

OCTOBER, 1923

20 CENTS

The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

A Modern General Strike
Company Unions, Grecian
Gift

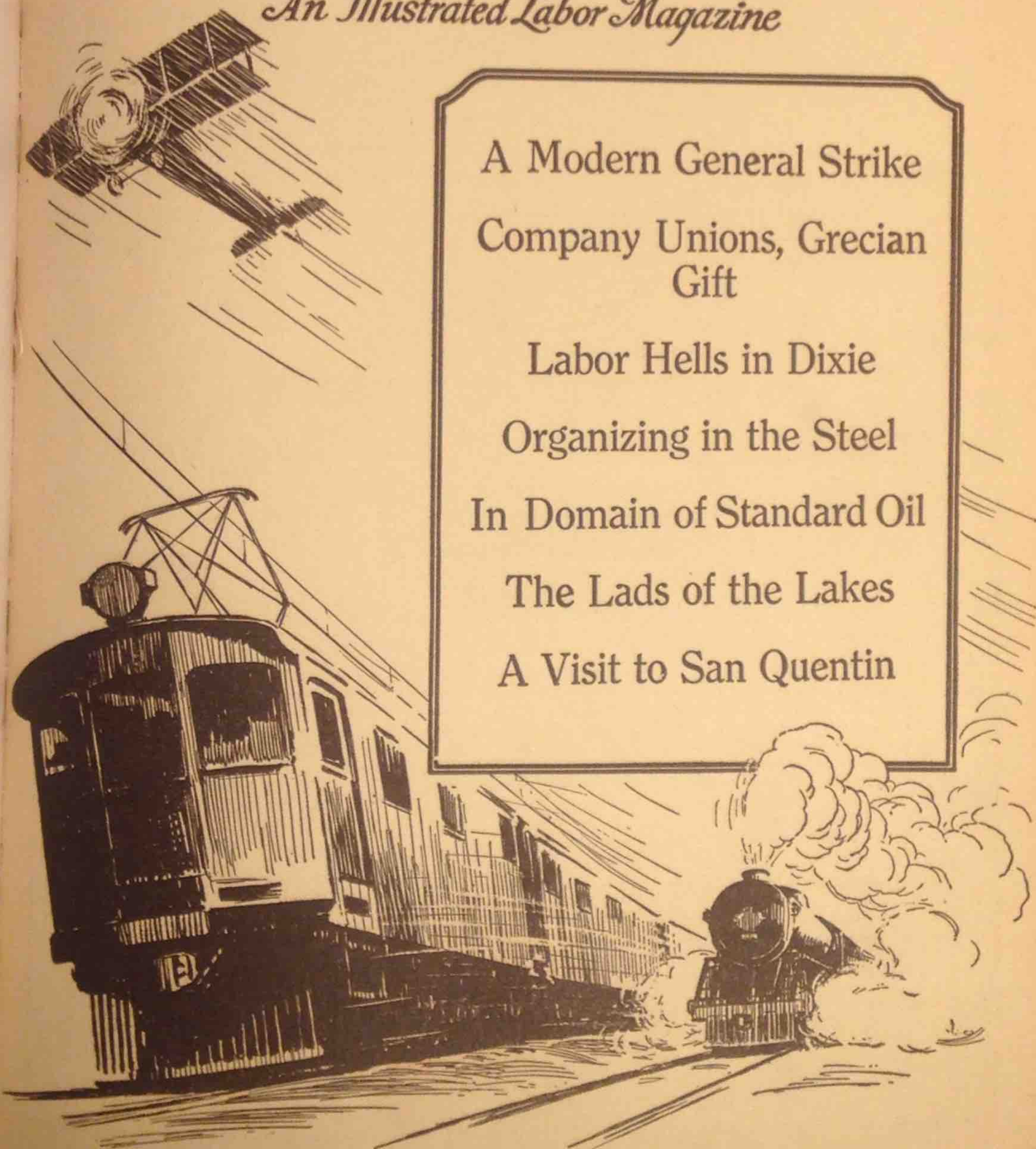
Labor Hells in Dixie

Organizing in the Steel

In Domain of Standard Oil

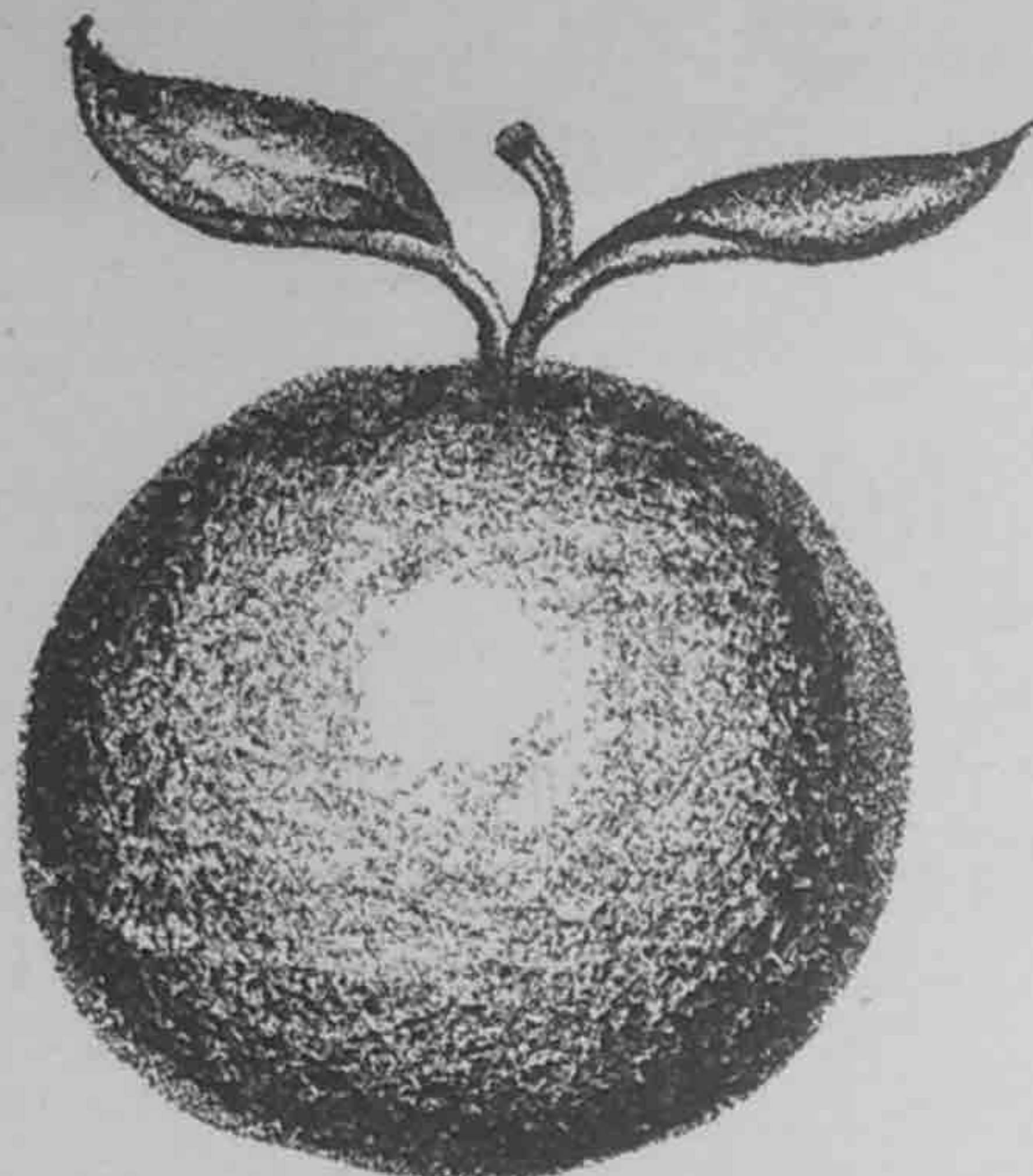
The Lads of the Lakes

A Visit to San Quentin



UNION MEN ARE BEING IMPRISONED
WITHOUT TRIAL IN CALIFORNIA

BOYCOTT



CALIFORNIA FRUIT

HELP MAKE CALIFORNIA SAFE
FOR THE WORKING CLASS

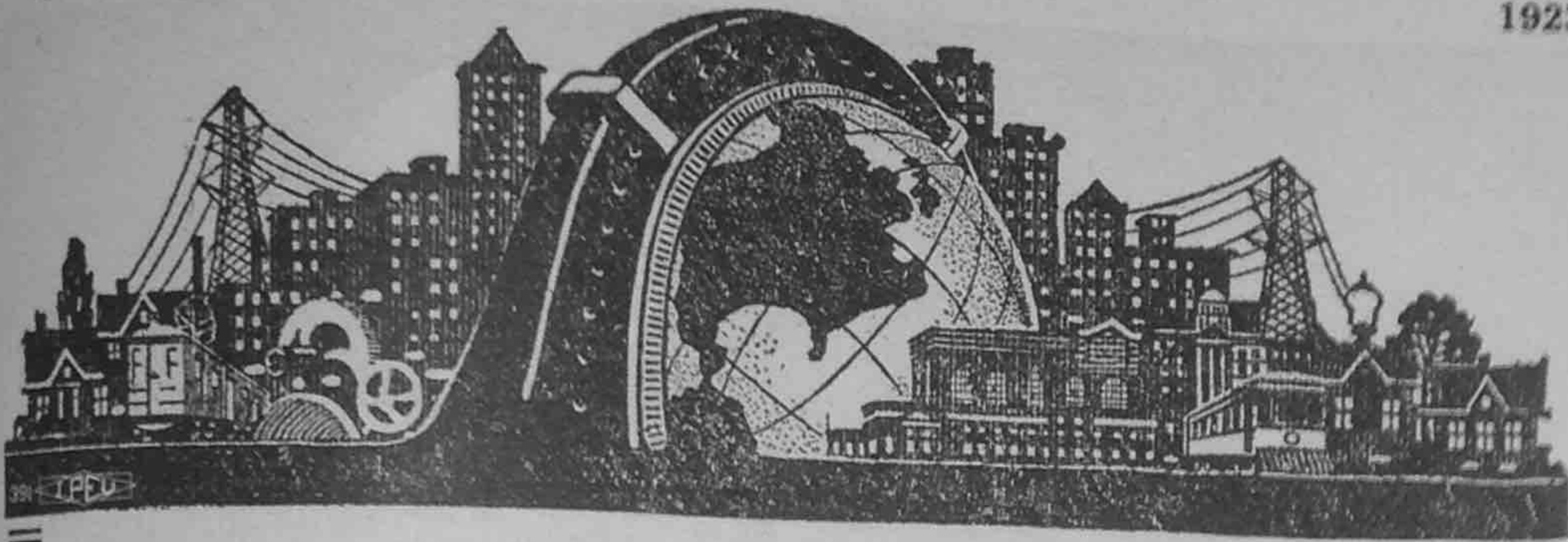
Eighty-seven of our fellow workers have fallen victim to the labor-crushing campaign of California's business interests. These fellow workers are serving from one to twenty-eight years in the California state prisons for having defended the right of the working class to organize. Seventy are at San Quentin, thirteen are at Folsom, one is at the Preston Reform School and three are awaiting the outcome of appeals. A number of other cases are pending in Northern and Southern California. Regardless of what the outcome of these cases will be, the fact remains that the defense office at San Francisco must be supplied with funds. The exploiters of California must be forced to relinquish their prey and their disgraceful and barbaric anti-labor "criminal syndicalism" law wiped off the statute books.

How many of you are willing to donate a day's wages to the defense?

How many of you are willing to boycott California fruit, movies, etc. until our fellow workers are free?

Let's show them that we care.

Send all funds to CALIFORNIA BRANCH GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
226 Russ Building, San Francisco, California.



Vol. I.

The Industrial Pioneer

No. 6

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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How "Wobbly" Originated

Mortimer Downing, in a recent letter, tells the following story of the origin of the word "Wobbly":—

"Up in Vancouver, in 1911, we had a number of Chinese members, and one restaurant keeper would trust any member for meals. He could not pronounce the letter "w," but called it "wobble," and would ask: "You I. Wobble Wobble?" and when the card was shown credit was unlimited. Thereafter the laughing term among us was "I. Wobbly Wobbly," and when Herman Suhr, during the Wheatland strike, wired for all foot-loose "Wobblies" to hurry there, of course the prosecution made a mountain of mystery out of it, and the term has stuck to us ever since. Considering its origin, I rather like the nickname. It hints of a fine, practical internationalism, a human brotherhood based on a community of interests and of understanding."

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I.

OCTOBER, 1923

No. 6

A Modern General Strike

By HENRY HAZARD
(Special to Industrial Pioneer)

AIRPLANE and Auto! The fastest methods were used to rush the strike call through the dim forests of the Columbia River basin.

