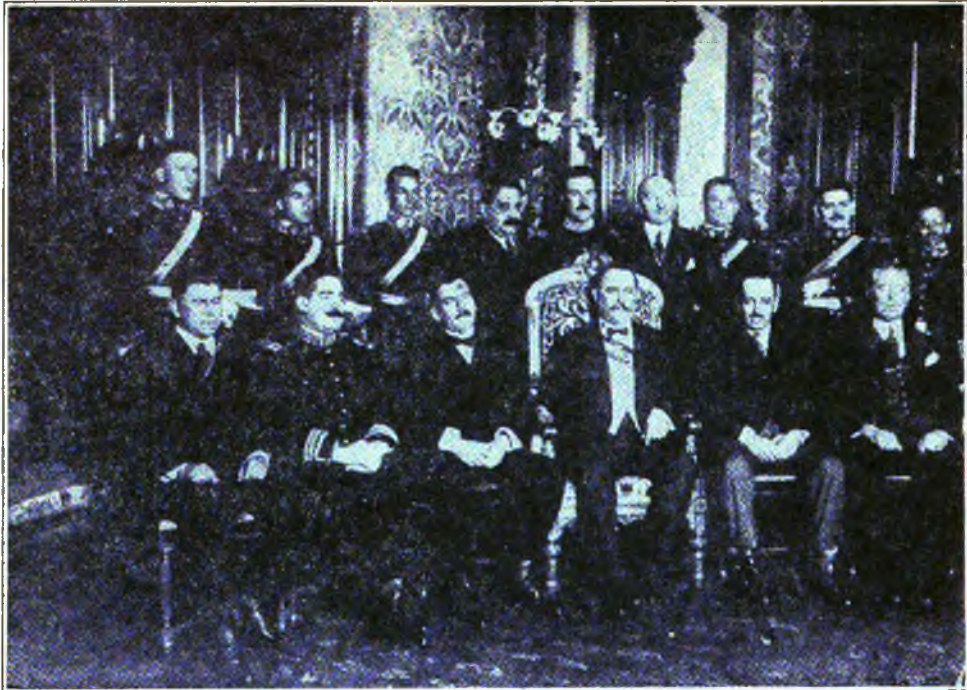
SINCE the return of King Gompers and his Court to the United States from their trip to Mexico, where they went as delegates and officials to the Pan-American Labor Congress which was held in Mexico City, January 10th to 20th of this year, he and some of his courtiers have been extremely busy contributing articles to both the capitalist and labor press that pay a glowing tribute to what they call the Labor Government of Mexico (King Sam says in one of his numerous contributions: "The Mexican Government is the nearest to a workers' government of anything on earth."). I am not going to make any comment on these enthusiastic outbursts: the mere fact that their writings are freely solicited by such respectable business men's journals as "The Mexican Review" and others of a similar nature should be sufficient evidence as to their worth and character. Before I came to Mexico I was somewhat deluded myself by the reported manifold glories of this so-called workers' government; not from reading the fairy stories written by Gompers, Kelley, Johnston & Co., but because I had read a few numbers of an English language magazine published in Mexico City under the title of "Gale's International Journal for Revolutionary Communism." Its glowing accounts of Mexico's remarkable Socialist and union movements had more or less impressed me with the idea that I was coming to a country where the workers were practically at the point of peacefully and legally, thru their political and economical power, taking possession of all lands, natural resources and machinery of production and distribution,—that the shackles of wage slavery were about to be struck from the limbs of the suffering toilers and a new Russia established on the American continent. It dilated on the many Socialists and prominent labor leaders who occupied important positions in the various departments of government, many of whom were now governors of states, heads of special diplomatic foreign missions, ministers in the federal cabinet, legislators, etc., including the Governor of the Federal District (who was once a shoemaker) and the Chief of Police of Mexico City (who was not only a Socialist but had once written a Socialist book). Gale summed it all up in one number of "Gale's" with: "Soviet Mexico is near."

I am not going to indulge in much philosophizing, for I want the readers to draw their own conclusions. What I hope to do is tell the facts as best I can in my crude way, both from personal knowledge and from information received direct from the workers themselves. I feel that this is what is

needed above everything else—correct information about conditions down here to counteract the stream of exaggerated and misleading statements that are being sent out to the workers of other countries, deceiving them as to the true status of the Mexican workers and of the Government of Mexico. No greater injury can be done the labor movement of any country than by issuing flamboyant and exaggerated reports and articles thru the press, whether it be thru wilful intention or gross ignorance.

Merely to make a statement does not prove a fact. The principal fact that I shall bring forward to show that the Mexican Government is just as capitalistic as any other, and that it is in no sense a government of the workers, is the history of the recent strike of railway workers on the National Railway System of the republic. Here we have a government that Gompers has referred to as a model, and as the nearest thing to a real workers' government on earth, fighting the workers as viciously as any other capitalist government or corporation. I arrived in Mexico City a few days before the strike was called (Feb. 25th); consequently I have been in a position to see and understand just how the governmental machinery was turned on the workers when the Holy Trinity (Rent, Profit and Interest) of the capitalists was attacked. For several days before the date set for the walk-out troops were being mobilized and despatched to all points. Soldiers were quartered at all stations, yards, shops, bridges, etc., from one end of the republic to the other. One could not approach any portion of the railway property without being confronted by the point of a bayonet. Even the General Administration Building in which the general offices are located, situated in the heart of Mexico City far away from the zone of conflict, was guarded day and night by federal troops.

To explain the cause of this strike it will be necessary to refer back to another strike of the railway workers that occurred in 1920. This strike was called for the purpose of enforcing a demand for an increase in pay, better working conditions and recognition of the unions. This strike lasted only a few hours, all points being gained, including an increase in wages running as high as 45 %,—altho the section men, shop laborers and some other workers still receive wages as low as 1½ to 2 pesos per day of 8 hours (2 pesos are equivalent to \$1.00 American money), a circumstance which alone is enough to condemn this government as a labor government. De la Huerta was then Provisional Pres-



President Obregon and His New Cabinet—To the Right of the President, Secretaries Pani and Rubio. To the Left—Secretaries Calles, Estrada and De la Huerta. Behind the President—(in Citizens' Dress) Secretaries Villareal and Zubaran. In Uniform Are Members of the Staff.

ident, in the interim between the governments of Carranza and Obregon, and he instructed the Director General of Railways to sign the schedules and agreements between the Administration and the unions. While De la Huerta was in power the unions say they had no further trouble; the unions were recognized and all agreements kept to the letter. But since Obregon took office, which was on December 1st, 1920, trouble has been brewing. The Railway Administration kept steadily encroaching upon the rights of the workers until finally it ignored the unions and all the agreements, the men as a last resort walking off the job on February 25th.

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The National Railways of Mexico comprise a system of approximately 12,000 miles with about 60,000 employees. All went out except about 5,000 who belonged mostly to the Union of Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Brakemen, one of the oldest if not the oldest railway union in the republic. At the present time, and since the strike of 1920, its membership is composed mostly of conductors, brakemen and switchmen, all the firemen, and all the engineers except about 75 having broken off and joined with the other 13 crafts that now make up the Railway Workers' Federation. There are 14 unions in the railway industry, 13 in the Federation, and one, the conductors, on the outside. This reactionary union did everything in its power to help defeat the strike. It requested the Railway Ad-

ministration to refuse recognition to the other unions and went so far as to issue bulletins to the effect that it would help break the strike if it were called. The rest of the strike-breakers were recruited from all the walks of life, but they were not very numerous. The Committee states that 150 were brought from New York to Very Cruz by steamer, and 25 or more from El Paso, but that they all quit when they arrived at their destination.

A despatch was sent out from Mexico City, March 6th, stating that strikers were committing sabotage by blowing up bridges, tearing up tracks, etc., between San Luis Potosi and Monterrey and that 15 of the leaders had been captured and executed by the military. The strikers' Committee branded this as a capitalist newspaper lie whose purpose was to create antagonism against the workers. On March 7th, another report quoted Obregon as saying that the Government's strike policy remained unchanged; which would seem to mean that there would be no recession from the policy of non-recognition of the unions, with the attendant stern application of military measures to protect life and property (especially property). On Sunday, March 13th, a passenger train standing at the Huichapan station was telescoped from the rear by a freight train, killing 4, seriously injuring 26 and inflicting minor cuts and bruises on 50 others. The press reported that the engineer in charge of the freight was a thoroughly competent man of 16 years' experience. This was

proven to be false by those who knew him, who testified that he was not only incompetent but also mentally unstable, having been discharged in 1913 on this account, and now re-hired by a "labor government" to break a strike. An endless list of accidents, such as boiler explosions, derailments and collisions, caused in nearly every case by incompetents engaged by this (according to Gompers and others) "labor government" to beat down the workers, could be recited if the space permitted. As I write this article there is a movement on foot to call a strike in Tampico to force the release of a worker who, is under arrest there charged with speaking against the Government at a railway strike meeting. At Torreon 16 officers and members of the union are under arrest charged with committing sabotage. I am informed that there were a number shot by the military during fights.

I am reciting these things as evidence to show that Mexico has not a workers' government.

After a struggle lasting three weeks the men were ordered back to work on March 19th by their leaders, thru an understanding arrived at between the latter and the Railway Administration. They went back with the understanding that all agreements will be respected in the future (anyone who has had experience with corporations knows what such vague language means), but still the Director General of Railways insists that all strike-breakers shall be retained and that strikers shall be taken back "as vacancies occur," according to their standing when they went out. Consequently many of the youngest ones are still out. Why, it will be asked, did the workers lose, when everything was in their favor, with traffic about 30 % normal and motive power going to pieces fast? Because they were betrayed by the leaders of the unions, a repetition of the same tactics and the same old game of bluff that have been pulled off by the chiefs of American craft unionism for the past 25 years or more.

The Mexican workers in other lines of industry were waiting and anxious to come to the assistance of their fellow workers. The leaders had been boasting that 200,000 of Mexico's organized workers would be called out unless the Government made a favorable settlement with the strikers, but they never called them. But this is what did happen: about 8,000 textile workers at Orizaba walked out in sympathy without the sanction of the leaders and they were promptly ordered back (but they didn't go back, and at last reports they were still out). Orizaba workers are the most militant in the country.

The present status of the strikers summed up is that they have gone back to work practically defeated, except for the experience they have gained and the militancy that will later be developed—for we must remember that no strike was ever totally lost.

Enough has been told, I think, to convince the



An Indian With His Load, Mexico City.

reader that there is nothing in common between the workers and the Mexican Government, any more than between the two contending classes of all capitalist nations.

* * * * *

The next question to discuss is that of the numerous Socialists and labor leaders said to be representing labor in the Government. Granting that this is true, it does not mean anything to the workers to be represented in a coalition government. Many countries have passed thru the same experience to the sorrow of the workers. It is true that there have been attempts made by well-meaning individuals to better the conditions of the Mexican workers. A few years ago it is said a semi-Socialist state was set up in Yucatan, only to be drowned out in blood later on by Carranza, who at one time claimed to be a Socialist of the Scheidemann or Kerevsky type but whose favorite sport, nevertheless, was shooting down strikers. Zapata, who established his little colony in Morelos and Tabasco met with a similar fate at the hands of the same gentleman, he being murdered about a year and a half ago. According to "Gale's," the Socialists are again in power in Yucatan, having regained their position at the last election,—but this must not be taken too seriously.

The States of Michoacan and Hidalgo both have "Socialist" governors, of what type I do not know, but I understand they are trying to confiscate the land of the church and the large haciendas and distribute it among the peons. Some land has already been given to the peons, but only a small portion of them have been supplied. And what

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Grading Coffee in Mexico.

can the peon do with land when he has no funds to buy tools with which to work it? Only communism can solve the land problem, and communism is not yet here, even tho "Gale's" may say, "Soviet Mexico is near."

Luis N. Morones, formerly head of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana," known as the Gompers of Mexico, is also the leading spirit of the "Partido Laborista" (Labor Party), in addition to being director of the Government munition plants, a very lucrative post. The Labor Party was formed last year for the purpose of boosting the presidential candidacy of Alvaro Obregon among the workers, and has been the steady recipient of government patronage ever since. With revolutionary catchwords it attracts votes that could not be gotten in any other way. Its concrete program is opportunistic to the core and its entire achievements for the last year are participation in the Obregon revolution against Carranza, exertion of influence with Provisional President De la Huerta for the establishment of a government Department of Social Work (which Department has settled strikes, given charity to workers, etc.), exertion of influence for the improvement of conditions in the Penal Colony of the Maria Islands, and participation in various electoral campaigns. Its method is intriguing with the government officials, not steady revolutionary work along class lines. "Gale's" claims that the Labor Party has a membership of 200,000. I should like to know where the 200,000 hide between election campaigns. The truth of the matter is that the party is nothing but an ordinary political club, with no real active membership beyond the small group of officials and press agents.

Just as President Ebert of Germany was once a harness maker, so Gasca, Governor of Mexico City and the Federal District, was once a shoemaker, if that means anything. But I cannot see anything to indicate that he is giving a working class administration. The bootblacks are taxed three pesos a month for the privilege of walking the streets and shining shoes. Every peanut vender is also taxed all that the traffic will bear, and if you saw most of them you would say that it wouldn't bear much. Gasca occasionally acts as mediator between the robbers and the robbed, just as the mediators do

in the United States, and the workers get about the same results.

As for the Chief of Police of Mexico City who is said to be a Socialist and author of a Socialist book, I can say that I have never heard of him arresting any of the respectable crooks, but every day I see his men marching gangs of men and women across the city. These are the petty crooks, victims of the system and members of the working class that have been forced down by the Big Crooks. —Anyone who visits this country can see the squalid misery and the scores of human wrecks that receive not the slightest care or consideration from this so-called labor government, but are forced to eke out an existence that would disgust the lowest animals. Those conditions infest not only Mexico City but every part of the republic. I don't say that they are worse than in any other capitalist country, perhaps they are not so bad as in the slums of America and Europe (for here the poor can enjoy plenty of fresh air and good climate without any extra charge). Soviet Russia is the only country in the world that is interested in the welfare of the workers; there provision is made for the young, the aged, the sick, the physically disabled and for mothers both before and after confinement. But in the fact of this contrast, King Gompers has the audacity to write a eulogy of the Mexican Government as a model workers' government, while at the same time there is sent out from A. F. of L. headquarters a circular to all labor unions denouncing the Soviets of Russia in terms so vile that they have never been equalled by Russia's bitterest capitalist enemies. Gompers was in Mexico from January 10th to 20th, and he was elected president of the "Pan-American Labor Federation." Was he here to whip Mexican labor into line to suit the interests of his Wall Street masters? Is he now trying to rouse the American workers against their Russian comrades as per instructions from his Wall Street masters, so as to enable international capitalism to make another attempt to crush our Russian comrades? This question I leave for others to decide for themselves.

* * * * *

Phrases like, "Soviet Mexico is near" and all the rest of the chatter about a red labor movement in Mexico is child's talk. It is, in fact, nothing short of treason to the working class, whether it be due to ignorance or evil intention. Mexico has no such thing as a red movement; i. e., a well-organized, disciplined body that knows what it wants and how to get it. There may be a few scattered groups here and there but they are of no importance at the present moment. The real Mexican movement is, unfortunately, still in embryo. Heretofore, the only labor organization here has been of an entirely reactionary craft union form, with a membership dependent upon the leadership of leaders who are out and out, pure and simple individualistic self-seekers.

A scattered group of militant unions is so far too weak to be of any decisive influence. The Mexican workers as a whole are not only victims of 400 years of feudal servitude and priestcraft, but are now being preyed upon by their leaders. What is needed here now is a group of clear-headed, well-disciplined workers, capable of educating and organizing the Mexican movement into a militant body, one that will brush aside all the leaders and others who stand in the way of the workers' freedom. There is an attempt being made now to organize a left wing movement, but it is still too early to predict what success it will have. This attempt centers around the newly-formed "Confederacion General de Trabajadores," which was organized only a few weeks ago at a congress called by the "Federación Comunista" of Mexico City. The Congress was made up of 53 delegates from 12 states, representing more than 40,000 workers and peasants. It passed resolutions condemning Sam Gompers' so-called Pan-American Labor Federation and provided for the formation of a competitive Pan-American labor organization, which should represent the true interests of the workers instead of those of their bosses. It also endorsed in principle the Red Labor Union International and voted to submit to the unions a referendum on the question of definite affiliation.

Needless to say, the "yellow" leaders of the "Confederacion Regional" did everything in their power to prevent the convening and successful operation of this congress. Among other things, they published false articles about the comrades who called the congress and united with Gale (who uses the name of Communism to cover up anything that may need covering) in the publication of a manifesto calling on the unions not to send delegates to it and hinting that the men who were pushing it were spies in the pay of American capitalism whose object was to destroy "the unity of the workers."—In spite of all this the workers did attend the congress and did organize the radical "Confederación General de Trabajadores."



Coffee Drying Near Jalapa, Mexico.

The revolutions that have been fought here have never been for the workers but always engineered in the interest of the business class. The workers have only been permitted to organize in the last few years. "Free speech" is somewhat freer here than it is in the U. S., but how much longer it will remain so is a question. The proletarian Revolution is yet to come, and the workers will not be free in Mexico or in any other nation until it does.

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Appendix—There were a few in all crafts and departments who remained at work during the railroad strike; also about 175 engineers, besides those in the union who did likewise. Today, March 28th, a train auditor, who had been active in the strike, and had had one of the best runs on the system, showed me his written order to report for service on another division, which was an inferior run, and located in the yellow fever zone. This is being done as a form of punishment; several others have received similar treatment. I am also informed that over 2,000 strikers are out of jobs on account of being displaced by strike-breakers who were retained in the service.

Mexico City, Mexico.

Bow of Promise

There are gloomy prisons looming thru the breadth of our fair state,
There are many wives and children anxious for the loved-ones' fate;
There are soldiers and detectives who for hire a vigil keep,
And a million silent workers in whose hearts these wrongs sink deep.

For these men who lie in prison stood between the hordes of greed,
And the many hapless victims, in their day of greatest need;
And they scorned the despots' hirelings and their bid of yellow gold,
And for this today they perish in the federal prisons old.

Yet, our eyes are turned to eastward, to a New Day's welcome light,
And on its bow of promise are Brotherhood and Right;
Ah, prison doors shall open then, and exiles shall be free,
And all the world shall cherish our new-found Liberty.

Julia C. Coons.