Nowhere in the great northwest was the walkout for class-war prisoners more effective than "Where Rolls the Oregon." The men who came out for blankets and the freedom of the prisoners last May came out solely for the boys in jail this time. They won their blankets in the May strike.

* * *

It was a sudden strike that swept over the timber lands, construction camps and harvest fields of the northwest this September. It caught camp foremen by surprise in many places and some fellow workers also. The May strike had been announced seven months before. But this strike was different.

No general headquarters started off the movement. First action came from Centralia. The fellow workers of Wesley Everest elected a strike committee in August to grease the wheels for action in their district. August 30 came the strike call and thousands of printed strike notifications began reaching the long log camps of central Washington. Centralia flashed the word to all other branches of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union in the northwest.

Seattle took a hurried strike vote and sent runners to the camps in its district.

Tacoma organized flying squadrons to sweep the slow comers off the jobs.

Bellingham for the north Sound region; Aberdeen for the Gray's Harbor timber lands, and other branches showed that Centralia had not counted on them in vain.

A Thriller

A thrill went through the whole northwest when the Agricultural Workers of the Spokane district ordered a strike of grain harvesters for the class-war prisoners. Workers in the Whitman wheat country had already been on strike for some time, fighting bravely against the efforts of the sheriff to break solidarity by a series of thirteen arrests.

Kelso construction workers went out early in the game, tying up big Long Bell road work leading out of the new "model" industrial city of Longview on the junction of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers.

All eyes were on Oregon where lumber production is assuming more importance than in the state of Washington itself. What would Oregon do? The success of the strike hung on the fellow workers in the sister state. Rumors were flying that Oregon would not strike.

But the Oregon workers put their critics to shame. Portland and Astoria flung themselves into the strike movement with more enthusiasm than was shown in places where the I. W. W. has been established longer.

Airplane on Job

They are up to date in the Columbia River Valley.

"We can't reach the far away camps!" said some pessimists. It was to laugh. An airplane was chartered and the strike calls dropped like rain on the heads of astonished foremen in the far off reaches of the great timbered basin of northern Oregon. Automobiles carried the messages to other places.

All over Oregon the loggers came tumbling out. Coos Bay had been looked upon as safe for the Lumber Trust but that important nook in southern Oregon backed up the strike also. Some camps could not be reached in the required time because no airplane was chartered there and there was no other way of reaching the outlying logging operations.