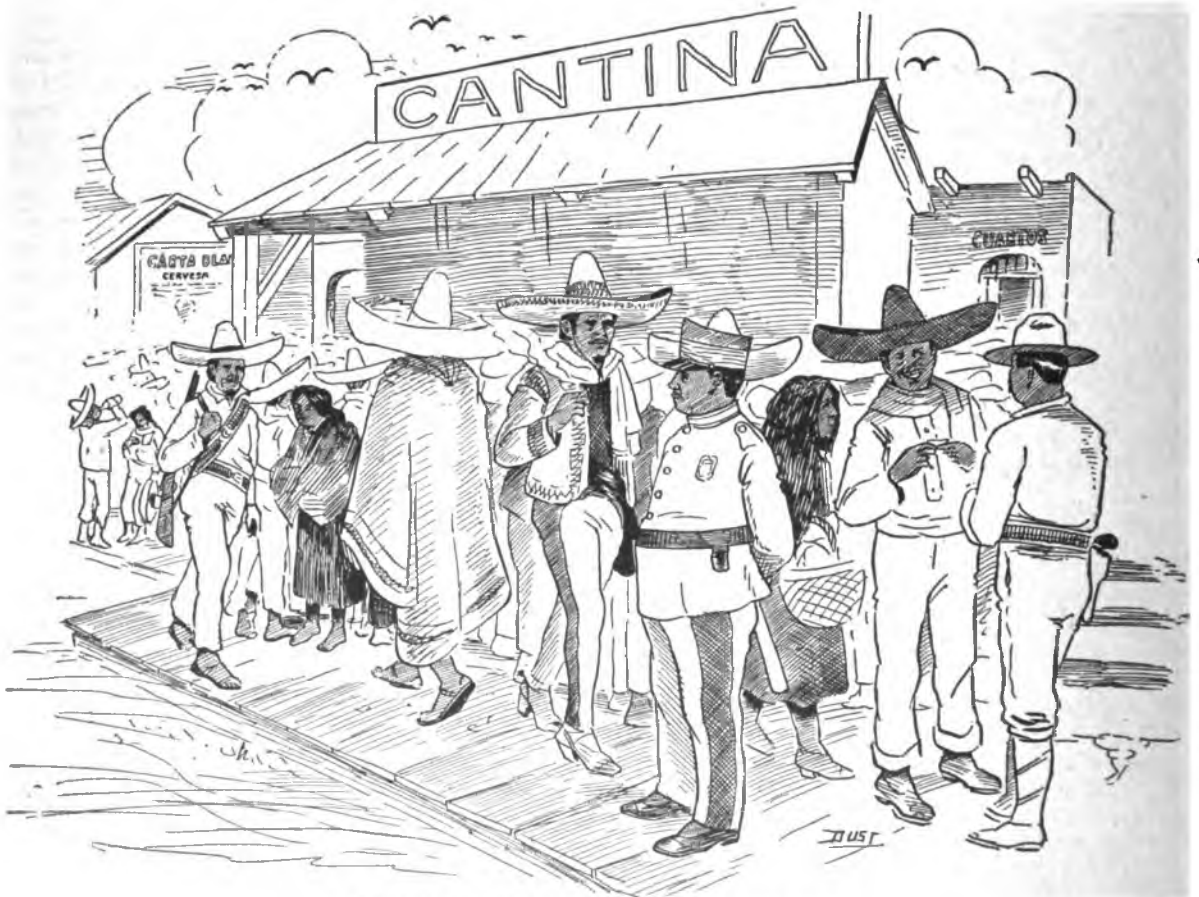
"Dust" on Mexico

"Dust," the noted labor cartoonist, has just returned from Mexico, where he spent four months. The two pictures on this page were sketched from life and represent typical Mexicans. We print below what "Dust" has to say about Mexico and its government:

There seems to have been some efforts made to create the impression among American workers that a labor government is in control of Mexico. This impression, if it prevails to any extent, should be corrected, for it is not only ridiculously untrue but also impossible. As the situation now stands, it is simply up to the federal government of Mexico to get along with the foreign elements that are interested in Mexican resources, otherwise, the federal government will be unable to cope with the unsettled condition of that country. What I mean is this: Any time the government does not meet with the requirements of the dominant financial interests, it is a simple matter to finance another revolution. There is always an abundance of prospective soldiers who are willing to fight for any general who has sufficient funds to make such fighting remunerative. This, together with some high-sounding phrases and a few promises from some clever and ambitious politician, seems to be about all that is necessary to bring about an armed uprising in Mexico.



A Federal Soldier.



A TYPICAL STREET SCENE IN MEXICO

I do not wish to be construed as eulogizing the Obregon government, but it seems to me it is adopting an attitude that will tend to develop the vast natural resources and bring about a more settled condition throught the country. Surely this will be of some importance to the labor movement of Mexico, for a state of continual civil war and chaos only retards economic organization as well as education, which is so essential to a proletarian revolution.

Just before the late railroad strike the chief of the railroad administration stated that the approaching strike would present an excellent opportunity to

reduce the working forces of the railroads, which he claimed was then retaining a number of unnecessary workers. This is quite typical of the Obregon government, which is bourgeois in every detail and has no regard for the workers except to keep them in subjection. What is needed among the workers of Mexico, the same as in other countries, is organization and education, but without a similar degree of progress among the workers of the United States the working class of Mexico is absolutely helpless.

Dust.

The Economics of a Patriot

By Jacob Sherman

1. There lived, in the days of the Great War, one so lacking in reason that men everywhere knew him by the name, Fool.

2. And it came to pass that out of the Capital an envoy was sent, waving a flag of striking colors, and prating of justice and freedom and Liberty Bonds.

3. Now, the Fool was deeply moved by the eloquent words of the envoy. I, too, can be a patriot, thought he. For the sum of my savings I will buy me a Bond.

4. At that time there lived in the land another who spoke of fellowship, brotherly love and peace; but him men knew everywhere as the Radical, the Red, the Agitator.

5. And it came to pass, when the Fool was on his way to draw his savings, that he met the Radical to whom the Fool related his plan of buying a Bond.

6. But the Radical, thereupon, was greatly vexed, and his patience was sorely tried.

7. Whose good art thou seeking, he asked, and who will profit therefrom?

8. And the Fool answered and said: Is not my money secure and will not interest be paid me?

9. Verily, replied the Radical, thou art indeed a Fool. Surely thy money is not secure. For thy loan is a hundred dollars, and the payment therefore will be a hundred dollars; but when the payment is made, the purchasing power of thy hundred will be even as twenty. And as for the interest, Fool, where will thy government secure its funds to pay thee? From taxes, Fool, and thou wilt be called upon to bear them.

10. But it was for naught that the other had been named, Fool. And he let loose his anger upon the Radical, calling him Slacker and Coward and Fool.

11. And the Radical departed with bowed head.

12. Now it came to pass even as the Radical had foretold:

13. A great scarcity came upon the land; and the price of food grew great and the cost of raiment soared high.

14. Then the Fool cried out in his distress.

15. I must sell my Bond, he cried, for my need is great. I must sell my Bond for my food is gone.

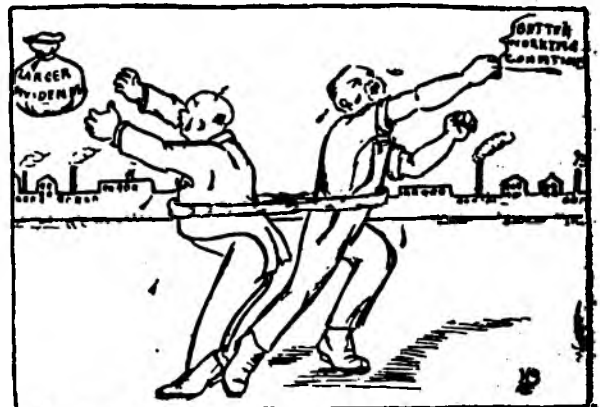
16. Now, when the Fool offered his Bond in sale to his Broker, behold, its value had shrunk to eighty dollars; but his need was great and the Broker secured the Bond.

17. And when the Fool sought to purchase food, he found that the price of sugar had risen to a hundred dollars a pound; and the price of an egg was a hundred dollars; and a loaf of bread was a hundred dollars.

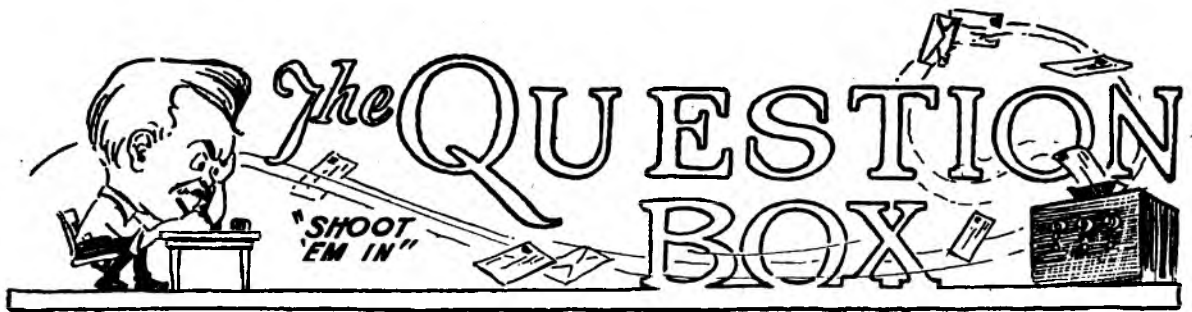
18. And he sought about him perchance to find that which he could yet secure for his money, but only a crust could be had for eighty dollars.

19. And the Fool, of need, bought the crust.

20. And taking the crust he went sadly home.



"The Interests of Labor and Capital Are Identical"



WE HAVE of late been receiving letters from some of our readers asking us questions relative to subjects touched upon in *The Industrial Pioneer*. This is a healthy sign, rather encouraging, to say the least. Once you get a man in the frame of mind where he commences to ask questions you have him started well on the road towards becoming a revolutionist. A receptive mind is the fuse which makes it possible for the spark of intelligence to set the whole works on fire; as a result the dross of bourgeois prejudices gets burned out, and, lo and behold! where once stood a pitiful, muddle-headed "scissorbill" there now blossoms forth an intelligent, clear-headed, class-conscious revolutionist.

A clever chap once made the following statement: "The less a man knows the more he thinks he knows; the more a man knows the less he knows he knows." Ponder this well, gentle reader. The wisdom of the universe is not confined within the walls of your cranium; or ours, either. Every addition to your knowledge which will tend to make of you a better rebel and a more class-conscious workman is another nail in the coffin of capitalism.

While most of the questions that we will receive from our readers will deal, we expect, with economics, politics, the I. W. W. and the labor situation in general, we will answer all questions touching upon any subject whatever. Should any of our readers, for instance, desire to become better informed about the fourth dimension we will drop a line to Houdini and then communicate whatever information he gives us to our correspondent. Houdini, as is well known, has the trick of vacating a locked cell or a sealed trunk via the fourth dimension route. Or should somebody else want to know what it feels like to be president, we will drop a line to Harding with a courteous request that he send us a detailed description of his emotional reactions to being elected president by an overwhelming majority of the sane, practical, sensible, matter-of-fact, shrewd, far-sighted, common "peepul" of this grand and glorious Republic. (The emphasis on the "common," please.) As stated above, we will answer all questions, whether they deal with the Chinese alphabet or with the causes which turn an apparently normal human being into a gibbering, idiotic, cowardly gypo.

All questions not answered in the columns of *The Industrial Pioneer* will be answered by mail.

When printed, they will be signed with the initials of the sender, unless otherwise specified.

* * * * *
What is the difference between a hamburger and a liberty steak?—L. M.

The difference consists in the propaganda value of the two terms. Calling a mixture of finely chopped-up liver and onion left-overs, scraps of beef and other garbage a hamburger steak is like calling a spade a spade. Calling it a liberty steak impresses upon the mind of the eater the boundless liberty that he enjoys in making his selection from the menu: If he hasn't the fifty cents with which to pay for a T-bone steak he is at perfect liberty to pay twenty cents for a liberty steak. Liberty is the thing that symbolizes, more than anything else, our wonderful country. As a nation, we will stand or fall by the banner of liberty. Liberty is the main strength of the "open shop" campaign, known, in this case, as freedom of contract. If a workingman does not like to take a job from one employer at 60c. an hour he has the liberty to take it from another employer at 50c. an hour. What right, say we, has a labor organization to take the liberty away from an American citizen, whose very blood tingles with the traditions of a republic in freedom born, by making it compulsory for him to work for not less than \$1.00 per hour? And what right has anybody to make a craven slave of a man who wants to work twelve hours a day for seven days a week by saying to him: Thou shalt not work more than eight hours a day for five days, four hours on Saturday and not at all on Sunday?

Let us be done with all this talk about minimum wages, the closed shop, child labor laws, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and such other infringements of our sacred right of freedom. If a man is looking for a job there is nothing on earth to prevent him to keep on looking. If he doesn't succeed at first, let him try, try again; let him make up his mind that he will be a man and find a job, or die in the attempt. All our great men are where they are, at the pinnacle of society, on account of their powers of tenacious perseverance. If a man has not the price of a feed he is at perfect liberty to go without eating; it will do him good;—all the doctors say there is nothing like the fast cure for improving the health.

We say, let us get back to first principles. Let us get back to a clearer understanding of ultimate

values. Let us elevate the liberty steak to its proper place in our hearts, for it stands for everything that is dearest and nearest to us. We fervently hope to see the day when the liberty steak will be blazoned forth on the folds of banners flying high, with multitudes of zealous patriots ready to lay down their very lives (and even a few of their dollars) for the principles that it represents.

* * * * *

How near is America to seeing the collapse of capitalism? In other words, how soon, in your opinion, will revolution hit the shores of this country?—P. M. C.

In answering the previous question we waxed somewhat eloquent towards the end, being still under the influence of a patriotic speech we listened to some two weeks ago. Since the revolution is admittedly a bigger thing than a liberty steak, we will now aim to be correspondingly more prosaic and matter-of-fact.

The opinion has gained currency among quite a number of radicals that the revolution is next door from us, getting ready to knock on our own door at 'most any time. They seem to think that in the course of a few months our beloved capitalists will recognize that the job is too big for them, will throw their hands up in dismay, and will pass industry over to the working class, saying: "Here, boys, have a try at running this country yourselves, for a change. We must admit that we can't make her go any longer." At any rate, many radicals have the idea that even if the capitalists should offer resistance, they will nevertheless be compelled by the force of circumstances to surrender the "running" of these United States to the working class in the near future.

No greater mistake could be made. It is essential that the minds of all rebel workers be clear on this point, because their convictions one way or the other will influence all their actions for better or for worse.

In order for the proletariat anywhere under capitalism to become the dominant class two things are requisite: First, the complete break-down of capitalist management of industry, and, second, the existence of a compact, well-disciplined organization of workers, 100 per cent proletarian in structure and character, strong enough numerically and morally to take over industry from the capitalists, to run it efficiently and to keep it under the workers' control. How close does the United States come to complying with the above two conditions?

Capitalism in the United States is virile, and as efficient as its nature will permit it to be. Of course, to the view of an industrial engineer considering capitalist management of industry from a national and international standpoint, it will be revealed as frightfully, criminally, inefficient. But the question is this: Does it "fill the bill," at least partially, irrespective of its inefficiency? Can capitalism in this country be likened to a housewife

who has four times as much food as she needs for her boarders, who ignorantly and criminally wastes and spoils by far the greater part of it, but yet puts enough on the table to at least partially satisfy the hunger of the boarders?

We believe that it can. True, millions in the United States at this very moment are denied employment, are suffering from lack of food and other necessities; thousands of farmers and small business men have been ruined thru the greed of the big capitalists, but what of it? Industry is still functioning quite smoothly. In Austria, in Hungary, in the Balkan and the Baltic States industry is in an incomparably worse condition, yet the masters are still in the saddle and the workers starve and—submit. Industry in America will have to attain a much more advanced stage of break-down before we can seriously commence to talk of an industrial revolution. A few thousand suicides caused by unemployment and a few thousand bread-lines will not, by themselves, bring it.

The average human being, the workingman not excluded, is a peculiar animal. He is mentally lazy, lacks initiative, and is always willing to let some "savior" do his head-work for him; his mentality is of the "let George do it" variety. He will fight only when forced with his back against the wall. Give every man in this country a steady job at eight dollars per day, with the cost of living what it is, and you will postpone the revolution for at least five thousand years.

To turn to the other condition, which is a strong, well-disciplined, 100 per cent proletarian organization,—it simply does not exist in America. The organized workers in the United States number a few hundred thousand, comprised in the I. W. W., some independent industrial unions and portions of the United Mine Workers. What are a few hundred thousand in a population of one hundred millions? But you will say, how about the four and a half million members of the A. F. of L.? Dear reader, don't fool yourself! For the purposes of the working class most of those A. F. of L. members are in a worse condition than if they were not organized at all. The A. F. of L., as a body, is an asset on the side of the masters. The A. F. of L. is, in our humble opinion, the cleverest trick that the capitalist ever "put over" on the American workingman. But let us "elucidate."

When the workingmen first commenced to talk about organizing the cleverer ones among the capitalists said: "All right, let them organize, we will get our men to occupy the responsible positions, to keep the rank and file down in ignorance, to keep them fighting each other and to sell them out in case they go out on strike. And we will gain the big point: By getting them "organized" in our Federation we will keep them from joining a real working class organization." It must be admitted that the masters have succeeded only too well. In some craft unions they have caused by-laws to be passed

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forbidding members to join the I. W. W., upon pain of expulsion. To make doubly sure that all officials are conservative and bourgeois-minded, their salaries range from \$75.00 to \$230.00 per week; besides, there are "side" and "incidental" incomes. Eugene V. Debs some time ago wrote an article giving the financial standing, at their death, of all the past presidents of the United Mine Workers of America. They all died rich men; exceedingly rich, John Mitchell being worth about half a million. How is it possible for a rich man to fight the battles of a poor working stiff? Will somebody well versed in psychology please explain?

Recently there was a big outcry about the crookedness of Robert Brindell, the labor fakir who blackmailed hundreds of thousands of dollars out of building contractors by "averting" strikes. Nothing to get excited about, gentlemen. It is reasonable to expect that there are hundreds like him in the American Federation of Labor, only they have not been caught. The editor of the labor paper in a big manufacturing city with a population of a million was recently proven to be in the employ of the manufacturers. A score of prominent labor officials in Akron were found to be "finks."

The following quotation is from the series of articles on "The Labor Spy," by Sidney Howard, running in "The New Republic":

"Says Mr. Coach of Cleveland: 'I own every union in this town,' which is to say that he controls the union executives. And there seems excellent reason to believe that this kind of control goes high in the ranks of union labor executives. It is a common plaint that American union leaders are not trustworthy."

We'll say they are not trustworthy; they are downright corrupt! You will say: "How come?" Because the American Federation of Labor never was, and is not now, a working class organization; it is an auxiliary of the capitalist class, and it necessarily functions as such. Practically every strike that the A. F. of L. has undertaken during the last few years has been lost by the workers being sold out. The employers have even directly helped to build up the numerical strength of the A. F. of L., since during the war, when the "cost plus" operating plan was in full swing, it was to their financial advantage to pay big wages; thru the mediumship, of course, of the American Federation of Labor.

Let us now get back to the main argument. Having shown that the A. F. of L. is not a class-conscious workers' organization, we have seen that there are at present only a few hundred thousand organized workers in this country. Before an industrial revolution is even thinkable, there should be at least several millions. What shall we do about it?

We must go to work with a will to educate and to organize the workers. We must do our "damndest" to clear their brains of the cob-webs of bourgeois lies and prejudices, and to line them up in the

Industrial Workers of the World, which is the only revolutionary class-conscious labor organization in America embracing all industries. Let us line them up individually and let us take them over in bodies, wherever possible. And, while doing so, let us definitely give up the idea of "reforming" the A. F. of L.; it can't be done. It is so corrupt and so unwieldy for revolutionary working-class purposes that all that can be done with it is to throw it on the scrap-pile.

Before we talk about mastering the technical processes of industry, or, in the parlance of the communists, about "capturing the state," let us first capture the American working class for the one revolutionary labor body in America—the I. W. W. We won't gain anything by being ten jumps ahead of the game. Education and Organization,—that's where the emphasis belongs at present. In Spain the revolutionary working class organization, the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo," has a million members, in Italy the syndicalists have 600,000 members, and yet those workers are not strong enough to take the power away from the capitalists. Let us first get at least a million members in the I. W. W. And after that we will still have plenty of time to study industrial processes and to devise more efficient methods of co-ordinating industry; also, to devise organs for the application of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fellow workers, do not be carried away by ill-considered enthusiasm. The revolution will not be here next week, or next month, or even next year. The capitalists of America are virile; they are cunning, well organized, well disciplined; they have their professional labor fakirs, detectives, makers of public opinion; they have at their command all the armed forces of the nation, all the secret lodges, the chambers of commerce, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion and a hundred other counter-revolutionary bodies; they have the sympathy of the whole middle class, the professional class, most of the farmers and a large part of the laboring class. The workers are unorganized and apathetic; they have feasted too long at the flesh pots of Egypt; they have not starved enough. Let us go to work with all our might and main to educate and to organize them!

* * * * *

I have heard so much talk about it being inevitable that socialism must follow capitalism. The socialists especially have emphasized this, and also some of the Wobblies. If that is true, if evolution is going to bring us the New Society anyway, no matter what we do, what is the use of making sacrifices in the class struggle and for the revolution?—Miss A. T.

Your question is at present especially timely, when in some countries, in England, for instance, the class struggle is becoming very acute. "Evolution" has been the excuse from behind which political socialists have in the past endeavored to keep

the laboring masses from taking any action on behalf of themselves. Now, when the workers in most countries are confronted with the alternative of either starving to death or taking direct action against the capitalists, they have to make a supreme effort to rid their mentality of the evolutionary bunk that has been handed out to them for years by the yellow socialist parliamentarians and pacifists.

Evolution, as applied to society, is but the sum total of the actions of human beings. In order the better to understand the term, let us take an example from biology. When man is born it is quite generally understood that he will grow from the stage of infancy to boyhood, youth, manhood, and, lastly, old age. That process constitutes the evolution of an individual. But he will not grow unless he eats, drinks, moves, walks, talks, in short—acts. His growth is the result of the activity of his body and mind as a whole, and of each separate cell constituting his body.

The same principle applies to society. Only thru activity does mankind advance from one evolutionary stage into another.

It was inevitable that in Russia feudalism and capitalism should have been replaced by a system,

at least partial, of communism;—inevitable for the very good reason that the change did take place. But it took place only as the result of the acts of men, expressing themselves in war, suffering, sacrifice, educational propaganda, organizing work, and in a thousand other activities.

Societal evolution is not something above, over or outside the activities of human beings. It is the sum total of men's actions. If men do not do any certain thing that they desire to see done, evolution is not going to do it for them.

Evolution is not going to bring us the New Society, "no matter what we ourselves may do." The transition from capitalism into industrial communism will come only by reason of our actions. Every action of every individual will either hasten or retard this transition. Speaking about christianity, the Good Book says that "if you are not with us, you are against us." The same applies to the class struggle. Whoever is not actively engaged in the struggle on the side of labor is, by his very passivity, an asset on the side of the masters.

Fellow workers, let us cease talking intellectual nonsense about "evolution," and get down to business. Direct action, and plenty of it, is what will bring the bacon home to the working class.

Prelude to Propaganda

Go! my venom-fashioned words,
Go! little scorpions:
Fly forth and sting!

Sting the master, sting the slave,
Sting wage slavery to its grave,
Sting the serf in mine and mill,
Sting him to revolt, until
His age-old helotry at last
Is buried with the serfdoms of the past,
Where Freedom's dawn is red upon the hill!

Oh, give me deeper venom for my words!
Go! little scorpions:
Fly forth and sting!

Sting the master, till he bleeds
Blood-red drops at every pore—
Drops as red
As the tears of little children, shed

In shaft of mine or on the factory floor,
Or as the blood of Labor's martyrs, which has run
Red from the slugger's club, the bayonet, the gun—

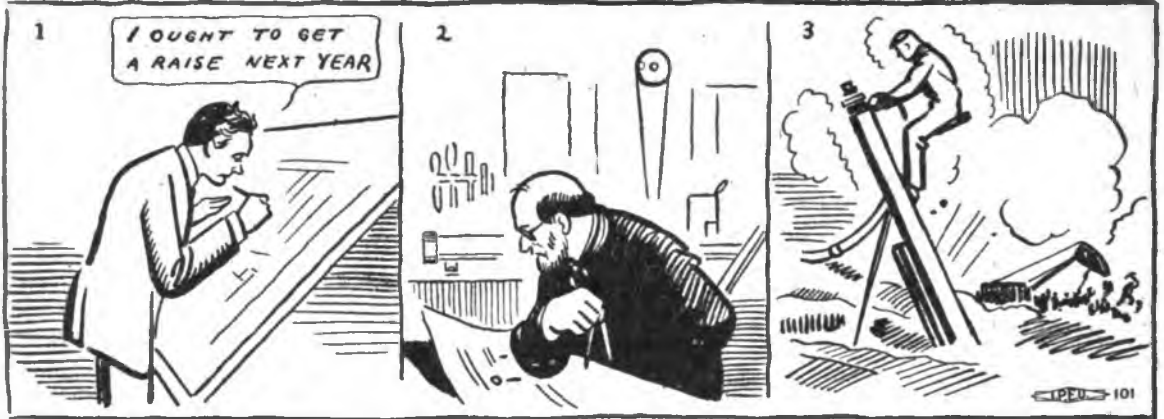
Not him alone!
Go, sting the slave!

Sting him! as he sinks beneath the load,
Sting him! as he writhes beneath the whip,
Sting him! deeper than the master's goad,
Sting him! till at last the slave lets slip
The leash on all the pent-up hatreds of his class
And sounds the hour of triumph for the mass,
When all the tyrannies of earth go down in one red
wave,
Where Freedom stands, her foot upon a grave.

Go! my venom-dipped ones,
Go! little scorpions,
Fly forth and sting!

S. P.

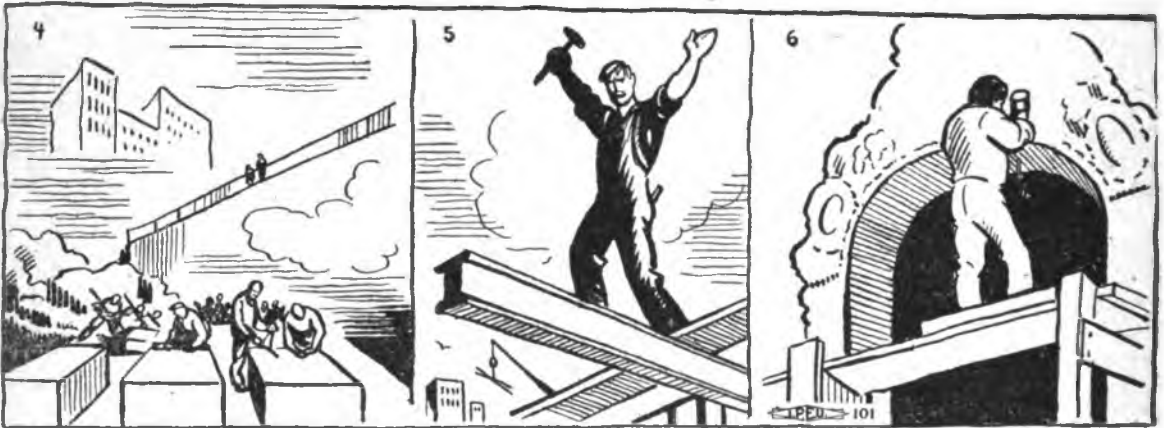
THE BUILDING



1 The unimportant assistant architect who designs the building.

2 The unimportant inventor who invents machinery for drilling and excavating. (Usually dies in poverty.)

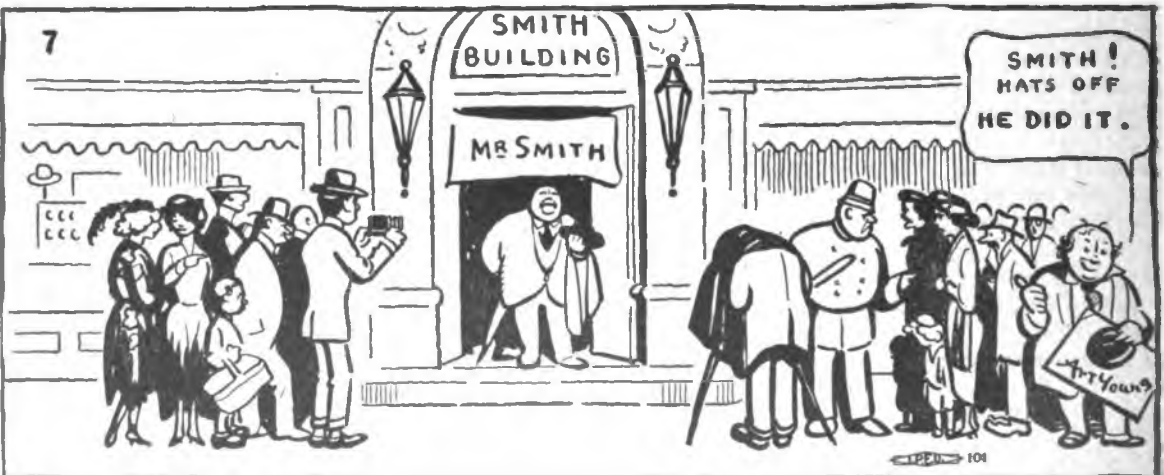
3 The unimportant men who do the excavating.



4 The unimportant men who lay the foundation after the stone has been quarried and transported by others just as unimportant and common.

5 The mere wage-earner who risks his life in mid-air with the steel girders, made by unimportant steel workers.

6 The man who carves the stone that gives beauty to the structure — just a humble laborer. — But —



7 The Owner—the Man Who Invested His Capital—He's IMPORTANT—in Fact, the Whole Cheese.

Drawn by Art Young for the Federated Press.

THE MAJORITY

A One Act Play. By Ernest Riebe.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Boss A manufacturer
Son Manufacturer's son
Mr. Block A worker
Mrs. Block His wife
Mr. Bone A worker
Detective A labor spy
Mr. Blank A labor official

The scene is the storeroom of a factory, containing tools, boxes and barrels. An open door at the back leads into the factory. The noise of hammering, pushing of trucks, handling of sheets of metal, is heard thru the door.

Boss and Son enter. The Boss is puffing at a fat cigar, the Son at a cigarette.

Son: What's the use, pa, trying to get me interested in the factory? You know I don't like business; it makes me tired.

Boss: Now don't think I am going to interfere with your pleasures. I am not as mean as that. You won't have to work, our fortune is made. But I would like to see you show a little interest because some of these days you may have to run the business yourself.

Son: Run the business myself? You're kidding, pa. You never ran it yourself. Didn't you admit the other day that all the work is done by hired men? From the manager down to the common laborer?

Boss: You're right, sonny. The actual running of the factory is not done by us, but we have to know how to run those who run the factory. That's the trick, my boy, I am trying to teach you.

Son: That can't be much of a trick, when you can hire all the necessary help. I think I know something about the business. You told me once that only at certain times there are what you call labor troubles; but that these are settled by machine guns if necessary.

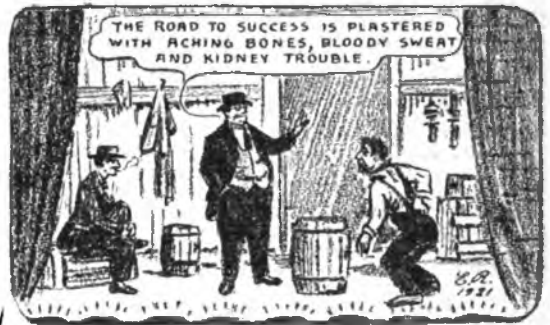
Boss: Machine guns, yes. How well you have remembered, my son. But you must understand that force is used only in extreme cases and only on a very small proportion of the working class. The trick is to keep the majority of the workers in submission without using force.

Son: Is it not fear alone that keeps the workers in submission?

Boss: You silly kid! It shows how much you are in need of business lessons. We big employers make it our business to keep the workers down and at the same time to keep on friendly terms with them.

Son (excited and amused): On friendly terms with those who toil away their lives so we may live in luxury? On friendly terms with those trashy, uncultured menials who are treated like beasts by our police and with contempt by our courts? Those mis-

erable millions without comforts who build our mansions and live in cheap flats and furnished rooms? Do you mean to say, for instance, that these workers with their tired faces in that little department



in there (pointing to door) are contented and on friendly terms with you? I sized them up, and I think they must hate us. Say, this is rich, pa. On friendly terms with us! I can't believe it! If you're not joshing I'd like to ask you to show me the trick.

Boss (rubs hands): Ah, interested in business, at last?

Son: Sure. I'm ready for business now. Come on! Let's go to the office.

Boss: Wait a minute, son. I am afraid if I give you a dry business lecture you'll skip to the golf links or the chickens. You rascal, you have done that before. How about giving you a demonstration right here. You mentioned the two workers in there. They are typical representatives of the working class. Let's use them for demonstration purposes. Watch closely how I handle them. It will explain to you our whole system that keeps the workers in submission.

Son: Go, to it, Pa. I'm anxious to learn.

Boss (sits down on box): All right. Go and call in one of the two men.

Son (goes to door): Say, the boss wants you.

Voice from factory: Yes, sir; coming, sir.

(Enter Mr. Block, a worker.)

Boss (friendly): I like to have a talk with you, my dear man. What's your name, please?

Mr. Block: Mr. Block, sir.

Boss: Mr. Block, you have attracted my attention. You are a capable, honest worker. I am looking for men like you. (Puts his hand on his shoulder. Talks slowly.) You are taking your work seriously, and you show rare intelligence.

Mr. Block: Yes, sir.

Boss: I have been in the business a long time, you know, and when I put my eyes on you for the first time I said to myself: 'Here is a man who will work himself up to a higher and higher position.'

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He's got it in him; he deserves to do something better than to remain in the ranks of the working class.' Now, listen! I will give you an opportunity to show what's in you. If you do better and more work than the fellow you're working with I will advance you. You know the ladder of success. All rich men have started the way you are starting now. First laborer, then foreman, department manager, and so forth and so forth. Your first advancement would be that foreman job over the fellow you're working with. If you do better than he you get the foreman job. Set the pace, be early on the job and don't watch the clock. And—by the way—keep an eye on that other fellow. You know we can't trust the workmen nowadays.

Mr. Block: Yes, sir, I know. Most of them are lazy, good for nothing bums.

Boss: Right you are, Mr. Block. (To son): You see I picked the right kind of man. He will be a success.

Mr. Block: I will be worthy of your confidence, sir. I will work harder than ever. How can I thank you, sir?

Boss (hand on his shoulder): Never mind, I expect no thanks. I am only too glad to see you succeed. You know we big employers make it our business to push men like you to the front. I tell you, many a sleepless night have I spent scheming for the benefit of men like you.

Mr. Block (takes out handkerchief and wipes eyes): Yes, sir. I read in the newspapers that you sometimes break down at your unselfish work, completely exhausted.

Boss (elbows son): You see he's reading the right kind of literature. (Son laughs.)

Boss (to son): Shake hands with Mr. Block; he's a regular workingman, the best of the whole outfit, a man of high character, no I. W. W. stuff for him. He's a wise guy, a safe and sane, level-headed worker.

Son (shakes hand of Block vigorously): I congratulate you, Mr. Block.

Boss: Now go, my dear man, and do your best. (Slaps his back and shoves him out.)

Mr. Block: Thank you ever so much, sir. (Exit.)

Son: Some game you're playing!

Boss: You will soon like it. Now call the other fellow. (Son goes to door and returns with Mr. Bone, a worker.)

Boss: O, there he is! What is your name, my dear man?

Mr. Bone: My name is Bone, sir.

Boss: Mr. Bone, I've noticed that you are taking your work seriously and that you are a man of intelligence. I need men like you. When I put my eye on you for the first time I said to myself, 'Here is a man who will work himself up to a higher and higher position; he's got it in him; he deserves to be something better than to remain in the ranks of the working class. Listen! I will give you an opportunity to show what's in you. If you do better and more work than the fellow you are working with I will

advance you. You know the ladder of success. All rich men have started the way you are starting now. First laborer, then foreman, department manager, general manager and so forth and so forth. Your first advance will be the foreman job over Mr. Block. If you do better work than he you'll get the foreman job. Set the pace, be early on the job and don't watch the clock. And—by the way—keep your eye on that Block fellow.

Mr. Bone: Yes, sir; yes, sir! Thank you, sir!

Boss: I expect no thanks. I am only too glad to see you succeed. We employers make it our business to push men like you to the front. Many a night have I schemed for the benefit of men like you.

Mr. Bone: Yes, sir. I have read about how unselfish you are.

Boss: Very good, very good! Now go, my dear man, and do your best. (Slaps his back and shoves him out.)

Son: You're wonderful, pa!

Boss: Listen! (Noise in factory, pushing of trucks, running, etc.) The two simps will now work harder than ever, they will try to outwork each other and we will get the benefit out of them to the last ounce of their endurance. This is the way we squeeze the last drop of sweat out of them and when they're squeezed good and dry we throw them away like lemons and get new ones. We play this game on the whole working class. The millions toil away their lives in the hope of a better future. None of them expects to remain a member of that class. Everyone of them suckers hopes to become a capitalist some day.

Son: But how is it possible that all these boobs believe and hope to become wealthy some day? Don't they read statistics?

Boss: They know, of course, that the percentage of successful working men is very, very small, but, you see, the average workingman is a gambler. He believes that he will be the lucky one in a million and win. We have trained them to be gamblers. In our newspapers we print stories of successful workingmen every day. We keep the hope of better days constantly in their minds. Our newspapers, politicians and movies attend to that. The workers follow all our suggestions. They are led by us as little children and it is easy because these big working stiff's with frames of grown-ups have the minds of children. They think as we want them to think, and they act as we want them to act. They belong to us body and soul: It is almost unbelievable, but it works.

(Mr. Block walks in, cap in hand.)

Boss (friendly): What is it, what can I do for you?