Loud cheers in Portland greeted the announcement that the Hurley Mason jobs out of Oregon City had been shut down. Here is where Louisiana lumberjacks had been fetched after the May strike. But the men whom the company looked upon as ignorant "hicks," safe for exploitation, joined forces with the rest of their fellow workers in the great movement.

Last came wires that the short loggers in the Spokane district were affected and that the strike wave was breaking into the British Columbia forests as fast as Vancouver messengers could reach the jobs.

The strike was all over the northwest; complete in some places, only partly effective in others, but demonstrating to the world by curtailment of log production that the I. W. W. was able to hit the profit mongers at the shortest possible notice.

Three

Problems Faced

Four big problems met the strike committees of the different branches:

Getting out the strike calls effectively;

Stopping scab shipments;

Publicity; putting the real strike facts before the workers who might be misled by the silence or lies of the capitalist dailies;

Finance, of which the most important phase was the protection of weaker brothers from the booze and gambling sharks who would fleece them and starve them back to scabbery.

The airplane method, used by Portland, was found to be the most effective way of getting the strike calls quickly to remote camps. No other way had the necessary speed, for time was short. No time limit was set but it was generally understood that this was to be a short off-the-job strike in line with the in-again-out-again I. W. W. policy. In British Columbia many camps could not possibly be reached. No airplane could be obtained and distant camps could be notified only by irregular water transportation. In the more congested areas on this side of the line automobiles and foot messengers did the trick effectively.

The Daily Worker

Flying squadrons were used with magnificent success in the Tacoma district as the Boomer dispatches printed in the **Daily Industrial Worker** showed. Where camps were poorly organized and sentiment was weak a flying squadron crystallized strike spirit and took the fear out of individuals who trembled before the local thugs of the boss.

Scab shipments were hit by the common sense method of picketing employment offices in the cities. Some of the employment offices were quick to put up strike notices. "I. W. W. Strike" on the boards made it impossible for the scab to plead that he didn't know there was a strike. Where men signed on anyhow pickets notified them at greater length. A few pickets were arrested but the work went on. But still more picketing efforts, in the cities and the camps, would have made the strike still more effective though the pickets on the whole obtained excellent results.

The manager of the public employment office in Portland quit shipping scabs after a visit by the Lumber Workers' I. U. committee.

No attention was paid by strike committees to the employers' announcement in Seattle that all camps would be closed for thirty days. This was a pure and simple publicity bluff to save the faces of bosses who did not like to admit that the I. W. W. was closing them down. As soon as branches called off the strike employers were quick to notify workers by special messengers to get back on the job.

Publicity: The **Daily Industrial Worker** was the publicity feature of the strike. It was the first time a full sized daily paper was gotten out by the I. W. W. And it went strong.

Special Strike Extras

Eighteen thousand copies of the semi-weekly edition of the **Worker** were published during the

Four

strike. About 10,000, on an average, of the special strike extras in between. The special strike extras were concentrated in the northwest where the need for them was greatest.

This **Daily Industrial Worker** showed what could be done with a small staff and limited equipment working under pressure. Printed in the old plant, before the installation of the new press, it taxed facilities but it got out on time none the less. An editor and one assistant handled the office end of the editorial work, by sitting up late nights. The business manager worked overtime with his usual smile.

Splendid correspondence work from the field made results possible. A glance at the pages of the **Daily Industrial Worker** showed the debt due to the keen correspondents in the busy strike centres. Take Tacoma, for instance. In one issue there are nearly four columns of readable, informative matter from one individual and more from others. There were humor and dramatic quality in this correspondence and the news, at times, gave such strategic facts as to the extent to which log transportation had been stopped on important railroads.

Short wires from outlying centres kept the paper up to the minute on vital happenings all over the field. The correspondence far exceeded expectations. Not in vain has been the **Industrial Worker's** practise of making up its paper from the contributions of its members. By this means a corps of qualified correspondents has been developed in the I. W. W. ranks of the northwest.

Again the **Industrial Worker** is a semi-weekly but the writer believes it will become a permanent daily before next Summer.

No Strike Finance Problem

Finances: There was no strike finance problem in the ordinary sense. Nearly all the work was volunteered. Branch printing bills were small. What deficit will be found when all the returns are in will be met by the regular **Industrial Worker** treasury which has a surplus ahead at present in spite of the purchase of a new printing press. There was no strike relief except some free coffee and sandwiches in the halls. It was not needed in a short strike.

But right here is where the story of the "dehorn" committees comes in, for the "dehorn" committees saved the weaker strikers from the booze and gambling sharks who would have stripped them clean and made them ripe for the solicitations of the scab herders.

As in the May strike the I. W. W. strike committees in Portland, Seattle, Aberdeen and Centralia formed special squads, popularly known in Seattle as "dehorn" committees, to clean out and close up the peddlers of poison and the card sharks in the working-class districts.

Smashing "Smilo"

Perhaps the eastern readers of the **Industrial Pioneer** never heard of "smilo," the man-maddening liquid which flows along the Seattle skidroad. I

(Continued on Page 26)

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The R. R. Company Union, a Grecian Gift

By JULIAN DEUTER

SINCE the walkout of the Railroad shopmen last summer, a number of important railroads have organized company "unions" for the workers in the shops. When big transcontinental railroads send their vice-presidents over the entire system to organize "unions" for the workers, such a solicitude for the workers in their employ is remarkable. There has been a lot of talk of the open shop, or the so-called "American plan", and now we find that this is not quite suitable to the big employers. They fear the entrance of an industrial union like the I. W. O. into the unorganized field so they put over a union of their own, or a company-dominated association. Through it they try to give a semblance of protection to the workers' interest,—security, redress in grievances, equitable adjustment of differences, etc., but in practice it is found that the company decides the matter any way they see fit.

Even among the most recent recruits made during the shopmen's strike, few are found who are "hooked" enough to believe that a railway corporation would organize any "association of workers" that would have the workers' interests at heart. After all the bitter experiences of the RR workers in past years, in the many clashes and struggles for better conditions, shorter hours, and more pay, it would seem scarcely necessary to remind them of the ancient adage "beware the Greeks bearing gifts". So the railroads, in order to prevent industrial unionism, resort to company unionism.

The roads not included in the separate "settlement", i. e., the abortive Willard-Warfield-Jewell agreement were quick to take advantage of the situation on the unsettled roads. After several months of fruitless dickering, all negotiations were broken off by the railroads. Then instead of the open, the closed shop,—company-union closed shop—ultimatum was delivered and enforced by many of the



Repairing a Crossing

roads, among them the Pa., C. & A., L. & W., U. P., Southern Pacific, Great Northern, Mo. Pac. and others. Some of the above roads, in the endeavor to lure back the required number of the old timers, the majority of whom still remained off the job, announced at first that it would be optional with the employees whether they wanted to become members of the "union" or not.

In a few weeks, however, the solidarity in the ranks of the strikers having been broken, mainly thru the connivance of the officials of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. in the "Baltimore agreement", announcement was made, ostensibly by the mere nominal officials of the company unions, but really at the dictation of the railway executives, that the shops were to be 100 per cent closed shop—"Company-union". The RR companies were prompt in making the most of job control, and it was a case of signing the application, submitting to the arbitrarily fixed dues and assessments together with the check-off system of collection—or get out. Many of the shop employees refused to sign and were immediately dismissed, the majority were coerced into the membership. It was made plain that "no further nonsense would be tolerated" from any independent organization.

How generous these suddenly paternalistic railway corporations can be when it comes to railroad-ing thru a subsidized association for flim-flamming was shown last summer. They invited, or rather requested the hastily "elected" shop workers' representatives to a "conference" with the RR executives at the main office headquarters of the road. All expenses were paid by the RR and when they all got together an "agreement" already prepared and print-



A Suburban Stop

ed was put before them. "Sign on the dotted line, gentlemen," and "how about taking in a show to-night after the banquet." It was a farce as a conference, and if there were a few simpletons who went thru the procedure gravely, the most of them realized that their feeble individual protests were ineffectual to alter materially the made-to-order program, and if they did not use the soft pedal, they were sure to lose their newly found sinecure mighty pronto.

By observing how the "benevolent" employers want the workers to be organized, the way they sort them out themselves in little separate groups, the plainest demonstration is given of how the workers should not be organized, or encouraged to organize. Full well do the big employers realize the truth of the old axiom "divide and conquer". The first thing noticeable about the company-union lineup is the retention of the crafts division among the railway shop workers' organization. The machinists, blacksmiths, sheet-metal workers, electricians, boilermakers, stationary engineers, car repairers, etc., all have a separate "union", altho they all work in the same shops on railway equipment, repairs, etc.

The railway companies prefer to force the obsolete craft form of organization on the shop employees rather than to allow them to remain unorganized, thus showing plainly, the intention to "head off" organization of the workers in other, to the employers, undesirable unions. They know that the tendency of most of the railroad workers is to organization, mostly closed union shop organization, and, lately, industrial organization; so that it was deemed politic to rig up a dummy "union" for them to play with. By retaining the old craft form in the new counterfeit, camouflaged outfit, it became clear that the railway companies desired to perpetuate as long as they could this ancient, outworn, inadequate system of organization, in preference to suggesting or making possible, a better one.

What the railroad companies objected to was being "shaken down" and "held up" by a lot of craft union officials, who were regarded as outsiders and jobbers in the commodity of railroad shop labor power. Eminently satisfactory as the craft union form is to the employers in many ways, they make it plain that there is a certain point in the adjustment of claims for the delivery of a required lot of RR labor, supplied by the labor fakirs, beyond which they will not "go".

When the time is deemed opportune to take another slice off the pay check of the RR workers next in line, a great hue and cry is raised about the excessive wages paid these workers compared to the "going wage" for labor in other industries. A proposed wage reduction is announced generally affecting only a portion of the workers in the industry at one time. A lot of hot air about arbitration on an equitable basis is vented, and if the Brotherhood officials are not tractable in acquiescing to the cut, a walk out results, with the majority of the RR workers remaining on the job "carrying on" and in

the end contributing most to the defeat of their "union brothers".

How beautifully the method of division among the railroad workers works to the benefit of the employers, and the detriment of the workers themselves.

How absurd for the union officials to boast of their "sixteen recognized Brotherhoods"! How many are still "recognized", and by whom, since the switchmen's and yardmen's strike of several years ago, since the "federated shop men's" strike of last summer?

The fact is the boasted RR brotherhoods have been for years permitted to exist, an obstacle in the path of true Industrial Unionism, only on the sufferance of the railway companies. Any time the combined railway interests choose to dissolve and remove them, they'll "blow up in the pinch". The "grand presidents" of the craft unions know this very well, and in order to hang on to their handsome "pie-card" will go great lengths to render service to the railway corporations and propitiate the all-powerful big interests.

There is "Brother Bill Lee", grand president of the B. of R. T. The chief mogul of the "stingers" has the gall to brazenly state, in effect, that the so-called "Big 4 transportation brotherhoods" are too strong, and must divide and diffuse their strength and forces. Economic action, the only really effective weapon Labor has, this willing tool of the RR corporations denounces as something Labor must let alone. The capitalistic employers use economic action every day, right along, always concentrating their forces, and then this traitor to the cause of Labor advocates still more division among the railway workers, instead of greater unity, and SOLIDARITY in the railway workers' organization.

"Brother" Warren S. Stone, grand president of the B. of L. E. is too much occupied with his banks and scab-manned coal mines, to work for the advancement and improvement of the standard of living of the RR workers. His motto is "Me first, to hell with the rest".

One of these days, when they feel like it, the RR corporations are going to force the much coddled transportation brotherhoods to go out on strike, like they did the switchmen and the shopmen, counting on the willing organized and unorganized scabbery of the rest of the workers.

Have the costly lessons taught in past struggles with the One Big Union of the railroad companies been thoroughly appreciated and learned by the workers? The signs are not wanting that indicate that thousands of the "rails" realize that only a One Big Union of ALL the railroad workers, Industrial Unionism, not craft unionism, is the only means of obtaining more of the good things in life that they help to produce.

When all the railway workers determine to organize industrially, the company union will be no more, the railroad companies to the contrary notwithstanding.

The "Boomer Rails" Have a Heart to Heart Talk

TWO "rails," a hogger and a shack, were taking a little nourishment in the beanery at Kelly Lake after bringing a train of iron ore empties up thru the fog-shrouded night from the Allovez docks, when the tallow-hog who had been "spading the fogstones" on the trip up, wobbled in with a look of complete exhaustion on his map and collapsed on a stool.

"I'm cured," he gasped, "never again; for years I've heard of this 'iron ore rush' and always wanted to see just what it was like, but I'll tell the world that I've now got the desired info.

"I've nursed leaky old hogs over Tennessee Pass on the D. & R. G., made steam out of pine-knots on broken-down mills on the Y. & M. V. during the sugar cane rush down in Louisiana, fought severe weather on the Canadian Northern during the wheat rush and roasted myself on Mallets on the Santa Fe when the canteloupes were coming east in the month of June, but never in all my extra-board-bucking existence have I endured the grief which is indigenous to this pike. Great Northern, hell! it ought to be called the Great Grief!"

"Listen to him rave," said the hogger, between bites of one of the doughnuts that have made Fogg Bro's beaneries notorious wherever boomer rails congregate. "The boy has an overdose of undernourishment from trying to live on the hog-feed they dish out up here, also he's had a little too much of that crap which Jim Hill wishes on us under the alias of coal. That 3205 is a bad actor anyway."

"Cheer up, buddy; maybe the M. M. has looked your record up and you won't have to go back down to Allovez."

"I should worry," rasped the tallow. "Record or no record I'm not going thru any more of this misery for Father Jim. My back is broke, enough is sufficient, and I've reached the last mile-post of my run on this pike.

"We're all nuts anyway. If we had a brain in the world we'd kick over the traces. I'd like to see Stone and Carter trying to nurse these old 'pigs' along and keep them hot with the tankfuls of slack I've been getting lately.

"I'll bet that stuff came from those scab mines of Stone's and was sent up here as a curse on us guys for allowing such a fink-loving rat as he is to run our union."

Unfraternal Fraternal Societies

"Union, hell!" spoke up the shack. "Every one knows our organizations are insurance companies pure and simple. There's only one way of beating the game. We have to die to collect. Me, I'm about fed up with them too. There surely must be some way for us guys to make these jobs fit for humans, and I'm going to look for it."

"Well, well, well," piped up an individual who had been sitting at the end of the counter, getting an earful; "is it possible that you birds in



Firing an Engine

the train and engine service are dissatisfied. Why, I thought you were as happy as bugs in a rug. You seemed contented enough last summer when we shopmen were on strike. I saw you taking engines out of the house that scabs had been repairing (?). I mean you Mr. Hogger and Tallow; and as for you John Stinger, you put in lots of time on the road brassing hot-boxes which would not have been hot if the shopmen and car-tinks had been at work. They couldn't get enough 'scaleys' to fix them up in the terminal so you fixed them up on the road. Yes, and I saw whole 'crummy' loads of scabs come in here with you good union men. You birds didn't feel very discontented then, did you? Oh, no, the contracts you are cursing now, were 'sacred' then."