Mr. Block (twisting cap uneasily): I came to tell you, Mr. Dough, that I kept my eye on that fellow Bone in there. I always knew he wasn't any good, but I never expected that he was an I. W. W. You

know, sir, the Reds have scattered some of their literature all over the factory and I caught Bone reading that stuff.

Boss: A ha! Good for you! (To son): You see, Mr Block is the right kind of man. (To Mr. Block): You're the boy, you're doing well. You're on the road to success. (Slaps his shoulder.) Now I will tell you what we will do. We will not fire that Bone fellow right away. He's still working, is he?

Mr. Block: You bet he is, sir! I keep him at it. I am setting the pace. I work hell out of him.

Boss (shakes hand with Block, slaps his back wildly): You're the boy! (Shoves him out.) Keep it up, good for you! Fix that Bonehead! Work hell out of him! (To son): Just as I expected. In order to gain a favor or get ahead of one another an average workingman will do most anything. Now I don't believe that Mr. Bone is an I. W. W. He would not read such literature. He's just like the rest of the workers, he reads our literature and votes for our politicians, mostly republicans and democrats. He's a model worker, just as our newspapers manufacture them. Do you see how our game works? We've got them going now. Oh, it's great to play with such grown-up children. They imagine themselves men because they wear long pants.

Son: What's next?

Boss: There comes the other rainbow chaser. (Mr. Bone enters.) Watch the show, sonny.

Mr. Bone: Beg your pardon, sir. I just found out what kind of snake this fellow Block is. I made him work hard by setting the pace and now he's grumbling about the rich, and suggests blowing up the factory.

Boss (shakes hand with Bone): I always had my suspicion about that ignorant blockhead. How about his work, is he still at it?

Mr. Bone: Yes, sir! I keep him at it. I set the pace and he has to follow; he's almost all in but I won't give him a rest.

Boss: Go to it! Show your ability. We can get another man when he's played out. He's not valuable like you, Mr. Bone. Good boy! (Pats his back.) You know what I promised you. Hurry, boy! I can hardly wait till I see you become general manager.

Son (shakes Bone's hand violently): Let me congratulate you, I am glad I made your acquaintance.

Boss: Go to it, my dear man! You will succeed. (Pushes Bone out.)

Son: That dirty snitch! He's playing the same game as the other fellow. Now—according to our demonstration here, the whole working class would act in such contemptible way. I can't believe it.

Boss: What you see demonstrated here holds good for the whole working class with the exception of the Reds. You must know that the life of the average worker is a miserable existence. He yearns day and night to get out of the working class. Now, if you put the prospects of getting out before him he will do anything, he is ready for treachery and murder. That is human nature, my son. Men

shipwrecked in mid-ocean will practice cannibalism and men in the hell of miserable servitude will do the same, only in a different way.

Son: You mention the Reds.

Boss: The Reds are a different proposition, my son. Listen! Both our enemies, the Reds, and our friends, the Blocks and Bones, are trying to escape from servitude. But the Reds are trying it by different means. Our friends there (pointing to door) are trying it as individuals at the expense of their fellow workers, whereas our enemies, the Reds, are trying it by uniting the workers and liberating themselves at our expense. The Reds therefore, as a rule, will not snitch in our favor; they preach solidarity and worse than that, my boy, they have even practiced sabotage, such as slowing down on the job instead of speeding up.

Son: Those criminals!

Boss: Don't bother about them. They are in the minority. Forget them. Let's see how the majority are getting along. (Both move their seats toward door. Noise of work increases.)

Boss: Nice scenery, isn't it? They certainly are setting the pace for each other!

Son: Wonderful! They are making millionaires out of themselves. (Noise of hard work. Groans and curses. "Get out of my way! Go to hell! Look out! Ouch!") Both Boss and Son applaud mockingly.) Keep it up, boys!

(Enter a detective, from the Eureka Agency.)

Detective (excited): At last I have found you, Mr. Dough. I called at your office and then looked all over the factory. Very important business, sir. There's not a second to lose. I represent the Eurika Detective Agency, and—

Boss: Well, if it is so important, let's have it right now. What is it?

Detective (looking around suspiciously, thru door, into barrels, etc.): The Eureka agency has discovered a bomb plot to blow up this factory. (Son jumps up from box and steps over to listen.) We have trailed a load of dynamite right to this plant, and it may be touched off any time.

Boss: How much will it cost to prevent the plot?

Detective: That all depends, sir. \$50,000 would enable us to continue our work and produce results. It would enable us to get at the ring leaders, who are organized all over the country.

Boss: \$50,000, hey? Won't you come down a little?

Son: For God's sake, pa! Pay! Pay!

Detective: But, sir! This is no child's play. It's a dangerous affair. The plotters have mined your own private residence, too. (Son runs in circles.)

Boss: Seems to be serious, all right, all right. (Gets out check book, writes and presents check to detective.)

Detective (smiles, takes check and reads, expression changes. Reads aloud): "Pay to the order of the Eureka Detective Agency the sum of thirty cents." What do you mean by it, Mr. Dough?

Boss: It means that I am very, very generous,

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sir. I am making you a present of thirty cents. It is in consideration of your enormous gall trying to continue your game of buncoing us out of our money. You private detective agencies have milked us long enough. Get out, now!

Detective: But, sir, this is no fake, the plot is real!

Boss: At one time you were able to scare hell out of us with your bomb plots. You fleeced us out of millions of dollars. You overdid the thing. We realize, of course, that the bomb plots are doing some good in helping us to persecute the Reds, but you played the game too raw, you made a laughing stock out of us. To pay enormous prices for such a simple affair as faking up a bomb plot is preposterous. Anybody can do it. We don't need detectives. All we need are the headlines in our newspapers; they are doing most of our bomb plotting. Get out! (Exit detective.)

Son: Is it true, pa, that the Red plots are frame ups? Are all those Reds held in prison on conspiracy charges innocent?

Boss: It can't be denied any longer that all Red bomb plots and conspiracies are fakes. But the Reds are not innocent; they are guilty of bigger crimes than murder.

Son: For God's sake, what can that be?

Boss: The Reds are carrying on an agitation amongst the workers of this country. They educate them and teach them to take the industries away from us, and to operate them for the benefit of the workers themselves. They object to our way of running things; they complain about low wages, long hours, unemployment, and all that.

Son: The workers trying to run the industries? That is ridiculous, is it not, pa? They can't do it. It takes us to run the industries.

Boss: Between you and me—let us talk plainly. As we said before, our industries today are run by hired men, from manager down to common laborer, and in Russia the Bolsheviki have demonstrated clearly that capitalists are no longer needed. The Bolsheviki—damn them—kept up production in spite of all the counter-revolutions. And not only that; they carried on big wars when we attacked them on all fronts. We spent carloads of gold and rivers of blood, but they still keep up production. And you know the terrible result. Thousands and thousands of manufacturers, grand dukes and counts are now in absolute misery; they have to work, or starve!

Son (staggered): For God's sake, pa! What can be done about it? This is terrible! What can we do to protect ourselves?

Boss: Don't get excited, son. There is no danger in this country.

Son: But the Reds are still agitating, are they not?

Boss: Yes, they are. But the majority of workers will not listen to them. They believe us. They believe our newspaper stories, our bomb plots and everything we publish against the Reds. Things

look good for us in this country. Have a cigar, my boy, and trust in the majority. (Son lights cigar.)

(Enter Mr. Blank, a craft union labor official.)

Mr. Blank: I had some time finding you, Mr. Dough. I've found you at last. I think you remember me, Mr. Dough, I am Mr. Blank.

Boss: O yes, Mr. Blank, the union official.

Mr. Blank: May I see you at the office, Mr. Dough, about some business?

Boss: I'm on my way to the club, and I think we can settle all the business there is between you and me in a very short time. What is it, Mr. Blank? Speak out freely. Don't mind the boy, he's in the business now.

Mr. Blank: You know, Mr. Dough, capital and labor must work in harmony, and as far as I am concerned, I will do all in my power to bring this about. I am sorry to say that at present there is considerable restlessness amongst the workers and—

Boss: I know your speech, Mr. Blank. Let's make it short. This is about what you have to say: "The workers make all kinds of demands, and are turning Red, but that you will be able to pacify them, if I will see you."

Mr. Blank: How dare you speak to me like that, Mr. Dough!

Boss: It's because I know you, Mr. Blank.

Mr. Blank: You should also know that there are five millions of workers behind me.

Boss: Stop right there, Mr. Blank. We know your game. You've played it long enough. At one time when help was scarce we had to come across, but there are millions of unemployed now. Those five millions of organized workers you boast of, may be behind you, but they are now also behind us, begging for bread. We don't fear those organized job bums.

Mr. Blank: Wait a minute, sir. I realize that our positions seem different now, but you are mistaken if you think we union officials have no power. Suppose we turn Bolshevik, or I. W. W., and advocate the same thing as they do—to take away your industries? How would you like it? You know, so far we have always fought on your side against the Reds.

Boss (laughing aloud): A nice chance there is for you and your kind, who have lived an easy, comfortable life, to turn Red. You would have to expose yourself to the danger of getting lynched or put in the penitentiary. You know what we did to Tom Mooney and others who turned Red. You can't make me believe, Mr. Blank, that you are longing for a chance to join Tom Mooney in San Quentin.

You will be satisfied with the income you're getting out of the unions. Remember, we are not going to destroy trades unionism altogether, even if we do establish the open shop. We could do this if we fired every worker who continues to pay dues to you. But we will not do so, because you have been useful to us in the past and we can use you again. If you stand by us in fighting the Reds, we will allow the workmen to keep on supporting you. There

are some redeeming features about you union leaders, Mr. Blank. For instance, your agitation among the workers to reward their friends and punish their enemies at the ballot box in a corker. Keep up your good work, and entertain the minds of the simpletons with fake issues. Good bye, Mr. Blank.

Mr. Blank: Good bye, Mr. Dough. The time will come when you will call for me.

Boss: Yes, yes. Sure. And when I call (slowly) you will be there. (Exit Blank.)

Son: You seem very assured that you have everything under control. How about some of them politicians? They use very radical language against us sometimes.

Boss: Yes, they "raise hell" sometimes about the profiteers. They have to do that in order to gain the confidence of the workers. If the politician is elected, he will do what we pay him to do; if not, we scrap him. We can hire politicians and we can fire them. You know what we did with some socialists in this country. We fire them in bunches. Politics are all right, my son. Should the workers vote for laws beneficial to them, and objectionable to us, we declare the laws unconstitutional. We did this with the eight-hour laws in several states and with the child labor law. You see how easy it is for us. We do not fear the politicians. They always deliver the goods. Remember how faithful the Socialist politicians in Germany were to the employing class over there. They always used radical language against the profiteers, you know. But when they gained control of the government they stuck to the employing class and massacred thousands of workers, who opposed the profiteers. Politicians as a rule are faithful; if not, they go to Leavenworth or Atlanta. (Whistle blows.)

Boss: Let's go to the club and then hurry back. You see, our friends are still at it. None of them likes to quit first.

Son (mockingly): God bless you, you blessed majority. Go to it and make millionaires out of yourselves! Go to it, boys! (Both walk out.)

(Enter workingwoman with basket.)

Mrs. Block: What's the matter, the whistle has blown, and Block didn't quit yet. (Goes to door and calls): Oh, Block! It's dinnertime! (Noise ceases, Block enters, tired, wipes sweat.)

Mrs. Block: What's on, didn't you hear the whistle?

Mr. Block (sits down, wife takes out lunch): I'll tell you what's the matter. Good news! This is the day of my life! The boss today has recognized my ability, and picked me out to advance me to general manager. Not at once, you know, but gradually. First foreman, then department boss, and so on.

Mrs. Block (throws arms around him): Oh, Block! I always knew that you had it in you. I was always proud of you.

Mr. Block (busy with lunch): Yes, it will only be for a short time that we will belong to the working class.

Mrs. Block: Oh, Block, how nice! I must tell Mrs. Smith about it.

Mr. Block (stands up, link of frankfurters in hand. Straightens himself out): Stop! You will not talk to Mrs. Smith anymore. The Smiths are working people, and we are thru with them.

Mrs. Block: But, Block—

Mr. Block: But—nothing! You do as I tell you or—listen! (Sits down and drinks from cup.) Listen! Remember, I am now about to enter the class of society where divorce is fashionable, and if you queer me in my ambition, I may do something fashionable, savvy? (Mrs. Block tries to reply.) Silence! From now on I want you to snub that common working trash. You must change your working class manners entirely. You must put on upper class style. We will have to eat frankfurters and liberty steak only for a little while longer. It may take a little time till I get a raise. We have to wait for porterhouse and all that upper class feed, but as far as upper class manners are concerned, we can start to put them on right now. First of all: No more mix-up and familiarity with common folks. I want you to snub them, you understand!

Mrs. Block (arm around him): Oh, Block, don't be afraid of me. I will be a credit to you. I will not talk to the Smiths anymore.

Mr. Block: That's it, show your dignity.

Mrs. Block: You bet I will. If I meet them on the street I will show my contempt for them, I will make faces at them, I will even stick out my tongue.

Mr. Block: That's it. Now you're talking, kiddo! Show your dignity. (Hands in basket. Pulls out small paper package, holds nose.) What the hell is this?

Mrs. Block: Oh, it's the rest of last week's liberty steak. I couldn't afford to throw it away. Everything is so high, you know.

Mr. Block (eats from paper. Shows signs of vomiting): Never mind! It's not much longer that (swallows hard) I'll have to do this. Here goes! (Swallows courageously.)

Mrs. Block: I can't afford to throw things away. It's a shame how high the eats are nowadays.

Mr. Block (jumps up excitedly, holds fist under her nose): Say, that kind of talk has to stop now! No more breaks like that!

Mrs. Block: What's the matter, deary?

Mr. Block: What's the matter? Don't you know that complaining about the high cost of living is cheap working class talk? The upper class never talks that way. I want you to reform. Instead of complaining about the high cost of living and all the so-called outrages of the profiteers, you must find apologies for them. You must show your satisfaction with everything as it is today. You must guard yourself in everything you say and be careful not to offend the feelings of the higher-ups. We will soon be in their class. To hell with the cheap skates.

Mrs. Block (affectionately): I understand, deary.

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I always hated the common folks. They have such cheap manners. I always despised them. Oh, how happy we will be! Automobiles, swell dresses and all that! I promise you never to make any breaks, never no more.

Mr. Block: Listen! The first thing I want you to do when you get out of here is to buy a little flag to stick on your dress. Show that you are a patriot. That's what the rich men like.

Mrs. Block: A little flag, sure. I will get one.

Mr. Block: You're right, you're learning. Patriotism is the thing. It will help me to land the bacon, the manager's job. Always be patriotic! Make everybody notice it. Whenever you get a chance, curse the Reds, it attracts attention and brings reward.

Mr. Block (gulps down his coffee): I must go back to work now.

Mrs. Block: The whistle didn't blow yet.

Mr. Block: Never mind the whistle! You know what I am after. (Exit.)

Mrs. Block (puts utensils back in basket): Oh, I always knew that we wouldn't have to work all our lives.

Mr. Block (behind the door): Don't forget that flag.

Mrs. Block: I'll buy a dozen, deary. We can eat our mash without the milk tomorrow.

Mr. Block: You're right. Get the flags, get the flags. Let the milk go. (Mrs. Block goes, noise on job starts again. Cursing, etc. "Get a move on, you!" "To hell with you!" "Get out of my way!" "Damn you!" "Give me a lift!" "Lift it yourself!" "If you are sick go to the hospital!" "You'll find out where you come off!" etc.)

(Whistle blows. Enter Boss and Son.)

Boss (disgusted, holds nose): Those pigs had their funch in here. Do you smell it? Damn that sloop!

Son (disgusted, lights cigarette, spits): Awful! It must be some of that famous liberty sloop that the workers live on.

Boss: Whatever it is, it stinks like the working class.

Son: It's remarkable how the workers can get enough nourishment out of such stuff.

Boss: Any kind of gut-stuffing will do for them, they are built that way. (Both sit down.)

Boss: I see our prospective general managers are at it again. Oh, they are jewels. It is a pleasure to look at them. See how they are fighting one another, how they act like beasts. Isn't it a shame that the Reds are trying to spoil them?

Son: Yes, I see we are justified in persecuting the Reds.

Boss: Yes, if we can keep the workers unsophisticated, or as our friend Gompers calls it: safe and sane, we can play our game forever.

Mr. Block (enters, tired out; limps, hand on kidneys, groans): I knew I could do it.

Boss: What's the matter now, Block?

Mr. Block: Bone dropped dead. He couldn't

keep up with me. My pace was too much for him. He tried to slow down on the job but I wouldn't let him. I made him do his work to the last. And when he died I thought of your interest, sir, and ran as fast as I could to punch his time card so you wouldn't have to pay him more than he really earned.

Boss: Well, well. You are showing a little ability as a pace setter. Keep it up. I will get another man in Mr. Bone's place and I hope you will get some work out of him, too.

Mr. Block (meekly, stammering): Yes, yes, sir. I am perfectly willing to go ahead to croak another one. But you see (holds his back) I am almost all in myself.

Boss: Ah, go on! You're not played out. You must try it again. Don't you know the rules of success? Don't you know what the Friday Evening Post tells you? "Never say quit." And then remember, the salary of the general manager is fifty thousand dollars?

Mr. Block: You are very, generous, sir; but for God's sake, I can't keep it up. Oh, my bones, my kidneys!

Boss: Can that stuff! Don't whine like that. Remember what one of our best editorial writers, Mr. Pressbane, says: The road to success is plastered with bloody sweat, aching bones and kidney trouble. Straighten up now, try it again. Smile, smile, damn you, smile!

Mr. Block: It is impossible, sir! I am completely played out. I spent the last ounce of my strength in your interest, sir.

Boss (laughing aloud, Son joins): In my interest, you simp. It was in your own interest that you worked. Men like you I can hire by the thousands. Your place, Mr. Block, can be filled just as quickly as Mr. Bone's. There is a waiting list of your kind a mile long.

Mr. Block: But, sir. I only made such great efforts and ruined myself in order to please you, sir.

Boss: You're a damn liar. You worked for your interest. You were after a higher position and you would have gotten that, too, if you had shown the least bit of ability, but you showed yourself an incompetent, a weakling, who broke down after his first little effort in his career. I have wasted my time on you. Don't think that I am in the charity business. (Turns to son.) Here, boy, this man has quit his job. Go and punch his time card. (Son runs as quickly as he can, falls all over himself.) I am not going to pay you for the time you take telling me your troubles.

Mr. Block (staggering back surprised): But sir, but sir. I never expected such treatment from you. I don't deserve it, sir. Please don't fire me. (Son enters.)

Boss: You're already fired. (To son.) The card is punched, is it?

Son: You bet your life.

Mr. Block: Why don't you give me another chance. I'm not dead yet.

Boss: Pretty near it, tho. I've got the best out of you, anyhow. I don't care for what is left. Get out now!

Mr. Block: Oh, you heartless beast! How can you be so cruel!