"Who the hell are you?" asked the tallow.

A Disappointed Shopman

"Me? Why I'm one of those boobs who thot then as you do yet. I felt sure that our craft unions were strong enough to protect us shopmen. 'Sure,' I said, 'they can't get along without us, they can't get enough scabs to keep the rolling-stock from rusting on the rip-tracks and in the backshops when we go out.' Well, I notice they did, with the assistance of you contract protectors, of course.

Now I know better. The fault was all our own, we never had a chance. Think of trying to win a strike with sixteen shop unions instead of one. Why, it was hopeless. Your turn is next. I guess you guys can see the handwriting on the wall now. Carter, Stone, Shepard and Lee are not going to help you. You ought to be wise to that now. They're too busy looking after the investments your money has provided for them. Stone came out in his true colors last spring in his dealings with the miners his company employs. He's a scab at heart. Carter, Shepard and Lee are still under cover, but they're just as bad. Your big four with these piecards for officials will go the way the shop craft unions went just as soon as you put them to the test. They're in just as bad order as our unions were."

"Well," said the hogger, between bites, "what would you recommend as a remedy?"

The Right Semaphore

"The answer is as plain as a red light on a semaphore," answered the ex-shopman. "We are all working together in the transportation industry, all of us are necessary to the operation and maintenance of the railroads, our interests are identical, anything which hurts one of us, is bound sooner or later, to react on the rest of us, we can't get along without each other, so I recommend One Big Union of all rails which will not allow one bunch to scab the others out of existence, but which will tie the whole damn works up so tight that the bosses will forget they ever had any railroads if we don't get what we want."

"He's right," spoke up the shack. "We've been fooling around long enough. Twenty-two unions on the railroads is twenty-one too many. Contracts are not worth the paper they are written on. We've found that out long ago. Seniority is just another club the companies hold over our heads. We must forget all that old-fashioned junk, that went out of style along with the link and pin. What we need is an up-to-date union like those new ten driver Mickeys that can make a whip cracker out of five thousand tons. Old fashioned ideas won't work with new equipment. The companies found that out long ago. You don't see them sending out those little four-wheelers to take a train over the road now-a-days, do you? I should say not. They were scrapped long ago. That's what we need. Send the old wornout insurance policy unions to the rip-track and couple on a new up-to-date industrial union mill to the head end of our interests' train, give the hogger (who won't be Stone) the high-ball and pull out of the yard of contracts and seniority onto the main line of solidarity with rights over everything clear through to the terminal of Victory and then look out the window and see 'em roll."

"Atta boy," said the shopman, "I'll tell you just the kind of mill to get. Its name is Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520 of the

Eight

I. W. W. and it was built in the shops of practical labor experience. It's guaranteed to pull any load the draw-bars will hold and to always take the workers interests into the terminal on the 'advertised'."

"I believe you're right," quoth the hogger and tallow in unison. "We've been riding on a bum poor steaming-union mill long enough. We'll take a chance on the new one."

"Me too," said the shack.

And the blonde waitress, who happened to belong to Foodstuff Workers I. U. No. 460 smiled.

The Onlooker

I STOOD on a busy corner—
 In the heart of a modern city,
 And watched a group of SLAVES
 Fasten mighty chains and cables—
 The work of other unseen SLAVES—
 To a heavy load of polished stone
 Which other SLAVES had chiseled
 And blasted out of Mother Earth;
 Polished and rubbed it to a shining brightness,
 Gave it over to still more SLAVES
 That they might transport it over land and sea—
 To where these waiting SLAVES were ready—
 To lift it high—ten—twenty—thirty stories—
 Above the SLAVE-jammed street—
 To where more SLAVES were waiting to receive it
 And to place it in a SLAVE-picked spot in a
 Colossal building—
 A building of such passing fairness,
 That the eye was dazzled by its beauty;
 A million windows pierced its towering sides.
 The ends of the Earth had given of their store
 To make it what it was—
 A monument to SLAVES!
 And when I looked and perceived its beauty,
 Grandeur, stability and strength—
 And knew that SLAVES had stood it there—
 With its head among the clouds—
 My heart was filled with a great sadness
 To think that those who were so wise and strong—
 Should still be SLAVES!

J. J. L.

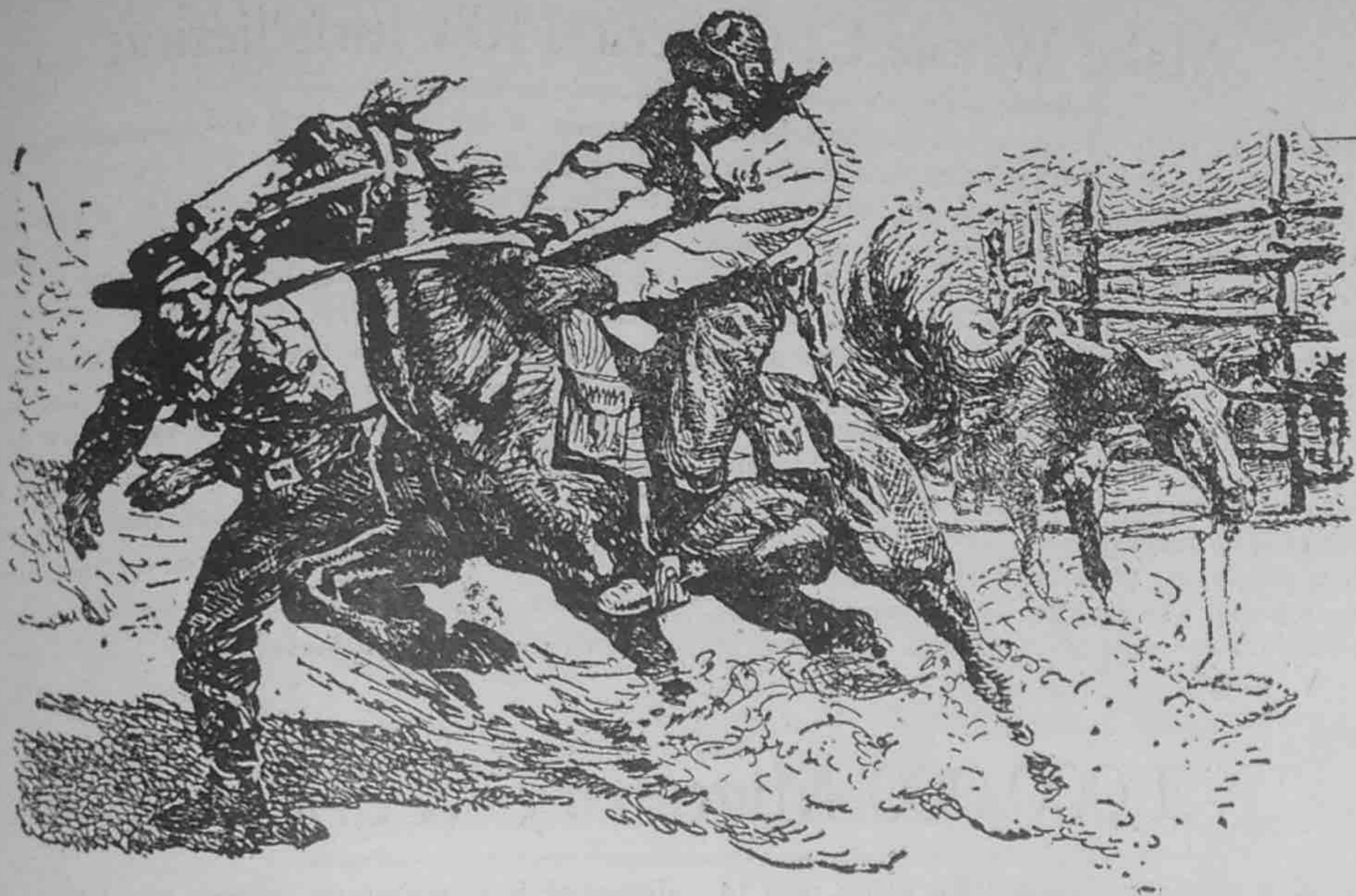
CALIFORNIA BOYCOTT IN CANADA

The Swift Current, Sask., Canada, branch of 110, passed a motion to boycott all California-made goods and movies throughout Canada.