Boss (to son): You see, now he's talking like some of the friends of labor, philanthropists and reformers. He wasn't cruel, oh no! It's only me who's the cruel beast.

Son (pulls Boss aside. Block goes to corner and lays down): I don't see any use of this, pa. You're thru with him; what's the idea of pestering him now? He's down and out. You got the best out of that Block. Now give him some easy job so he doesn't starve to death. He will be all right for night watchman in a couple of months. (Block shows pains all over, prays silently.)

Boss: Let me explain. Under average circumstances I would perhaps give a pace-setting Block, who almost killed himself, a cheap job to keep him from starving. I would do this perhaps with Mr. Block, too. But don't you remember that I used the two workers for demonstration purposes? Keep your mind on the business lesson I am giving you. (Slowly.) I will repeat: These two workers represent the majority of the working class and I am demonstrating to you how far we of the employing class can go with them. We may be charitable here and there in individual cases. That's done for show. But with the working class as a whole we act exactly as I do with those workers. We treat them like dogs and we make them like it. Remember the war. We told them to fight a war for democracy. They fought and bled and suffered; and what did we give them? We gave them the high cost of living, starvation wages and finally unemployment, while we got rich. We took the Liberty Bonds and they got the liberty steak. And you know what that is. Take another noseful of it. (Kicks paper with foot.) Some of our philanthropic-minded members of our class say we should slow down a little, that we play the game too raw. They are perhaps afraid of that little minority, the Reds. Now I will prove that there is no limit to this bull game. The majority of the workers will stand for anything.

Son: I believe there is a limit to the endurance of every worker, even Mr. Block. One thing seems sure. Mr. Block don't like you anymore. He will probably be a Red now.

Boss (laughs): Don't like me anymore? A Red? You silly kid! What do you know about the majority? There are 99 chances out of a 100 that Mr. Block still loves me. A child doesn't like the spanking but it loves his parents in spite of it. Mr. Block, the grown-up child, does not like the treatment we give him, but he still likes us and our present system. And, by gosh, I'm going to prove it. Let us see where Mr. Block stands. He may kick about me and call me a heartless beast and all that. That's nothing. The whole working class is kicking about the profiteers; but they will fight for us and our system. And they will fight against our enemies, the

Reds. And furthermore, they will lay down their lives for us if we, for the sake of profits, drive them into war. All we have to do is to wave the flag. With the flag in our hand we forced them to buy Liberty Bonds by the billion. Just think about that easy money we flagged out of those simps.

Son: I am afraid you will fall down with your demonstration, pa. I think Mr. Block will not be a patriot any longer.

Boss: What's the use of talking, boy. I will demonstrate how we make patriots. Now for the supreme test. (Pulls himself up.) I bet that in a few minutes Mr. Block will be a patriot. (Walks up to Mr. Block. Talks seriously.) Mr. Block, when I hired you I was under the impression that you were a patriot; but when you called me a heartless beast I knew you were a Red.

Mr. Block: But, sir—

Boss: Never mind, now, Mr. Block, that is I. W. W. language. (Block is horrified, grasps his head.) A worker who criticizes our business methods is against the established order of things. I know our business methods are heartless, beastly and cruel; but we have to live up to them, no matter how it hurts. If things are changed, down goes our whole civilization. It may sound reasonable when the Reds point out the cruelties and the outrages of our so-called capitalist system. Yes, our present system plays hell with some of us. Today it is you, Mr. Block, and tomorrow it will be me. And if it is me, Mr. Block, I will take my medicine like a man, I will not turn yellow or become a Red. I will still be a 100 per cent American. If civilization demands a sacrifice we must give it. (Block weeps.) You know, the Almighty in his infinite wisdom has entrusted to us, the big employers, the wealth of the nation and we must carry out the divine will and follow the business rules laid down by him, no matter if they interfere with our sentiments or not. There has never been in all history as much danger of civilization being abolished as at the present time, Mr. Block. It makes me sad to think that there are men in this country who advocate the overthrow of our present, God-made system, of civilization itself. You know, Mr. Block, who the degenerates are who say that the workers themselves should run the industries.

Mr. Block (excited): I know! I know! Them damn I. W. W.'s, them Bolsheviks!

Boss: You know, it is impractical that the workers run the industries. There is nothing about it in the Bible, and it shows that the Reds are against religion, too. Just think of it, Mr. Block.

Mr. Block: But sir, you are mistaken when you think I am a Red. I am not! I was out of my senses when I criticised you and I made that silly remark. It was all my fault that I broke down at my work and lost the chance you gave me. If I had never taken a glass of beer or a smoke in my life, may be I would be working yet. Yes, sir! I remember I dissipated a good deal in my younger

days. I used to go to dances and all that, sir. Forgive me, sir. You were so generous to me. I am your debtor, sir.

Boss: Now look here. I will gladly forgive you and I hope that it is true that you are a patriot. It is in your own interest. You are of course down and out, but even at that you are not as bad off as if a foreign power would conquer this country and would pull down our glorious flag. Let me tell you, it is very serious nowadays not to be a patriot, we can't afford it. Do you realize that at this very moment some great powers with the assistance of the traitorous Reds stand ready to jump at our flag to tear it down?

Mr. Block: Damn the Reds! I hate them. I al-

ways hated them and always will. To hell with them! And to hell with them foreign powers, with Mexico, Japan, England and Germany! To hell with them!

Boss: Just think of it, what we are up against, Mr. Block. Is it possible that in the face of such a danger there are men in this country who are not patriots? If our enemies knew that we of this country do not care about our flag, they will attack us sure as hell. We must demonstrate and let the world know that we are ready to die for our flag.

Mr. Block (jumps up, waves arms wildly): Hurray for the flag! Hurray for the flag! Hurray for the flag!

(While Block is shouting down goes the curtain.)

To the Labor Organizations of the World! Boycott All Goods Made in Spain!

The Executive Committee of the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo" (National Confederation of Labor, of Spain) sent out some time ago an appeal to the workers of the whole world to help the Spanish workers in their heroic struggle against persecution. In order to put a stop to the horrible ravages of the reaction in Spain, it was recommended that a world-wide boycott against Spanish import and export goods be declared on January 15th. Thousands of the noblest fighters for freedom in Spain have been arrested, deported and murdered after the manner of the martyr Francisco Ferrer! The Spanish workers have again made an appeal to the German proletariat for solidarity, contained in the following letter brought to us by French comrades:

TO REVOLUTIONARY GERMANY, GREETINGS!

In order to officially acquaint the French proletariat with the terrible condition in which the Spanish working class finds itself today, I have been sent to France by the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo."

Our greatest desire would be to come to you and to explain our situation in the same way that it has been explained to the French organizations. At the same time we would like to bring you brotherly greetings from all those who have fallen, day by day, in the struggle, of all those who have been murdered or are held in captivity, be it on the streets of Spain or in "Fernando Po," in Mahon, in Montjuich. You should know that in the last named fortress twenty-five of our comrades, among them Pestana, are incarcerated. Altho the situation is desperate, it is not possible for us, no matter how much we may desire to do so, to send delegates to

all countries with an appeal for solidarity, which in this case should bind the international proletariat together in a common aim.

As for you, Revolutionary Germany, I greet you in the name of the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo" and am using the opportunity offered by the visit of Comrade Haussard, to fervently implore you to do everything in your power to keep up the strictest boycott on all products of Spanish manufacture.

Save our Spanish brothers, who today are facing death! They are being murdered every day by the wholesale, as sheep in a slaughter house!

LEON XIFORT

In the name of the "Confederación Nacional Del Trabajo."

We are sorry to say that up to the present time the desperate appeal of our Spanish brothers has been in vain. But now we must act with a will! We therefore request that all labor organizations at once take steps to initiate co-ordinated action, and that they send us the addresses of their officials, so that as quickly as possible an understanding can be arrived at.

This action will receive international support from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists in Amsterdam. It should also be the concern of labor parties and other central organizations to give international publicity to the boycott of all goods made in Spain.

The Executive Committee of the
Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Syndicalists).

WOBBLES

Some men wear shell rim glasses and are intellectuals—and some men just wear shell rim glasses.

In ancient Egypt a soldier received 12 acres of land, which gave an interest in the fatherland. Now he is told to go to some furtherland.

Two bourgeois gentlemen by name of Wood and Stone were on the way to their factory one morning, but on arriving there they found that the workers had organized, and Wood turned to stone, and Stone turned to wood.

Special to Industrial Pioneer:

Chicago, April 21.—A terrible and very gruesome calamity occurred in the kitchen of a Greek restaurant here this morning: The cook dropped a clam in the chowder.

The cook is now seeking a new job.

Solving the Unemployment Question:

A fellow told me that a guy told him that he saw a bird whose cousin knew of a gink who knew a bloke that said he knew of a geezer whose brother-in-law knew about a gazabo who told him that a hick knew of a simp who quit his job and that there is a job open for anyone who wants to take it.

The yellow socialists are agreed that all this red propaganda is quite unnecessary. The proletariat should partake liberally of jad salts and trust in the process of evolution.

Old Ezry Eggins, who is trucking down at the warehouse, still complains about the high cost of living, but he has some hopes for the near future; he says labor has got down to where it's purty reasonable.

Our readers are requested to send in jokes for this page.

Landlady:—Is it not a fright—the price of laundry nowadays?

Roomer:—I'll say so.

Landlady:—I used to give each new roomer clean sheets—but now I just take clean roomers.

The A. F. of L. has been weighed in the balance and has been found unbalanced.



The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

(Continued from the April Number)

CHAPTER 7

THE WAY TO POWER.

THE rank and file of the ships and docks have to create something new and modern if they are to fight the boss with any degree of success. This new form of organization will not come from the trade union jonahs, many of whom have never seen a ship, and can't speak any language except the one they picked up when they were children. Most of these poor old fossils are in their second childhood, for while their legs are alive their heads are dead. I have seen the secretary of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Seamen's Union come down to the union office in a pony chaise. He was about sixty inches around the waist, and his legs could not stand the strain. The assistant secretary would come out and report how things were going on, after which John would whip up the tired pony, which waddled away with his mountainous load of trade union officialism. That was his day's work.

The craft unions have to be broken up, as they are worse than useless. When they meet the owners they act like a dying duck in a thunder storm. They keep their watery eyes fixed on the ground, and have as many legs as a caterpillar. The idea of DOING anything never occurs to them, and any man who takes trouble up to the union office is an unwelcome visitor. When the unemployed army gets large they cry for unemployed doles, and chase their colored members off ships in order to make room for their white members. If a man with red blood tries to stir things up, the officials will conspire with the companies to boycott him. They have a way of trying to silence the opposition with the assistance of retired pugilists and toughs. Some of the dockers' unions are run on the same system, and the officials are more noted for their physique in a few cases, than for their brains.

The Meaning of Power.

Modern workers want something more than good old craft unionism has to offer. They want to put the boss to work on the docks and the ships, and to see that his wife is going to nurse her own children, wash her own clothes and her own floor. They want economic freedom, the right to live a full life and to have their material requirements attended to. They want to own the ships instead of being treated as so many slobbs when they are aboard.

In October, 1920, some 930,000 miners went on strike in Great Britain. They were on strike a

very short time, but that little time stirred things up. Factories closed, railway services were reduced, in fact everyone was more or less affected. The coal mining industry is only a national industry, but a strategic one. Let us have 900,000 marine workers and 1,200,000 dockers in one organization all over the world, with the same spirit as the British miners, and how much more power could we wield, especially if we had the co-operation of the land transport workers and the miners of the world behind us.

We have, then, to build from the bottom up. Every person working aboard a ship, whether on the bridge, the deck, the firehole, the engine-room, the steward's room and the wireless room must be in the one organization. Everyone is exploited by the same masters, everyone must organize together against the common enemy. Each department will elect its own delegate, and the delegate will be responsible for his fellows, see that they are in good standing, distribute educational matter and see to it that their grievances are redressed. These delegates, as their function extends, and as the power of the workers tends to perfect their organization, will tend to become more and more the administrative body on board a ship. One of these delegates will be elected to represent the ship in the various ports. As soon as the ship arrives in port it will be his duty to render a report at the shore office, and clear the ship to the long-shoremen for working the cargo. He will put in a document showing particulars about the ship, the names of her crew, their standing in the union, etc. The combined delegates aboard a ship should act as a ship's committee.

Cards and Officials.

There should only be one dues card, by which means it would be possible for a man to pay his dues in any part in the world, where the World Organization has control. Once a man is a member, always a member. Delegates should also act as messengers between the various countries and districts, thereby guaranteeing the delivery of correspondence of their own and similar organizations. In the case of International Congresses dealing with the people of the sea, the delegates should be required to work their passages to the place of the conference; an end should be put to the system of traveling first class, such as is adopted by the modern jonahs who are retarding the movement.

No union official is worth more than the average wage in the industry that he is organizing. The union members who allow their officials £10.0.0 a

week while they themselves are only getting £4.0.0 are damned fools. If the official wants a raise then let him get busy getting his members a raise, when he will benefit accordingly. No politician should be allowed to hold a union job, nor borrow a shilling, nor ask for a vote. A politician is the rottenest type of man there is on God's green earth. He is lower than a white-slaver, and would pinch the Great White Throne itself, if ever he had the remarkable luck to get into heaven. Which reminds me of a politician who did try to get into heaven. He was turned down and shuffled off to hell. When he was questioned at the gate about his mode of life on earth, he replied that he had been a politician. This was reported over the 'phone to his Satanic Majesty—who was busy frizzling up some respectable ship-owners and seamen's missionaries—who ordered, "We don't allow politicians in hell, otherwise they'd make everybody as bad as themselves. Give him a bucket of pitch and let him go away and make a hell of his own." And thus the gentleman who had scabbed on the unemployed by holding two men's jobs as union official and member of Parliament got fixed up for eternity.

Our Class and Our Boss.

Last year when there was a strike of firemen on the East Coast of the U. S. the ship-owners sent blacklegs on board. As soon as they arrived, the engineers—members of their own craft union—did the manly thing and struck, also. That settled it. Solidarity gets the goods. The secret of success is to stick together, like mud to a blanket. You belong to the one class and you are always right when you have your fist under the nose of the human sharks who skin you. The cook's labor is just as necessary as the skipper's, the fireman's energy as the engineer's technique. The boss doesn't employ you because he loves you, for as a matter of fact the rail boss never sees you, and doesn't want to see you, either. There is profit in your carcass and he wants to coin it into a bank balance. Day by day he coins up your energy into golden dividends, and as soon as he has stripped your hide of the last ounce of your nervous and physical power, then he fires you to bum your food along the water-front for the rest of your days.

Fellow workers, get the class idea; our class against their class. Let us consider our children before their children, our women-folk before their women-folk, ourselves before both them and their lily-handed avarice. And if they want a loaf of bread, let them earn it.

Coffin Unionism.

You know, fellow worker, that if you pay off in Genoa from an overseas ship you do not, so far, get protection from the local unions. The same was true in Buenos Aires and Rosario before the Marine Transport Workers were established

there. There is no union there for you, and so you are shanghaied or shipped for any old wages at all. Now, fellow workers, we have to put an end to this for once and for all. You know that there are several great international shipping centres in the world that are similar to Genoa. There are Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Barcelona, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Cardiff, Melbourne, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, Valparaiso, Callao and Rio de Janeiro. They are in precisely the same condition to the men working on overseas ships as Buenos Aires was before May, 1919.

Now you know, you British seamen, that even if Havelock Wilson's Union does such a lot for you in the ports of the United Kingdom, he does nothing for you in Helsingfors, Barcelona, or Shanghai. Neither does the Seafarers' Union nor the Hull Union. The Belgian Union doesn't protect its members in Copenhagen, Malmo, or Hong Kong. The International (?) Seamen's Union of the United States has no power in London, Rio, or Auckland, N. Z. When a badly injured Norwegian union-man sent a note from his ship in the Commercial Docks, London, to the delegate of the British Union to assist him in getting justice, he was informed that "the law of this country prevented their union from doing anything for him, but that they would work to get an Act thru Parliament that would help poor foreigners when they get hurt." So, fellows, you see how useless this kind of unionism is to the men who follow the deep sea. It is money wasted and time lost. It is the boss's unionism, for it plays into his hands.

The Amsterdam Federation.

The Yellow International Transport Workers' Federation has federated no one. Things are in as bad a state as they were in the year 1914. The conference held recently in Kristiania was remarkable for nothing except the banquet. In fact the average international congresses have become little else, except excuses for joy trips on the part of the Labor Generals of the different countries. They are tedious and useless, and couldn't organize a peanut stall. The future of the Marine Transport Workers will circle more round Moscow than Amsterdam.

Towards Power.

The establishment of Ship's Committees is imperative. We have to open offices in all the ports that I have just mentioned. In some places the local organizations will gladly fall into line, and welcome them, for they are tired of carrying half a dozen union cards, and possessing no protection overseas. They require the "International and Universal" form of organization. Every sensible man is ripe for it, whatever his creed may be. While in port the ship's delegates will meet weekly, and arrangements shall be made to overcome

language difficulties, which is the chief obstacle. It would breed a fraternal spirit. Further, such a form of organization would so completely smash the existing national unions that the Vigilance Committees of the longshoremen will fall in line. The Marine Transport Workers would not control the Argentine ships in Buenos Aires, but they would in London, Glasgow or Genoa. The M. T. W. in Genoa would control all non-Italian tonnage and work hand in hand with the "Lavoratori del Mare". By these methods of organization we would encircle the world with a girdle of steel that would render the employers powerless. We would be on the way to control and to possess the ships. And, without being too hard on the theoretical internationalists, we would point out that there can never be an effective, usable World Power of the Workers until this, or some other similar project is launched and perfected. The closet philosophers may disagree with it, and the academicians who never coiled a rope, nor took a turn at the wheel, may see other ways to do it; they may offer opposition, if it merits so much of their attention, but they will not seriously deter it. It is enough to say that intelligent men who follow the sea feel that this method of industrial net-work is the starting point for the Federated Workers' Republics of the Planet Earth.

From practical experience it will be found necessary to have paid delegates to visit the ships in port, and to interview all ranks aboard. Men who are staunch industrialists and can speak two or more languages are the most desirable. They must be trained for the work, for they have to impart the ideas of industrial control. Scandinavians, Germans and Hollanders on deep-water traffic generally speak more or less English. In Buenos Aires we found that Scandinavians made the best delegates. For the Latin ships, you have to find men who can speak two or more languages, such as French, Italian, Greek and Spanish.

Shore Delegates.

It will be the duty of the shore delegates to visit each ship in his area daily, to note how many men have left the ship, and to see that they register at the union office on paying off for further employment. The delegate must see that every ship has a full crew signed on at least three days before the ship is ready for sea, otherwise the dockers must be acquainted and the ship tied up. All employment must go by rotation, and be engaged only at the union office. In Buenos Aires we had three sections, viz., deck, engine-room and steward's. Officers and engineers were also shipped thru the union, when vacancies occurred in the port.