From Regina, Sask., come reports that there will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. If you are looking for new fields try this part of the world. Sentiment was never better and most of the boys will be able to pick up between \$200 and \$300. Delegates are badly needed.

No. 110 is going into Illinois. At Mattoon there is a demand for men to cut broom corn for a radius of 30 miles.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



A MEMORY—THE PONY EXPRESS

The West is Dead

By RALPH CHAPLIN

WHAT path is left for you to tread
 When hunger-wolves are slinking near—
 Do you not know the West is dead?

The "blanket-stiff" now packs his bed
 Along the trails of yesteryear—
 What path is left for you to tread?

Your fathers, golden sunset led
 To virgin prairies wide and clear—
 Do you not know the West is dead?

Now dismal cities rise instead
 And freedom is not there nor here—
 What path is left for you to tread?

Your fathers' world, for which they bled,
 Is fenced and settled far and near—
 Do you not know the West is dead?

Your fathers gained a crust of bread,
 Their bones bleach on the lost frontier;
 What path is left for you to tread—
 Do you not know the West is dead?

The New, The Living West!

THE West—the old West—is sure dead. With electric trains crossing the Rockies and 'Frisco looking towards the Orient for the commerce that will make it an even greater port than New York and cause a thousand factories to bloom along the Pacific Coast where only one bloomed before, —with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo reading the Steel Trust lectures on 8-hour day efficiency and production and St. Louis becoming the great open shop of manufacture for, and commerce into, Mexico,—with the farmers of the great prairies "bumming" the country as "auto-tramps" or filling the factories of the Mid-Continent cities with workers by the millions, we'll say the West, as formerly known, is dead—deader, in fact, than a collection of tombstones in a cemetery. The performance that was put on the

other day, in which the old pony express was re-enacted, is simply a reminder that a New West has come, and come to stay.

No more will the pioneers of the West cross the plains in "covered wagons," or in "prairie schooners," as they were once more poetically called. The present-day pioneers ride in boxcars, or side-door Pullmans, to use the modern poetic phrase. As their fathers starved and sacrificed to subdue a continent, so do they starve and sacrifice to subdue the expropriators and exploiters of that continent. Where their fathers rallied to the union standard to abolish chattel slavery, they rally to the union standard to abolish wage slavery. And where their fathers labored to build a political democracy, they labor to supplement their work with an industrial democracy.

Nine

Make Whole Continent 110's Jurisdiction

AGRICULTURAL Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 is demonstrating its capacity to adapt itself to changed conditions and thrive. Its harvest drive met a set-back in poor crop conditions in North Dakota. Instead of lying down and permitting the fact to crush it, 110 is now enlarging its perspective and taking in the whole continent as its jurisdiction. It is now seen that expending all efforts practically in the middle west is poor policy.

Accordingly, the organization looks to Montana and Washington, where crops are good and the harvest plentiful, to recover lost ground. At the same time, it is developing organization in Canada, where a good crop and a strong sentiment for the I. W. W. prevail. Two traveling delegates are now in

Canada which offers 110 the greatest opportunity since 1915.

The Pacific coast for the winter is also kept in mind. There will be a conference of 110 members at Stockton, California, October 6, 1923.

Bulletin No. 34 says:

"We must rise to the conception that the only bounds to our activities are the two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico; that wherever men work in field, garden, orchard, threshing or packing shed, there is an opening for us, and a need and a demand for the A. W. I. U. When our members see from this viewpoint and in this manner, we shall move forward to really successful achievement."

1,000,000 Migratory Workers

THERE is considerable attention being paid to the migratory workers just now. This is the season of the year when migratory workers are in demand, which may account for the interest displayed. Labor is always important, when needed. *The World Tomorrow* devotes its entire Sept. issue to the migratory workers. From it, the following facts and figures are transcribed:—

There are 1,000,000 migratory workers in this country. They hew forests, build and repair the railroads, tunnel mountains and bridge ravines. They harvest wheat in the fall and cut the ice in the winter. They operate the steamers of the Great Lakes. No great engineering project can be built without their aid. In brief, migratory workers are most prevalent in the lumber, railroad and general construction, agriculture, ice and marine transportation industries. They are drawn from the crowded slave markets of the city.

The migratory worker is a hobo, but he is not a tramp nor a bum. A tramp is a stationary non-worker. The tramp beats his way from place to place without labor. The bum stays in one place, and makes booze his aim in life. The hobo lives on his work mainly; resorting only to charity when down and out. He is the foundation of industry.

Migratory, or mobile labor, is a reserve force, that can be rushed to any point where labor is needed. The army of the hobo is the reserve army of industry; and on its proper treatment depends civilization.

The migratory worker is a manifestation of the desire for change and travel. Working his way from town to town and job to job, he is like the rolling stone that acquires a polish; and the roving bee that brings home the honey—figuratively speaking.

Comparison is made between the drummer and the hobo to the disadvantage of the former. The

drummer is a migratory worker, too. He not only produces nothing, but he is a heavy burden on those who do produce. He travels in luxury. For him there are hotels, Pullmans and obsequious porters and clerks. The hobo, tho a producer, rides in box cars, or on the rods and buffers. He is the prey of scissor-bill constables and grafting sheriffs and the convict-lumber camp is often his lot.

ORGANIZING FARMERS IN I. W. W.

THERE is a healthy self-examination now going on in the I. W. W. It is confined, for one thing, to finding out what's the matter with the I. W. W., if anything. That is, it is intent on improvement and development.

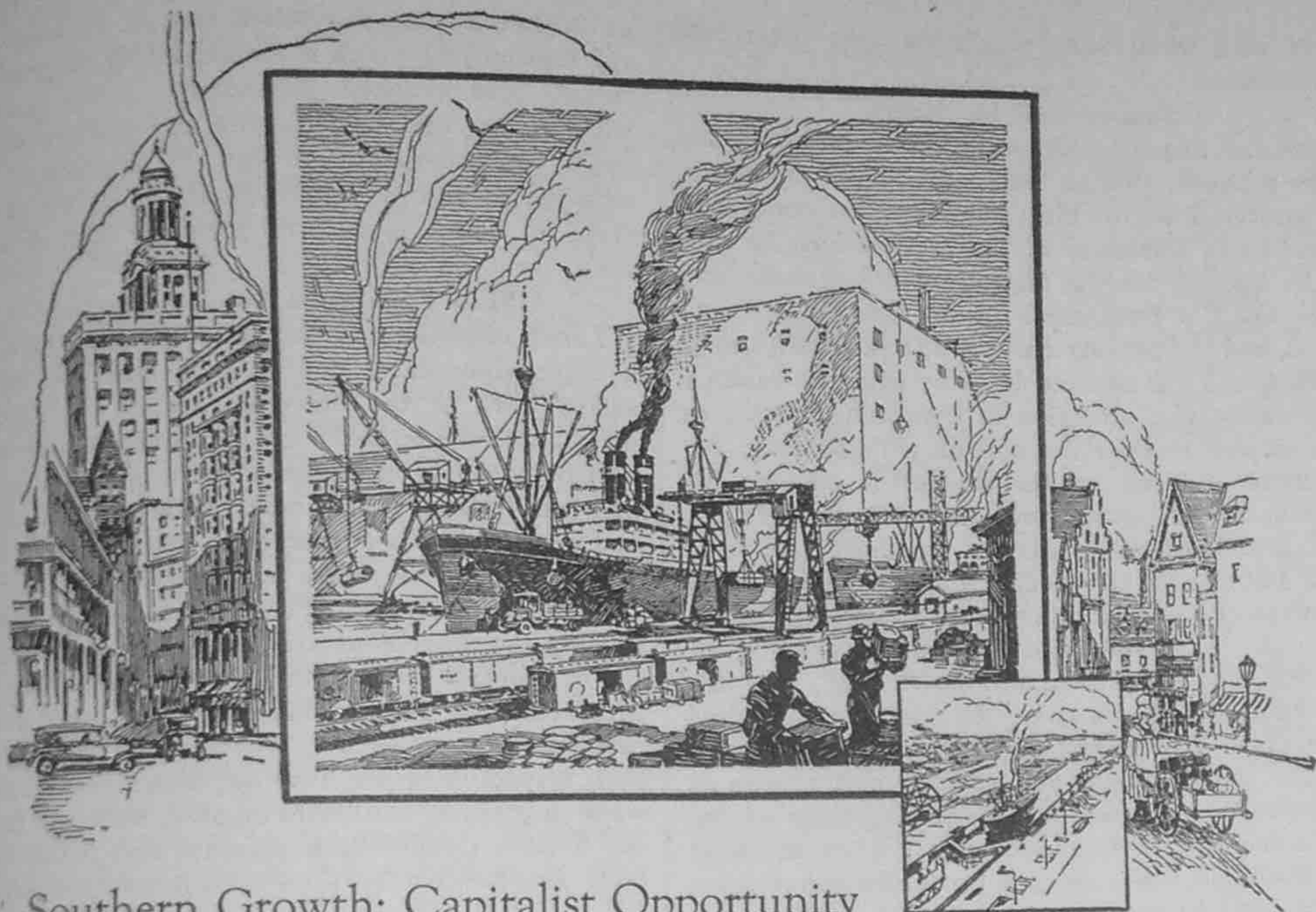
The results can only be beneficial. In fact, they are beneficial already. This is shown in a recent issue of *The Industrial Worker*, wherein H. Thomas tells how he extended the I. W. W. propaganda to farmers, meaning thereby steady farm hands and working men in the small towns also.

He found them disposed at first to think the I. W. W. is "organized to commit anything from arson to murder". But talks and literature later won them to state that "the principles of the I. W. W. are all right." Thomas says: "I lined up several steady farm hands who at first told me that they would have nothing to do with the I. W. W. but changed their minds after reading our literature."

That's the way to build up the I. W. W. Don't think the "scissorbill" is without brains or ambition for a better society. Do not believe the same of the steady worker, either. Organize all of them.

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER.
\$2 A YEAR; \$1 SIX MONTHS.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Southern Growth; Capitalist Opportunity

THE South is being pushed by mortgage and securities companies as a good field for investment. Especially is the growth of Southern cities put forward as offering great investment opportunities.

New Orleans is particularly represented as a good example. In the last 15 years, exports and imports have increased at the rate of 10 per cent a year, until now New Orleans is America's second port. During the last 10 years, the value of manufactured products has increased 165 per cent. The city has grown to a population of more than 400,000 and is now recognized as a distributing center for Central and South America.

A new era in Southern commerce began May 5,

1923 when the New Orleans Inner Harbor-Navigation Canal was formally opened. This project, costing more than \$20,000,000, is proclaimed the forerunner of a great industrial movement and the first step in the construction of a canal from New Orleans to the sea.

What this Southern development of capitalism means to labor may be judged by the negro exodus; also by the article on Labor Hells in Dixie printed elsewhere in this issue. It's not all gold for labor that glitters in mortgage companies' prospectuses, though it means big investment returns for capital. The above picture is reproduced from one of these prospectuses.

Labor Hells in Dixie

By J. W. LEIGH

TEN thousand bread-winners, men and women, the majority of whom are advocates of the so-called American plan, are walking the streets of New Orleans in a vain quest for bread, while in other sections of the state of Louisiana the condition is more pitiful, which proves conclusively that a labor surplus exists, despite reports to the contrary.

True, many are employed, some at standard wages, due to union conditions, but the great majority of laborers, both skilled and unskilled, have not yet seen the light which points the way to industrial freedom and better living conditions for themselves, their families, and the millions who will live after

them. Extensive surveys made from the office of the state labor commissioner show that no labor shortage exists, or has existed for some time past, and that even during the strenuous times of the world war that labor could be obtained in any industry in the state of Louisiana, provided a living wage was paid.

Imported Labor Failure

Importation of Mexican and Porto Rican labor has proved a failure for many reasons, principal of which being that the foreigner was too light for the heavy work demanded of him, the climate, and last but not least, insanitary quarters and practically a lower rate of wage than that paid in his

Eleven

native land, when living conditions were taken into consideration.

Square Deal for Negro

Give the negro a fair, square deal and he is no longer a liability but an asset. He knows the South, and the South knows him; but under the conditions prevailing in Louisiana at the present time he cannot be blamed for the migration to the north and east. On the plantations whole families are employed, and the parents are urged to raise still larger families, and are assisted in many cases by rascally overseers to pay attention to the young female as soon as she reaches the age of child-bearing, for the more children on the place, the smaller the pay-roll, for all must work, from the child to the aged grandmother. Quarters provided for these black humans in the South would be rejected by the swine of a respectable northern farmer.

The Debt System

Stores are established on the "place", and the help compelled to purchase at prices one hundred per cent above wholesale; at the end of the season they are in debt to the planter, and must remain as none will engage help until they are clear of the debt owed their former employer. They are kept continually in debt. Wages for adults range from eighty cents to one dollar a day, with fifteen cents a day for children and the infirm.

100 Per Cent "Americanism"

In the lumber camps, which employ 90 per cent negro labor, and in the Murder City of Bogalusa, wages average \$1.50 for ten hours. In this hell hole of the South the Great Southern Lumber Company has 3,000 human beings on its pay roll as laborers, and probably 500 spies and gun men engaged ostensibly in other lines of industry. Workers are forbidden to organize, and at the entrance to the city on either side of the railroad station, these words greet the traveler: "Agitators, Bolsheviks, and I. W. W. do not stop; keep on going. This is a 100 per cent American city".

Here in 1914 six members of organized labor were murdered by the Loyalty League composed of "citizens", and twice has the grand jury refused to indict those accused of complicity, altho 80 witnesses testified that thirteen men, whom they identified were members of the mob. It is also claimed that at the last grand jury hearing two of the murderers sat on the jury, with the consent of the attorney general of the state and the prosecuting attorney of the parish. Today the Mexican consul is investigating a charge of peonage in that city, wherein it is charged that fifty Mexicans were held in a stockade, worked from dawn till dark, fed on spoiled food, and refused any compensation.

A State of Child Workers

Louisiana is a state of child workers, from the cotton and sugar fields in the rural districts, to the mills, factories and stores in the cities. The working hours in the city factories are 60 a week, while on the farms and plantations, from sun-up till sun-down. As a matter of fact, there remains only a few states where children are worked as long hours

as in Louisiana. No relief can be expected from the legislature, which is controlled by corporate interests and crooked politicians. Many factories, when employing women, girls and children seek to evade the compensation law by compelling each employe to sign a statement absolving the factory from all blame in case of accident, fatal or otherwise.