No seamen were allowed to visit ships to look for their own job, nor were they allowed to stay at, or visit non-union boarding-houses or bars. Captains were not allowed to be fastidious about the men that they wanted, for we took the stand-

point that every man had a stomach, whether he was small or whether he was otherwise. If a man proved that he was a sailor, then that was all there was to it.

The shore delegates were responsible for the distribution of literature that was printed for the different grades in various languages. Special leaflets were issued to captains, officers and the men in the foc's'le. Whenever, in Buenos Aires, we had a serious fight an explanatory manifesto was issued in Spanish for the dock-owners. When the M. T. W. tied up the Dutch ships in February, 1920, at the request of the Dutch secretariat, the matter was explained in a Spanish leaflet to the dockers, and in a Dutch leaflet to the Dutch crews. Thus two national groups of workers fought together, altho they did not speak a word of one another's language.

How We Did It in Buenos Aires.

In Buenos Aires we recognized the members of other overseas unions. We transferred them free. If a man was in good standing overseas, he merely registered at the union office for his next job and he paid nothing. All we required was that he should act according to the union rules in the port. This system smashed the shanghaiers out of their business and made it impossible for them to operate. When the dockers boycotted a ship at the behest of our union, they did not return to work until they had been paid for the time they had not worked, a fact that was not appreciated by the shipping companies. Doubtful ships and boarding houses were picketed, and the owners of the latter became little puppydogs under the rule of the union, whereas before they had been man-eaters and terrors to the seamen. We built that power out of 250 starving men of all nationalities, who had been sleeping in railway trucks, and getting a little food from the ships. They were the finest body of men that ever picketed a consulate or "uppercutted" a shanghaier. If we had 5,000 of such men scattered thru the marine industry today, we would have the boss shoveling coal in no time.

A little conference shows the kind of temper these men had. One day the news leaked thru that a shanghaier had boasted that he was going to bribe the police to get me arrested. A Chinese cook, who was a member of the union, went to his place, and showing him the point of a vicious-looking knife, he said, "If you allest secretally, I bloody well kill you, savvy?" He savvyed all right. On the Norwegian steamer that I came north on, the Chinese steward had more wages than the chief engineer who was signed on in Norway. The least paid man on the ship was the third mate, who received about 30 crowns a month less than the Chinese galley boy. Both the Chinese were members of the Buenos Aires local of the M. T. W.

With power in our hands we may have the

John Bull, the Sacred Cow and the Golden Calf

By J. A. Loeb

TO THE BRITON there is nothing so sacred as trade. He lives by it; it is the foundation of his home, his empire, his philosophy. You may denounce his royal house, his church, his universities, his administration. He will, upon occasion, behead or depose a king, disestablish his church, reform his universities or replace his administrators by others with different complexions. But keep your profane hands from British trade. Naturally his trade and his trade-philosophy or religion have become predominant over all other philosophies or religions in the empire, and, because Britain is the classical example of a trade empire, also in all other empires which have striven to emulate her.

And so political economy has become the sacred cow and Adam Smith, Ricardo, Sir George Paish and their kind are her prophets. The sacred books are rather controversial. The disagreement of the prophets is at least as frequent and as contrasting as the accounts of the four evangelists, but then there are many things which may not be questioned. The law of supply and demand, the law of rents, of interest and of foreign exchange, Gresham's law—all of these are entitled to the veneration one accords to the decalogue. From a study of these laws one may, if he is among the accepted orthodox economists, predict what is going to happen in the world markets. In general it is safer to predict after the occurrence; but once in a while one may venture a guess in advance. Sir George Paish predicted the duration of the world war at less than a year and based his prediction on the German rate of exchange. This error would have no greater interest than the predictions of a trance medium were it not that it illustrates so well what makes of political economy such amusing piffle.

There was once a boy who was taking his bar examination. He failed utterly in most branches and when the kindly examiner said: "You do not seem well prepared in the common law; perhaps you have specialized in some branch?" he responded: "Yes, sir, I have made a thoro study of the Statutes." Thereupon the examiner said: "That is fine. A thoro knowledge of Statute law never hurt any lawyer. But what is to prevent some damned fool legislature from coming along and repealing everything you know?"

That is the present position of the economist. Malthus and Smith, Ricardo and Paish know the

statute and their trouble is that the statute has been in force so long that they assume that it is the common law. Ever since there has been private property, which is ever since there are records, the statute has held good. The supreme courts of experience have held it constitutional. It was therefore quite natural to assume that the great dicta of the economists were basic—forgetting that what made them basic was the right of property. It was the old error involved in the assumption that man was made for the Sabbath, not the Sabbath for man.

And now we have a glimpse of the damned fool legislature that is going to repeal everything we know. That it is surely coming every one admits. So the best thing for the economist to do is to resist as far as possible the enactments, to take them up to higher courts, to fuss, to quibble, to point out reversible errors because a "t" was left uncrossed or an "i" undotted. It is absolutely necessary to show that a country which disregards the right of property cannot exist, must not exist.

This is all very well for the British economists. There are special reasons prevailing on the tight little isle that are not to be found elsewhere. Let us analyze.

The British Isles house a very dense population. With the most intensive cultivation they cannot produce enough to feed their people nor dig enough out of their mines nor manufacture enough in their workshops to barter for food for their people. Even their carrying trade and their brokerage and their thefts and spoliations from Negroes and Hindoos and Chinese will not supply the deficiencies. It was not always thus. Generations past the Isles were less populous, the British adventurers bolder and their piracies more profitable. They managed to accumulate a surplus which they invested abroad. They built breweries in the United States, bought newspapers, mines, railroads and plantations everywhere and with the interests supplied the deficiencies at home. For many years they had no competition. The Spaniards learned that their treasure galleons from Peru and Mexico mostly went to feed the inhabitants of Sussex and Yorkshire. The Dutch found that their African colonies could not be held unless they were valueless. When gold and diamonds were found they belonged to the British by divine law. Until the Franco-Prussian war the Ger-

pleasure of soon seeing Lord Inchcape going into print again because we are going to compel him to pay the same wages to Lascars and Chinese as he does to the Britishers. He may not like it, but that's his funeral.

What we accomplished in Argentine can be accomplished everywhere else if the boys will get to-

gether and build this movement from the bottom up. We want delegates to give her a start. We are ONE CLASS. We must HAVE ONE UNION, with ONE AIM—the mastery of the ships and wharves, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on the Ocean.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

man, according to the British humorous papers, was a fat, good-natured, unambitious individual who loved beer, saur-kraut, a porcelain pipe, symphony concerts and philosophy. After 1876 he turned his hand to manufacture. In a few years he earned a surplus above his needs and this surplus he invested abroad. It was a true surplus, one which might not be needed for years to come and could therefore be invested on very favorable terms for the borrower in long term credits, at low rates, under conditions which did not provide a pound of flesh as penalty. Very soon German money began to drive British money from place to place. South America, Africa, even British colonies began to show a marked preference for German loans. Mesopotamia was opened up. We know the sequel.

The present task of the economist is the return to "normalcy." In a world which has been abnormal for six or seven years this will not prove easy. Even African savages have learned that private-property rights are not sacred under all conditions and British miners are becoming almost as intelligent. At the present writing there is a great excitement about the threatened strike of the Triple Alliance in Great Britain. There need not be. Beyond the destruction of a few millions worth of

property, which will be paid for by taxing those least able to bear the taxation, and possibly beyond raising wages, which also will be paid for by the weak and helpless, nothing much will or can be done. We have had dozens of threats of strikes since 1914. Each time a compromise was effected, promises were made that no one believed in, and work was resumed. Is this because the British worker is really more timid or less intelligent than the worker elsewhere? Not at all. But he has a different problem. If Britain drops the present economic dispensation without a world-wide simultaneous change there will be, it is estimated, some 15 millions of people on the British Isles who will not be able to live there. There would be no means of supporting them adequately. And that, in short, is why the sacred cow must be sent to slaughter.

Until arrangements can be made for a period of transition in England so that millions may continue to live without producing, until an immense surplus population may be transported where they may be utilized or some productive work found for them at home, England cannot drop the present economic system. Wage slavery must continue. The only hope for the British lies in a world-wide revolution.

Vive La Commune!...



A WALL WHOSE STONES ARE ALIVE WITH MEMORIES.

"The Wall of the Federals," against which in 1871 hundreds of the Paris Communards were stood up and shot.

The International Situation

By H. Van Dorn

IN CONSIDERING the international labor and political situation a few salient features stand out in bold relief against the maze of seemingly meaningless and disconnected happenings. By first enumerating them we will be able so much the easier to grasp the full significance of these events.

(1) The lot of the working class is growing steadily worse, not only in America but in all other countries as well. A lowering of wages and an increase in unemployment is in evidence everywhere, with no reason to expect an improvement in the near future.

(2) The capitalist class has shown an utter inability to cope with the situation. Not only have the capitalists and financiers shown themselves incapable of working out a co-ordinated plan of action on the international field, thru the judicious handling of loans, credits, and the import and export trade, but they have also proven unable to manage the industrial situation of their respective countries, considered apart from the rest of the world.

(3) Furthermore, the industrial masters have displayed a truly astounding lack of vision. Instead of trying to alleviate the distress of the people, in order to give an added lease of life to their regime of misrule, they seem to be intent upon doing everything in their power to aggravate it. By their foolish acts they are making enemies of large masses of the population which were formerly their staunchest supporters. As illustrations, let us but cite the thousands of farmers who were ruined last spring and summer by the cut in the market price of farm products, and by being refused bank loans. In their mad endeavor to retrieve a part of the three billion dollars which they lost by not being able to collect on their exports to war-impooverished Europe, our capitalists and financiers utterly ruined uncounted thousands of cotton, wool, wheat, corn and stock raisers. Another example is their suicidal policy of the "open shop." Pushed to its logical outcome, this so-called "Americanization plan" can have but one ultimate result: The destruction of the American Federation of Labor and other conservative labor bodies, and a corresponding increase in power, prestige and membership of the radical bodies, in America best exemplified by the Industrial Workers of the World. That the United States capitalists are not alone in their imbecility, is shown by the order of the French Government dissolving the Confederation Generale du Travail, the French counterpart of our own A. F. of L. The great truth, written large over the pages of history, that no ruling class ever benefits by the mistakes of its predecessors, ought to become readily apparent to every student of contemporary events. Truly, whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad—and blind.

4) A clarifying of the atmosphere between the two opposing camps of labor and capital is taking place in all countries. The line of demarcation between them is becoming sharper and more distinct. Furthermore, in the camp of labor, both on the economic and political fields, the tendency is "leftward": Those who are radical become more radical, and those who are "yellow" are being exposed in the full, sickening repulsiveness of their "yellowness" as the social-patriots and betrayers of the working class that they are, and are being gradually shoved over into the camp of the enemy. Industrial organizations with revolutionary aims, such as the Syndicalists of the Latin, Teutonic and Scandinavian countries, the Shop Stewards in Great Britain and the Industrial Workers of the World in North and South America, have in the last few months made great strides both in prestige and in membership. On the other hand, the opportunist parliamentary Socialists of practically all countries are on their way to permanent oblivion.

(5) Bolshevik diplomacy has in the last few months greatly weakened the spheres of British and Japanese influence in the Near and Far East, and has definitely established the Soviet power as a world-force of paramount importance.

Russia

During the last year, and especially in the course of the last few months, a number of events have taken place tending to greatly strengthen Soviet Russia, both internally and externally.

On April 28th, 1920, by a comparatively bloodless revolution the Moslem Republic of Azerbaijan adopted the Soviet form of government.

In November, 1920, Wrangel's army was annihilated, shattering thereby the last hopes of the Allied imperialists of subduing Soviet Russia thru armed intervention.

On December 6th, 1920, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia was proclaimed.

On February 19th, 1921, Georgia turned bolshevist. By adopting the soviet form of government these three Transcaucasian countries have added immeasurable prestige to Soviet Russia in the Near and Far East.

Meanwhile Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, the four new Baltic states that adjoin Soviet Russia on the west, have all concluded peace treaties with the Bolshevik Government. Esthonia was the first to yield to the necessities of the situation, and Latvia and Lithuania followed her example. The negotiations between Moscow and Finland dragged on for months, marked by many breakings off and renewals, but the treaty was finally signed on Oct. 14th, 1920.

On February 28th, 1921, a commercial treaty was signed between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Soviet negotiations with Persia and China looking to trade stimulation have been going on for quite some time.

Peace has been signed with Poland and a trade treaty with Great Britain, after long drawn-out negotiations lasting many months.

On March 16th a treaty was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Government and the Turkish Nationalists. By the terms of this treaty the Russians recognize Constantinople as the capital of Turkey, thereby definitely abandoning the desire to make of that city a Russian port, which was a standing clause in the foreign policy of czarist Russia, and was the chief inducement for Russia's entry into the world war on the side of the Allies.

So, after three years of intense warfare on many fronts, Soviet Russia at last finds herself at peace with the world, as far as military operations are concerned, and will henceforward be able to devote her energies to economic reconstruction. The Soviet has lost completely its novel and transitory character and has notified the capitalist world that it has made up its mind to remain on the Planet Earth as one of its permanent institutions, whether the capitalists like it or not.

There are four features in the internal policy of Soviet Russia which give assurance for the expectation that Russia will blossom forth on the economic field during the reconstruction period in a manner that will even surpass the industrial activities of the capitalist states. They are:

(1) Electrification. A plan for electrifying the whole of Russia has been worked out in detail by the Supreme Council of National Economy. Light and motive power for every town and village in that immense land will be supplied by countless electricity generating and distributing stations on the construction of which thousands of workmen are already engaged.

(2) Education. An intensive campaign for educating the peasants and workmen in rudimentary as well as technical knowledge is being carried on. Thousands of elementary and higher schools of learning have been opened, even in the most outlying parts of the country.

(3) Concessions to foreign capital, for the purpose of exploiting vast tracts of land and of mineral deposits, especially in Siberia. This will have a healthy effect in stimulating industrial life and will bring thousands of mechanics and technical experts into Russia.

(4) The increasingly greater share that the industrial unions are beginning to take in the direction of the country's affairs. The workers are learning how to administer industry by actual experience.

Great Britain

Upon leaving Soviet Russia and reconstruction and turning to the capitalist countries we are faced by discord, unemployment and industrial dissolution. In Great Britain the miners have been out on strike since April 1st, and an agreement was

reached by them with the other two members of the Triple Alliance, the railroad and the transport workers, that these latter would also come out on April 15th. It seems, however, that at the last minute of the eleventh hour the workers have again been betrayed by their leaders, as the sympathetic strike order has been rescinded. This leaves it up to the miners to fight it out alone.

The situation in Great Britain is not, in the nature of things, very encouraging. The most that can be hoped for is the ousting of Lloyd George and the setting up of a parliamentary Labor government, resembling somewhat the present German social-democratic government. This would be a long step in advance, but it would still leave Great Britain far removed from a genuine working class administration. In the meantime the workers have to develop more initiative and get rid of the incubus of their present bourgeois-minded leaders.

The Irish people are still keeping up their fight for national independence, and we may rest assured, unless our knowledge of the Irish character is absolutely wrong, that they will keep at it until Ireland has gained complete sovereignty. At the same time the struggle is taking on more and more the aspects of class war. The red flag is no longer a novelty. In some districts it is beginning to assume the significance of the national emblem.

Verily, England's tribulations are manifold. She has been driven out of the Caucasus, her influence in the Near East is fast declining, in Mesopotamia American capitalists are encroaching on her oil rights, the Greeks, backed by her in their war on the Turkish Nationalists, have been utterly routed, the Irishmen simply will not behave as all nice and obedient subjects should, and now along comes Gandhi, a barefoot Hindoo religious ascetic, and starts a "non-co-operation" movement in India. This movement aims at a complete separation of India from Great Britain, and has assumed alarming proportions. It has found its chief support in the working classes, who have declared war on liquor, that staunch old prop of exploitation the world over, are gathering together to talk of freedom and are demanding better wages and working conditions. When we remember that the population of India is over 300 millions, that its raw products, exported to the British Isles, supply employment to hundreds of thousands, and that it is the source of the wealth of many British captains of industry, we will begin to appreciate the immensity of the problem that Great Britain is confronted with.

Can these events be interpreted as forebodings that the glory and the power of the British Empire, on which the sun never sets, are on the decline?

Germany

The German workers find themselves in a peculiarly unfortunate position. Besides having to slave for their domestic exploiters they also have to satisfy the demands of their foreign industrial masters, the Allied imperialists. On top of that

they are kept from taking any real steps for genuine betterment of their condition and for the overthrow of capitalism by their own purely political and evolutionary ideology, instilled into their minds by many years of tutelage under the guidance of the Social-democratic party.

The Communist uprisings which broke out in several industrial centers during the latter part of March, and which cost scores of lives, were foredoomed to failure, for the simple reason that instead of attempting to capture the factories, mines, railroads, for the workers, as workers, they attempted to capture the governmental institutions for a revolutionary political party. These Germans make the fatal mistake of imagining that Friedrich Ebert and his assistants are the rulers of Germany, instead of Hugo Stinnes and his group of financiers and captains of industry. When will the workers of industrialized countries learn that only thru strong revolutionary economic organizations will it be possible for them to overthrow capitalism?

Several highly significant events have transpired during the last month or two. The plebiscite in Upper Silesia resulted in that province being retained by Germany. Had it turned out otherwise, German industry would have been seriously affected, as this is one of the chief coal and metal regions of Germany.

It has been stated on good authority that the recent workers' uprisings were caused in large measure by the Allied military occupation of the Ruhr coal basin and by the severity of the reparations indemnities. If the Allied imperialists press them hard enough the German workmen may yet be forced to throw off the yoke of wage slavery thru the sheer necessity of self-preservation.

Another cause of worry for the Prussian statesmen is the separatist movements which have arisen in the Rhineland and in Bavaria. These movements are supported, at least passively, by France. As a contrast, there is no better example of the selfishness and stupidity of the Allied imperialists than the provision in the Versailles treaty forbidding the union of Austria with Germany. By being fearful that such union would provide a way for the expansion of German influence thruout the Balkans and the Near East, the Allies have killed Austrian industry and condemned hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to certain death from starvation and disease.

In a note, dated March 29th, sent to the German foreign minister, Dr. Simons, by Secretary Hughes, he declares that the United States "stands with the governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible." However, there is no indication that the Harding administration intends either to sign the Versailles treaty or to join the now existing League of Nations. The Knox resolution for a separate peace with Germany was re-introduced in the Senate on

April 13th and there is an even chance that it may be passed.

Unemployment is as much on the increase in Germany as anywhere else. Reports show a decreased output in practically every industry, with the consequent laying off of help. The textile, paper and china porcelain industries especially have been severely hit.

The much-heralded "war after the war," for the rehabilitation of German industrial supremacy, has begun in real earnest. A fifty per cent tax on German imports into Great Britain has been fixed by the British parliament. To retaliate for this great efforts are being made to boycott all British, French and Belgian made goods, and to withdraw all the ships from the German lines to France, Great Britain, Belgium and their colonies and put a] the craft thus released into the trade with neutral countries, particularly the United States and South America. The German manufacturers are also trying to outbid their "enemy competitors," and as a good beginning in that direction the Krupps have secured an order for 10,000 railroad car wheels from the Argentine government.

Germany is also making strenuous efforts to get the first pick of the trade with Soviet Russia, and a trade commission with far-reaching powers has been sent to Moscow, which amounts practically to a recognition of the soviets.

France

To prove that in modern economic wars the workers always lose, no matter which side wins, we can cite no better example than France. Unemployment and suffering are about as great there as in Germany, and conditions are growing steadily worse. The French worker cannot purchase for his present wages as much as he could before the war since, according to the latest reports, his living costs him just six times what it did in the spring of 1914.

We would be mistaken, however, in thinking that in France the capitalist order of society is in any great danger of being thrown overboard at an early date. The French working class is as little organized, in a revolutionary sense, as that of other nations, and as much under the guidance of reactionary leaders. One would think that following the dissolution by order of court, on January 19th, of the General Confederation of Labor the workers would swing sharply to the left, but, to judge by latest reports, such has not been the case. The syndicalist minority within the confederation, numbering about 300,000, and the communists are doing good work, but the results are not very noticeable.

The overthrow of capitalism in France will be especially hard on account of a large proportion of the population being made up of the petty bourgeoisie, shopkeepers and small peasant proprietors. The French workers still have many weary months of suffering and privation ahead of them.

France is today the bulwark of world reaction,

and her people should therefore perhaps be congratulated because the Imperialists have been meeting up with one setback after another. First the collapse of the Polish war and of Wrangel, backed by French gold, then the sovietization of Azerbatjan, Armenia and Georgia, and now British rivalry for colonial and export trade. On top of that, according to one of the foremost French authorities on finance, Ernest Thisserand, France is in the midst of an unprecedented financial collapse and is facing a banking crash.

Italy and Spain

The two European countries in which the proletarian revolution is most likely to take place first are Italy and Spain. Unemployment is as acute and conditions as bad here as elsewhere, and the workers are developing a genuine spirit of militancy. Also, the left-ward trend in the ranks of labor is more noticeable in these countries than anywhere else. Another healthy sign is that the workers have abandoned to a large extent, especially in Spain, any hopes that they may have entertained of being able to fight capitalism thru parliament. The biggest labor body in Spain, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, is committed to strictly revolutionary syndicalist principles. In Italy the syndicalists number some 600,000 members.

Of late many encounters, sometimes sanguinary, have taken place between the fascisti, the Italian nationalist white guards, and the revolutionary workers. In Spain the persecution of members of the revolutionary labor unions continues unabated. Pestaña is still in the fortress of Montjuich and other workers are being arrested by the hundreds and persecuted and maltreated most severely. The boycott against Spanish-made goods has not been put into effect with any degree of success. From last reports it appears, however, that the Moscow Red International is doing everything in its power to help the Spanish fellow workers.

Other Countries

Two hundred thousand workers are reported to be out of work in little Switzerland. Unemployment is becoming acute in the Scandinavian countries. But the workers of these countries are still under the spell of political socialism and have a long way to travel before their organizations will turn into militant bodies with revolutionary aims.

The problems presented by most of the Balkan States are so complicated that it is hard to give an accurate analysis of their present condition. However, in at least one of them, namely, Bulgaria, the revolutionary movement is virile and the outlook hopeful.

In Hungary and Japan the White Terror continues unchecked. In China one of the most appalling tragedies in the history of mankind is taking place. Some twenty million people are doomed to die from starvation. The crop devastated, hunger affected

region ordinarily contains forty million inhabitants. Under the wall of Tientsin 25,000 men, women and children lie waiting for death.

It was reported on April 8th that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who became provisional president of China after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, has been elected president of the republic of South China.

There is no better way to end this article on the international situation than by reproducing a news item from Argentine, which shows the splendid spirit of solidarity that prevails among the Marine Transport Workers of South America, organized along industrial union and I. W. W. lines:

Buenos Aires, April 5, 1921.—The so-called port soviet, which has ruled shipping here with a high hand for more than a year by declaring strikes and boycotts against vessels, commodities and individual houses, is now in direct conflict with the United States government as a result of a strike of firemen aboard the Munson liner *Martha Washington*.

Members of the engineroom crew, who struck when the steamer arrived here two weeks ago, immediately were supported by Buenos Aires stevedores and ship supply laborers, with the result that the steamer could not be unloaded.

The American consul, after several conferences with the port leaders, told them that the United States government forbids recognition of port unions and that the firemen must treat with the consul direct. The port unions then notified the Munson line officials that unless the men's demands were met within forty-eight hours they would boycott all Munson line steamers, including mail boats.



ALWAYS THREATENING - ALWAYS FALLING!

Revolution: A Creative Process

A Book Review: By S. P.

Creative Revolution: A Study of Communist Ergatocracy: By Eden and Cedar Paul; New York: Thomas Seltzer: \$2.50.

"Revolution is the highest form of creation, the re-creation of the animate matter of the social organism."—J. R. White.

IT IS to be doubted if a good many self-styled "revolutionists" are really familiar with the essential nature of the revolutionary process. "Revolution" is an easy word to use. It rolls glibly off the tongue, requiring scarcely any accompanying effort of thought. Now, however, that the close of the world-war has made the collapse of the capitalist system seemingly inevitable within the current century, now that revolution has become a matter of decades, rather than of centuries, and perhaps, not of decades but of years, it has become increasingly necessary to clarify our understanding of the word.

Radicalism signifies a going to the roots of things, and if we are to be radically revolutionary, we must trace the roots of the process in the soils of philosophy, psychology, and natural science, as well as in those of economics and sociology. That is what these two English writers, Eden and Cedar Paul, attempt to do. Their book, sub-titled "A Study of Communist Ergatocracy," and dedicated to Lenin, is in reality a text-book, compiled with exemplary clearness and conciseness, of Left-ism—at least, of British Left-ism, tho the point of view is by no means narrowly British, as a chapter, headed by a quotation from the I. W. W. Preamble and devoted to "Socialism Through the Class Struggle" will testify.

The authors plunge into the midst of things (always the best way of making a beginning) with a chapter on "Communist Ergatocracy." The latter word may take the reader's breath away at first with its novelty, but it is soon found to be a very good word, indeed, and one which ought to be popularized, being much better than the cumbersome "dictatorship of the proletariat." The single word—literally, "workers' rule"—means practically the same thing.

In this first chapter, we find the cargo considerably lightened at the outset when, without a whimper, the idea of "democracy" is summarily dumped overboard:

"Stop talking about democracy. You think you are democrats, but you are not. You think you want democracy, but you don't. You are ergatocrats, and you want ergatocracy. Democracy is the method of the outworn era of capitalism, and 'democracy' is a term that has been soiled by all ignoble use. Leave democracy to the liberal bourgeoisie and to the Laodiceans among the socialists. Your objective is ergatocracy."

The preceding quotation from Bernard Shaw's

play, "You Never Can Tell" indicates that the authors may have picked up their word from a man whom the march of things appears to have left behind.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the drawing of a distinction between socialism and communism, an attempt at a definition of socialism, and finally, a definition of the word, revolution. These definitions and distinctions may be regarded as a preliminary clearing of the ground. One sentence is of interest: "Left wing socialism has an anarchist sub-flavor." Revolution is defined in the words of Engels as "a total social change," further described by the authors as "ostensibly rapid and very thorough." The question as to whether or not the revolution may be brought about by peaceful means is raised but left for such answer as is given it later in the book.

In concluding their introductory chapter, the writers take a mild slam at those who are inclined to believe in the infallibility of Marx and Engels.

"As from the gospels, so from Marx and Engels, the adherents of conflicting schools can readily select isolated passages which seem to justify their respective views by the *ipse dixit* of a master. 'But they did not know everything down in Judee,' and each generation must make its own contribution to the fires of human progress."

Having broken ground with this essential idea, that revolution means the bringing of the workers to power, the exponents of ergatocracy go on to present us with views of the various trends in the modern revolutionary movement.

The idea of "Socialism through Social Solidarity," an idea exemplified in the Fabian philosophy, an essentially British manifestation, but one which has its ramifications elsewhere, is first discussed. It is, as the authors say, the philosophy of "Bring socialism, but not in our time, O Lord." It is the philosophy which leads to state socialism and which masks itself in the parliamentary dilly-dallying of the British Independent Labor Party. The chapter closes with the conclusion that parliamentary forms are outworn, that "the growing economic power of the workers must fashion new forms of political expression," and that "the main impetus of advance must be the vital impetus of the class struggle."

This brings us closely home, for it brings us to the philosophy of the Wobbly Preamble.

"Class-war socialists believe that men are generally guided by economic class-interest when they are aware of it. The object of the working of bourgeois political and educational institutions is to prevent proletarians from becoming aware of the meaning of the proletarian status, to persuade them that they are 'citizens of the state.' On the other hand, the object of such teachings as that contained in the

Preamble of the I. W. W. (that 'pernicious organization,' as A. G. Gardiner termed it not long ago in the 'Daily News') is to convince them that they are proletarians first, last, and all the time; that the citizenship of the capitalist state is of value solely to the beneficiaries of capitalism; and that there is no possible community of interest between a class that lives by ownership and a class that lives by labour."

To the class-conscious Wobbly, this may seem like a repetition of his A B C's, but he will find much in the chapter to interest him. He will find, for example, a discussion of criticisms of the constructive side of syndicalism. On the whole, it will prove one of the most interesting chapters of the book.

Next comes a discussion of the British Shop Stewards' movement. The significance of the Shop Stewards as the "counterpart of the Russian soviet organization" is brought out. In this connection, the words of Lenin, quoted in another part of the book, may be recalled:

"Strikes and soviets. If these two habits once get hold, nothing will keep the workmen from them. And soviets, once started, must sooner or later come to supreme power."

"The shop stewards' movement," the authors tell us, "aims primarily at perfecting the machinery of industrial unionism, and at securing the control of industry by the workers through workshop control . . . the movement is before all revolutionary . . . in Britain, as in Russia, it will once and forever abolish the rule of those who live by ownership and will substitute for that dominion the rule, or rather, the administration, of those who live by labour . . . it will replace bourgeois democracy by communist ergatocracy."

By this time we are finding the word, ergatocracy, no longer such a bogey as it may have appeared in the first pages of the book, and its meaning has been considerably cleared. The method by which, in the opinion of the writers, the revolution is to be accomplished and an ergatocracy established also becomes clearer:

"We must concentrate our energies upon organizing and educating our fellow workers, so that when a favourable moment comes there may be an adequate revolutionary minority able to avail itself of the new instrument, and a mass psychology which may at least not be hostile to its employment."

In other words, the revolution must be led and, in the end, accomplished largely by a vanguard of the working class, composed of proletarian intelligentsia—for the proletariat must ultimately develop its own intelligentsia.

Early in the book, the authors have pointed out the two main currents into which the stream of modern socialism has divided. They distinguish these currents as those of evolutionary socialism and revolutionary socialism. Here, perhaps, in the doctrine of the "favourable moment" and the "adequate revolutionary minority," we have the point of meeting of the evolutionary and the revolutionary

streams. Revolution is still seen as a process of evolution and must come as the inexorable result of the working of evolutionary laws, but, nevertheless, if it is to be the sort of revolution we want, it may not safely be left to evolution alone. We must plan and organize, in order that there may be that "adequate revolutionary minority" when the "favourable moment" comes. In other words, revolution, after all, must be an essentially creative process.

Creation in connection with revolution is no new thing in the realm of natural science. The theory of "Creative Evolution" has been evolved by Bergson, the title of whose book the authors have parodied in naming their own. A later chapter of the present volume is devoted to a further exposition of this point.

In a passage quoted some paragraphs above, the phrase occurs: "the rule, or rather the administration, of those who live by labour." This phrase is significant. The idea of democracy—"government of the people, by the people, for the people"—has, as we have seen been thrown overboard. In its place is to be set up an ergatocracy, or rule of the workers. But the rule of the workers, according to the theory elaborated in this treatise, is—ultimately, at least—to be supplanted by the administration of the workers. Not the rule of persons but the administration of things, in the interest of the working class, i. e., in the interest of all society, for all society will then belong to the working class—is to be the aim of the communist state or that which follows it.

In the conclusion of the chapter on the Shop Stewards' movement, a movement which Lenin sees as the "microbe" of English Bolshevism, occurs a passage which should appeal to industrial unionists:

"But the industrial union is likely to survive throughout the period of transition. It is futile, therefore, to talk of scrapping the trade unions which will grow into these great corporations of the future. This is no matter of pure theory. In Russia, just as the co-operatives have not merely survived but have played, and continue to play, a role of supreme importance, so also, after the revolution, will there be abundant scope for the activities of what, in the new Russia, are termed 'professional unions.'"

Chapter titles will serve to indicate the ground covered in the remainder of the book: "Historical Significance of the Great War"; "The Russian Revolution"; "The Third International"; "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "The Iron Law of Oligarchy"; "Socialism Through Parliament or Soviet?"; "Creative Revolution"; and "Freedom."

One of the three great contributions of the Russian revolution is found to be the overthrow in the radical mind of the idea of pacifism, or rather the clarification of the idea. Pacifism in a master-class war is seen to be something quite different from pacifism in the world-wide-class struggle. The other great contributions of the Russian movement, as our

authors see them, are the idea of the soviet as the form of organization in the transitorial communist state, and the body of revolutionary principles evolved by the Third International.

The latter is discussed at length in the chapter devoted to it. In their chapter on the proletarian dictatorship, the writers, while evidencing a determination all along not to be Marx-bound, draw upon the great leader for principles in support of the theory.

One of the most interesting portions of the entire work is the chapter on "The Iron Law of Oligarchy." It is an idealistic, semi-poetical sort of thing. After the revolution, what? After the establishment of the socialist or communist state, what? These are questions we all of us often ask. The answer here given may be startling to some.

Just as our idea of democracy was scrapped, so here we are asked to discard some of our old ideas of human "freedom." At the close of the chapter we are just about convinced that an oligarchy, i. e., a dictatorship, however mild, in some form or other — will always be necessary. The theory of "an elite, self-appointed, like the 'voluntary nobility of H. G. Wells,'" a free association of the good and

the wise for the direction of the rest of society—all this provides at least interesting reading, tho all such discussions, even Lenin's picture of "proletarian democracy" and the "withering away of the state," seem a trifle premature.

It is not always bad to dream, however, and it is always good to think.

The question of parliamentary socialism is again raised in Chapter X, with a distinction between "parliamentary" and "political" action.

In the chapter on "Creative Revolution," the authors take up once more the thread of their main thesis and bring it to a conclusion. The contributions of Newton, Darwin, Marx, Bergson, and Freud to revolutionary theory are considered. Here, we dive into natural science, philosophy, psychology, and even metaphysics.

It is, indeed, on the metaphysical note, largely derived, it would seem, from the Freudian wish-theory, that the book ends. In the final analysis, we are going to have revolution because we desire it.

Schopenhauer gave us "the will to live." We have had the "will to believe," and what not. Come the Pauls, who give us, as a triumphant last note, the "will to revolution."

General Defense News

By John Martin

NEVER before was the need of solidarity and concerted action in behalf of our imprisoned fellow workers greater than it is now. On Monday, April 11th, we were informed that the United States Supreme Court had refused to review the Chicago case. A few weeks previously, a similar refusal by the same court in the Sacramento case was made public. All hope for the release of the fellow workers involved in these two cases thru the action of the courts has ceased. Only by Labor's united action can we now hope to save our fellow workers from serving the savage sentences imposed upon them. Workers, act today! Demand the immediate release of all industrial and political prisoners! Let the powers that be know that you stand solidly behind these workers and that you will continue to demand their release until the prison doors swing open for them, and not be put off by mere promises.

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the I. W. W. cases should remove whatever illusions that may still linger in the minds of the workers as to "equality before the law." It should prove to all, beyond a doubt, that there is one kind of law for the packers, the Silverthornes, and the masters in general, and one—or none at all—for the workers. Compared with decisions in other cases, it shows that the offices of the meat trust and the lumber kings must be held immune from search and seizure while those of the I. W. W. may be raided at any time in the most illegal way imaginable.

The Wichita case is still pending in the Appellate Court. We are not entertaining any hope that the decision which will be rendered in it will in any way differ from, or be more just than, those rendered in the Chicago and Sacramento cases.

Arrests and Dismissals

Two fellow workers, Robert Olson and John Walzell, were arrested at Omaha, Nebraska, for putting up posters advertising an amnesty meeting. Walzell was later released while Olson was fined \$50. The local committee has appealed his case.

On March 19th, two fellow workers, Frank Boggio and Wm. Hines, were arrested at Memphis, Tennessee, charged with attempting to hold up a local grocery store and wounding the owner thereof. From what we are able to ascertain, these two fellow workers are absolutely innocent of the charge against them. They have engaged a local attorney to look after their interests, and we have requested him to obtain a postponement in this case in order to give one of our attorneys time to investigate the full details pertaining to it.

Attorney Mulks has been sent to Los Angeles, California, to defend Fellow Worker W. Gibbs, in his second trial, and also to take charge of the criminal syndicalism cases pending in that city. Gibbs was, up until his arrest, a very active and well-liked delegate in and around Mecca, California. On February 19th, four men entered and robbed a construction camp six miles out of Mecca. Altho every-

body knows that Gibbs was in Mecca at the time the robbery occurred, he was nevertheless arrested and charged with having participated in it. He was later tried on that charge, but the jury disagreed and a new trial was ordered, the date of which was set for April 13th. We have not yet received any information as to the outcome of it.

The charge of criminal syndicalism against Fellow Worker William Danton has finally been dismissed, and he was released from the county jail at Lyons, Kansas, on April 5th. Warren Lamson's case, which has been pending at Marion, Kansas, under the injunction order of that state since June 10th, 1920, may also be dismissed. Fellow Worker Lamson has been at liberty on bond since shortly after his arrest.

The attorney general of Oklahoma has confessed error in the criminal syndicalism case against Jack Terrell, who was convicted and sentenced on that charge to seven years in the Oklahoma penitentiary on February 16th, 1920. The case was appealed and the only reply the prosecution could make to our briefs was to confess error. We are now awaiting the final dismissal of the case.

In the case of Fellow Workers Tom Foley and High Delaney, who were arrested at Florence, Kansas, March 5th, on a complaint charging them with both criminal syndicalism and vagrancy, the trial resulted in a jury disagreement, after which the case was dismissed and the fellow workers were released.

Bond Needed for Fellow Worker Tonn

As it will be remembered, Fellow Worker Henry Tonn, a member of I. U. No. 310, was convicted of criminal syndicalism on March 2nd, 1920, at Marion, Iowa, and sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary. His bond, pending appeal, was

at that time set at \$3,000.00. In the very near future the brief in his case will be filed with the Supreme Court of Iowa and it is very likely that it may take that court a long time before it renders its decision, and should Fellow Worker Tonn, in the meantime, have served his sentence, a decision may never be rendered. Under no circumstances can we afford to run the risk of such a possibility since the winning of this appeal will have a far-reaching, beneficial effect on other similar cases. If we obtain Tonn's release on bonds, his sentence will not expire and the court will consequently be forced to render a decision in his appeal. We therefore request all fellow workers to send us the names of persons within the State of Iowa who may be willing to place their property or cash as bail sureties for Fellow Worker Tonn. Cash or Liberty bonds from outside the State of Iowa will also be acceptable.

Financial Help Still Needed

We should not let the refusal of the Supreme Court to review the Chicago and Sacramento cases dishearten us. We must remember that our imprisoned fellow workers' needs must be taken care of, also their wives and children. We must not cease our efforts in their behalf. There are also still many state cases to be defended and these things cannot be properly attended to unless you give us your financial help. The I. W. W. has in the past always proven its solidarity and courage in the face of adversity and we are sure that our fellow workers will face the conditions now confronting us with the same spirit of solidarity and courage as was shown in the past.

Make your donations payable to the General Defense Committee and send them to John Martin, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

THE RIVER

The gray clouds that float above me soften with a silvery light;
 Earth and sky each vie in beauty as day mellows into night.
 In the valley, there, the river thru the woodland winds its way,
 The sky's beauty is reflected in its water all the day.
 In the distance a small row-boat gently floats upon the tide,
 And I hear a banjo's music, played by lover to his bride.
 On the hillside, gently sloping, hidden half by knoll and tree,
 Are the homes of sturdy settlers, men who love the strong and free.

But the river flows on swiftly, past my hesitating feet,
 And my fancy sees the city built where fresh and salt waves meet;
 There I see the sky's rare glory reflect in a temple's domes,
 There I see the sick and needy, living in their tragic homes.
 I see mansions, terraced, vineclad; streets so wide and shining white;
 I see hovels, dark and dismal; alleys crime-stained, like the night.
 In a mansion youth is dancing! in an attic age asks bread;
 And a mother, by a bedside, sits and watches with her dead.

Julia C. Coons.

Wasteful Methods of Distributing City Milk

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

ONE of the major wastes chargeable to the present industrial system is found in chaotic methods of distribution. Roughly one half the cost of all finished products delivered to the consumer lies in distribution and selling. The raw materials, and the expense of actually making the product ready for sale constitutes the other half. Here is an appalling leakage.

The main elements in the present high cost of distribution are these:

1. Selling expenses of manufacturers.
2. Expenses of wholesalers and jobbers.
3. Expenses of retailers.
4. Transportation and delivery.
5. Advertising.
6. Speculation.
7. Dumping and spoilage.

All along the line from the point where the finished product stands on the manufacturer's shelves, or in the farmer's barn, to where it is taken by the ultimate consumer, a host of middlemen, salesmen, jobbers, brokers, speculators, carriers, stand, each doing his level best to buy cheap and sell dear, and make all the profit possible, utterly regardless of the final cost to the consumer, or the most efficient method of delivery. As a result a great section of the working population of the country is diverted from the field of primary production or straight line distribution, to serve the chaotic ends of these wrangling middlemen. Uncounted thousands of clerks, bookkeepers, drummers, salesmen, advertising copy writers, railway workers, truckmen, storekeepers, storage house employes, together with vast amounts of good raw material, flow into this rough and tumble of distribution where perhaps a tenth of the workers and a tenth of the raw material could provide for the whole mechanism, if distribution were only put on a straight line engineering basis.

Today, the situation may be likened to a woman who has just made a pile of hot griddle cakes. Her hungry family is seated around the kitchen table eagerly waiting for them. She takes the pile out to the woodshed and drops two or three; she lowers them down the well for a while; she throws some to the chickens; she stands and admires the view; she goes down the road a piece; she makes a tour of the house, and finally pushes what is left on to the plates of the patient family, taking care to give one favored child more than to all the rest combined. Of course, no woman outside of a mad-house delivers hot cakes on this schedule. But that is about the way in which the present distribution system delivers them.

The whole question is so vast, that to be understood, it must be studied, a section at a time. It is the purpose of the present review to survey only one small item in the chaos of distribution—the milk supply of cities.

Milk is one of the most important of all food products. Today it represents about 15 per cent of the diet of the American people, and it could to advantage represent more. Milk contains all the elements necessary to maintain life—the protein, the fat, the carbohydrates, and particularly those little-known substances called vitamins, which protect the body from serious deficiency diseases, such as scurvy. Babies and children need milk particularly, but to adults it is also a most necessary and wholesome food.

Milk may be made into many products, of which the chief are:

Butter,
Cheese,
Condensed or Powdered Milk.

Roughly half of all milk produced on the farm goes into the manufacture of these products, while the other half is consumed as fresh milk or cream by the farmer's family, or shipped to the cities to be similarly consumed. When a farmer outside of New York City has milked his cows and placed the milk in cans to cool, the following is what happens to it before the city consumer finally drinks it. The equipment figures for New York delivery are shown as well as the main points in the journey:

The Flow of Market Milk into New York City

Agency	Number and Description
1. The cow.	450,000 cows supplying New York with milk.
2. The dairy farm.	40,000 dairy farms located in 6 states and in Canada.
3. The farm wagon.	Carries the milk from the farm to the country milk station with loads varying from 10 to 800 quarts.
4. The country milk station.	1,150 stations, 350 of which are equipped to pasteurize.
5. The railroad milk car.	13 railroads carry milk into New York,—32 milk trains and 259 cars daily.
6. The city terminal.	13 terminals, 6 in Jersey and 7 in New York.
7. The ferry.	About 50 per cent of New York's milk has to be ferried over from Jersey.
8. The milk truck.	1,500 trucks carry the milk from the terminal or the ferry to the city milk station.
9. The city pasteurizing or distributing station.	There are 32 pasteurizing plants and 197 distributing stations.
10. The wholesale wagon.	1,500 wagons take 35 per cent of the milk to retail stores, restaurants and hotels.
11. The retail wagon.	5,000 retail wagons take balance of fresh milk to consumers' doors.
12. The consumer.	About five million people in New York using 2 million quarts daily.

The flow of market milk in other cities follows much the same course, tho no other city consumes such great quantities, or has such elaborate facilities for handling milk.

The costs of this New York milk given in terms of percentage was found by the N. Y. Legislative Committee on Dairy Products in 1916 to be approximately as follows:

Paid the farmer	42.2%
Country charges and hauling 6.6%	
Pasteurization	4.4
Bottles and caps.....	2.2
Freight	10.0
City delivery expense.....	26.7
Administration expense	3.3
Dealers' profit.....	4.6
<hr/>	
Total distribution cost.....	57.8

Selling price.....100.0%

While the percentages will vary somewhat from year to year, they show in a general way the chief items of milk cost. It is seen that the farmer receives less than half the price the consumer pays (42 %); city delivery expense consumes more than a quarter of the final price—27 %—and freight a tenth—10 %. Dealer's profits account for 4.6 % when this particular study was made, tho this ratio will vary considerably according to the time of the year and according to individual dealers.

Wastes in Country Handling of Milk

One of the chief wastes in country handling is the lack of co-ordination in hauling milk from the farm to the country milk station. Mr. Irwin G. Jennings in his study of the "New York City Milk Problem," found that in 25 such stations the average number of quarts per wagon hauled by the farmer varied from 35 to 337, and the average quarts per horse varied from 22 to 195. He quotes a case of one station with 76 farmer patrons, where 50 men and 60 horses were required to bring in the 3,300 daily quarts. The superintendent of the station estimated that he could gather the whole supply by proper routing with 12 men and 24 horses, thereby saving the labor of 38 men and 36 horses! In other words, a co-operative hauling system would greatly reduce the waste of men and horses in this field.

Again the Mayor's Fair Price Milk Committee found that there were too many country milk stations involving needless duplication of plant and equipment. One witness before the committee testified that from his farm in Orange County there were seven stations in a radius of six miles, and that only one was necessary.

Wastes in Freight Hauling

There is a tendency for milk to come from ever increasing distances from the city. This holds true not only of New York, but other cities as well. Some New York milk comes from points 500 miles away. Often it comes from areas that properly belong within the supply radius of other cities. Thus Philadelphia milk is collected from stations a few miles

from Buffalo, Rochester, Elmira, and Erie, Pa. There has been little attempt to balance the load in supplying cities with milk. The routes criss-cross, duplicate, overlap. The railroads do not care because it means more freight revenue for them. The dealers do not care if they can make a profit on it. The farmers do not care if they can get the dealer to pay their price.

Furthermore, in the loading of milk cars, considerable inefficiency has been found. The many separate competing dealers have their milk shipped in less than car-load lots, and much waste in loading and unloading results.

Finally the proper allocation of inward transportation between railroads, trolley lines, and motor trucks has never been adequately worked out for any city. Could it be, large transportation wastes could undoubtedly be saved.

Wastes in City Distribution

The largest element of waste is found, however, in the city distribution of milk. The Mayor's Milk Committee of New York in 1917 found that there were practically 5,000 retail milk wagons being used at that time. The capacity load of an average wagon was 428 quarts—or a total daily capacity of 2,140,000 quarts. The wagons were actually delivering, however, only 704,000 quarts on the average per day. They were only loaded to 33 % of their capacity. In other words, a third as many wagons could have delivered the whole supply if they had been under unified operation.

In the same way it was estimated that the number of wholesale wagons could be cut from 1,522 to 300 if capacity loads were carried. The report recognized, however, that 100 % capacity loads were not always feasible in every case even under unified operation.

The reason for these excess wagons and small loads is that milk is distributed by scores of competing dealers. Each dealer has his milk routes and they often duplicate the routes of other dealers. So we find anywhere from four to twenty half-loaded wagons all delivering milk along the same street in the same day. A dozen milk men will run up the same pair of stairs each with a bottle of milk or two, when one man with a dozen bottles in a tray could do the whole job. And the dealers not only compete in the physical sense of delivery, but they hire large staffs of salesmen and go to great advertising expense to get customers away from one another. Says the New York Legislative Committee on Dairy Products (1917):

Everything that can influence the customer or make it easy to reach him or control his trade is bought and paid for. An army of solicitors and sales agents are maintained to go about from block to block to procure customers. Not only do we find in a single block six wagons and horses and drivers, where one might well do the work, but on the same day we find six solicitors, six route superintendents, six staffs of clerks and bookkeepers . . ."

These "procuring business" expenses on the part

of one milk company reached \$200,000 in a year, according to the Dairy Products Committee report.

Mr. Jennings, already referred to, made some very careful studies of the actual number of wagons per block and the duplication of routes in New York City. He analyzed the routes of 32 drivers selected at random. The miles driven varied from 1.5 to 13.8, the average being six. The number of milk wagons of other companies paralleling one driver's route varied from 36 to 4. The number of different wagons per block varied from ten to two with a mean of seven. The number of "points" delivered varied from 405 to 162. A "point" of milk is one quart bottle or two pint bottles, or ½ pint of cream or one pound of butter.

The drivers of these wagons were asked how many points they could deliver if each had a monopoly in his own district and could load his wagon to capacity and deliver in a straight line. Their replies were so striking that some of them are recorded as follows:

Route Location.	Present Max. Points.	Unified System Max. Points.	Waste Under Present System.
59th St. and 5th Ave.....	243	500	257
18th St. and 5th Ave.....	200	500	300
58th St. and 5th Ave.....	420	700	280
Green and Myrtle Sts.....	165	450	285
Stagg and Morgan Sts.....	175	500	325
Slocumb and Lafayette Sts..	165	500	335
111th St. and 5th Ave.....	190	400	210
60th St. and 5th Ave.....	198	400	202

The Mayor's Fair Price Milk Committee in 1919 found that "certain city pasteurizing and distributing stations are not operated to their full capacity, and if they were so operated a number might be discontinued." It also appeared that the investment in some of these plants was largely undertaken for advertising purposes. "It is certainly unnecessary to have great elaborate show places which have no bearing upon the quality of the milk, and the existence of which can only result in increasing its cost."

Meanwhile, the Fair Price Committee made a study of school children and found 18,883 out of 67,929 examined, or 32.6 %, suffering from undernourishment! While milk wagons went meandering criss-cross all over the city, while salesmen perspired and show plants were built, the children starved!

Conditions in Other Cities

What holds true in New York holds true in practically all other American cities. Perhaps the most striking exhibit of milk distribution wastes ever prepared was that made by Dr. John R. Williams in Rochester in 1912. He had his examiners visit 5,000 homes in the city, as well as survey existing facilities of delivering milk to these homes. He then worked out a plan for unified distribution and what it would save in horses, men and money, with the following result:

Cost of Milk Distribution (Daily), Rochester, 1912

	Under Present System.	Under Model System.	Saving.
Numbers of dealers.....	273	1	—
Number of quarts del. daily.....	63,000	63,000	—
Men employed.....	356	90	266
Horses employed.....	380	50	330
Wagons employed.....	305	—	—
Trucks employed (horse drawn).....	—	25	—
Daily miles traveled....	2,509	300	2,209
Investment in milk room equipment.....	\$76,600	\$75,000	\$1,600
Investment in horses and wagons.....	\$108,000	\$30,750	\$77,250
Daily cost of distribution.....	\$2,000	\$600	\$1,400
Yearly cost of distribution.....	\$720,000	\$220,000	\$500,000
Distribution cost per quart.....	3.2c.	1c.	2.2c.

The cost of distribution yearly was \$720,000. It could be cut to \$220,000, a saving of half a million dollars, or over two cents on every quart!

Another milk survey was carried on in Rochester in 1919. At this time the daily consumption was about 82,000 quarts. It was again found that if distribution were put on a unified basis, a saving of 2 cents per quart might be made in the consumer's price.

The Food Controller of Canada investigated city milk supplies in 1917. He found the spread between the price paid farmers and the price paid by consumers varied from 7.75 to 6.5 cents per quart. In many cases the spread was held exorbitant because of the excessive number of distributors. In Ottawa where one dealer handled 75 % of the total supply, the spread was only 3.25 cents, while in Toronto, where there were 90 dealers, the spread was 5.25 cents. The controller finally estimated that if the milk distribution of all Canadian cities were put on a unified basis, the average saving per quart would be 1.12 cents per quart, or a total of \$1,500,000 a year.

The University of California investigated the market situation in the cities of San Francisco Bay in 1917. It was found that the same wastes of distribution obtaining in the East were in operation. A driver was found traveling 40 miles a day to deliver 121 quarts and 110 pints of milk. He re-traveled the same street as often as 8 times a day, and averaged only two customers to a block. In one case he went three quarters of a mile outside his route to deliver milk to one customer. On a zone system, he could have delivered all his milk in less than four blocks and saved 35 miles of travel. One block was found served by 18 different distributors. In Oakland, 8 distributors served one apartment house daily. "Everywhere that this matter has been studied, there is a great duplication in milk routes."

Duplication and inefficient use of pasteurizing plants was also much in evidence. In San Fran-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

cisco there were found 25 plants, in Oakland and Berkeley, 12 additional plants. For this large investment in many instances no adequate return was received. One of the plants was found to be operating only 2½ hours a day. "It could pasteurize five times the amount of milk that it now treats with very little increase in investment or operating expense." Large losses from bad debts and heavy bottle losses were in evidence due mainly to competitive bidding for customers.

We cannot better conclude this survey of wastes in the distribution of milk than by quoting the final statement of the University of California report:

"It cannot be expected that individual dairy-men or individual distributors will be greatly concerned about the general welfare of the city where they sell their products. Jones, the dairyman, conducts the business for what he can make out of it for Jones. Brown, the distributor, is moved by the same impulse.

Each occupies a restricted field. He has no power to control the general result, whatever his public spirit may be. Furthermore, there is a continuous and powerful incentive on distributors to enter on a cut-throat competition to secure exclusive fields, and where this has been accomplished, to exploit the separate and unorganized producer. It is an economic warfare in which the third party, the milk buyer, is sooner or later the victim. It is a primitive method of meeting a universal and vital need of all large cities which our civilization has outgrown. No nagging of producers on distributors, no negative action will give to mothers and children of wage earners the relief needed.

What is needed is comprehensive and expert public oversight that will study the needs of a city as a whole, and co-ordinate the work of producers and consumers so as to eliminate inefficiency and waste, and insure prices based on the value of the services rendered. Provision for the feeding of the people of great cities is the most neglected feature of our economic organization."

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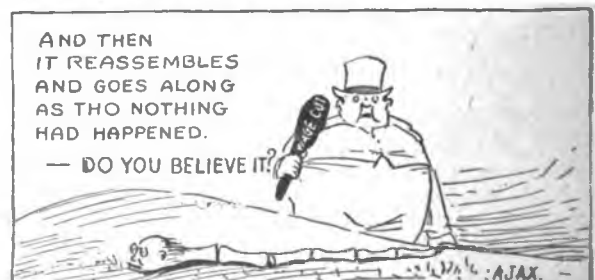
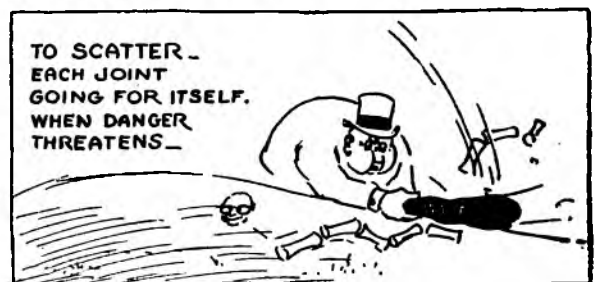
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A Criticism

By Card No. 473009

In a well written and very instructive article on organization, appearing in *The Industrial Pioneer*, for April, James Kennedy makes one very erroneous statement of economic fundamentals. He says: "The wealth produced on the job is divided in two parts. Part goes to the worker in the form of wages and part to the capitalist in the form of profits. The share of each is determined by the amount of control they exert over the job."

The wealth produced on the job is usually divided in many parts, and, one part is certainly used for the payment of wages. It is, however, a grave mistake to infer that the worker receives a share of the product.

The worker sells labor power. When he has delivered the goods and received the price the transaction is closed. The values produced by labor power are owned entirely by the purchaser of labor

power, and are divided, by the owner, in such parts as circumstances compel.

Neither does the wage received by the worker bear any fixed relation of percentage to the values produced, but is determined (as Kennedy points out) by the relative economic power of the contracting parties, and may be any sum not greater than the total value of the product.

The common practice of speakers and writers in referring to "labor's share of the product" is very reprehensible; it appears to support the idea of a partnership (and, by inference, an identity of interest) between capital and labor.

It is extremely difficult to find language more clear than that employed by Marx himself, and it would be of great advantage to the movement if we would use more verbatim quotations and not attempt so many improvisations.

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The April number of The Pioneer is sure a hummer. It has a fine appearance, and the stuff inside is great. Too bad money is scarce.

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Owing to the circumstance that "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," by A. Lozovsky, has been published in pamphlet form, and is being widely circulated, The Industrial Pioneer has decided to discontinue its publication. The greater part of it has already been printed and what remains consists of arguments pro and con on subjects that have already been discussed in our publications at great length.

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