State Federation Non-Constructive

Labor conditions in the state of Louisiana are in a deplorable state, due in a measure to the inactive work of the State Federation of Labor of which nothing is heard of only once a year when that body meets in annual session, passes innumerable resolutions, fight among themselves, banquets and adjourns. No constructive work in organizing the workers of the state is on record, while in the city of New Orleans factional fights which are retarding the movement are a common occurrence.

The Central Trades and Labor Council is not a representative body of labor—it is political and is dominated by politicians, who tho carrying cards in their respective crafts, have not done an honest day's work in the past ten years or over, while the Building Trades Council is a separate and independent body functioning for their own benefit exclusively.

Organizers Lacking

Organizers, devoting their time to the upbuilding of the labor movement in this section are an unknown quantity. Of the forty-eight states Louisiana carries the least resistance when an open shop drive is precipitated, because in cases of adversity, union men of Louisiana will not stand together against the common enemy. I do not mean that they will disregard their obligations, but the agitator in the pay of the corporations advocates laxity and "talks" securing of additional members for the various craft unions in time of peace with the argument that "there is not enough work for us now, without taking in any more."

Negro Organization Zero.

While no law exists against the organization of the negro into trades unions the percentage is practically the zero mark, owing to propaganda spread by the manufacturers that if the negro is organized he will demand the ballot and equality. Equality is a tender spot in the make-up of the Southerner, and it is used to whip the Southern white workman into subjection. The negro, when organized, makes an admirable union man and very few are the cases reported where he has deliberately "scabbed".

Craft unionism is fast crumbling owing to the fact that one set of workmen scabs on the other in the same factory and one organization is used to whip the other.

Industrial unionism is new in this section and the last strike of the marine transport workers showed the public that destruction of property was not a cardinal principle, but in its stead solidarity brought victory out of pitiable defeat.

BOOST THE I. W. W.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Why Are We Discontented?

THIS question is asked by the leading Chicago newspaper, which claims to be the world's greatest. It thinks discontent amid the prevailing prosperity paradoxical, and says so. Picturing the country as enjoying unusual well-being it declares:—

"In spite of all this there runs through American society a current of disquiet and discontent. None seems at peace. None seems satisfied. None seems to have kept the confident optimism that was the outstanding characteristic temperament for generations. There is something radically wrong with us."

This is sure a candid acknowledgment of fact, from quarters where strenuous denial has heretofore been the rule. But, as usual, this acknowledgement is simply made in order to avoid the real significance of the facts that cause it to be made. We are told that the cause of discontent is to be found in the lack of altruism and a want of the spirit of Christ. In other words, we are discontented because we are not spiritual.

Considering the source, which upholds the worst in modern civilization, this preachment sounds sardonic, nay, diabolical. Besides, it's neither new nor original. It's a stock answer to every grave question. And we've been getting it for over two thousand years and its greatest preachers are those who are least guided by it. This preachment, to the unsophisticated, is merely a mystical refuge from practical necessity. To the knaves in control of the country, it's a screen behind which to commit more depredations on mankind. Why are we discontented? The question will not down, despite the hypocritical, sanctimonious answer given by the "world's greatest newspaper".

Before answering the question ourselves, let us admit, only for argument's sake, however, that we are in the midst of a period of material well-being, and that therefore there should be no discontent. But, how long is this period going to last? And what is likely to follow it?

Babson tells us that every upward movement following a war readjustment is succeeded by declines. He also says we are now entering the second decline since the world-war. Will it be followed by another deflation, like that of 1920? Will some two million more farmers be forced to the wall? Will labor suffer another 30 per cent reduction in wages and another 25 to



30 per cent reduction in employment? (National Bureau of Economic Research figures, depression of 1920). It is this Damocles' sword of business cycles that is hanging over our heads that makes us discontented. It makes prosperity look simply like a "come-on" with which to entrap us and leave us fleeced and "broke" in the long run.

But there are deeper and more profound reasons still than economic insecurity for our disquiet and discontent. We are on the threshold of a new era—an era of giant industrialism and imperialism. As a result, we face new conditions full of threatening possibilities. We are fearful of a vague something, we know not what; plainly, we are frightened. For already, in the late world war, has the steel of industrialism and imperialism entered the American soul. It likes it not. It has grim misgivings as to its ultimate value and outcome.

This, we believe, will account for America's brutal cruelty to political prisoners, its revolutionary nightmares, its loss of optimism, and its ominous undercurrents of disquiet and discontent. The future looks dark and foreboding. So why smile? Merely for the sake of Coueism, Christian Science, or Auld Lang Syne?

Let us review the details of present day conditions as they bear on the subject in hand, and the following facts will be conspicuous:—

1. The co-ordination of industrial capital into a giant combination to exploit the world. This is effected by forming manufacturers' associations according to industry and uniting them all into national bodies like the U. S. Chambers of Commerce. This policy requires for its success the sacrifice of agriculture to industry, on the English plan. Millions of farmers are, accordingly, driven from the farms into the labor market of the cities, and imports of foreign products, including foodstuffs, eventually, are exchanged for capital exported in the form of agricultural machinery, autos, railroads, etc.

This policy requires, moreover, the subjugation of labor in essential industries via the injunction and the company union. Labor is practically denied the right to strike and to organize as its interests and freedom require. Despite the private ownership, operation, and presumptions of freedom from all restraints of the capital involved, strikes in essential industries tend to become construed as revolts against the state and prohibited as such. And despite the supreme importance of the workers in all industries, they are deprived of their own organizations and have no voice in the redress of grievances or in constructive management, except such as is permitted to them, or directed for them collectively, by the capitalists and financiers in control of the combinations by which they are both employed and enslaved.

In other words, modern American industrialism demands, not only the uprooting of large numbers of farmers from the soil, but also the complete surrender of every vestige of independence and association by the workers in order that the masters of coordinated capital, may have immense armies of servile slaves—Robots—regimented and drilled for the successful invasion of the markets. In the light of American tradition, with its extreme individualism, is there any wonder then that there is so much disquiet and discontent and that none are at peace or satisfied? What does Chicago's leading newspaper expect, the erection of such a colossal tyranny, without any manifestations of revolt at all from a traditionally brave and free people?

But let's proceed. We have only been examining the ground work of this new era. Let's now take a look at the superstructure; viz.,

2. The possibilities of war, on a worse scale than ever recorded before. An America embarking on world conquest, economically and commercially, will become involved in world-problems and solutions.

That is already the case. It will be more so the case tomorrow and the following day. Shipping hundreds of millions in commodities abroad annually, exporting capital in tens of billions periodically, America will become, willy nilly, a combatant, ever pushing and elbowing its way where others are also pushing and elbowing, too, in the determination to rise supreme and survive.

Once America went abroad to save democracy. Some day it may have to go abroad to save its trade, its billions and itself. Already is there talk of arraying a United States of Europe against the United States of America. America knows all this. It doesn't like the prospects. It fears that the next war may involve, not only its own undoing, but that of so-called Christendom also.

America already has had a disagreeable taste of the whole bloody business in the late world war. That was enough. It has since tried to withdraw into its one-time splendid isolation; but without avail. How can it? It must expand in outlets or else stew in its own economic fat, or else get rid of industrialism as now carried on by paying labor all that it produces and enabling it to buy back the same!

Do you wonder then that America, facing another depression, together with increased loss of independence and association and more war, though wealthy, is unhappy? Do you wonder that, in the face of all this, America, though prosperous, is disquieted and discontented, with none at peace or satisfied? We don't.

But let's go on still another story upward in the superstructure of American industrialism. There we will find the crowning infamy of all, namely, the greatest outrage against traditional American democracy and republicanism ever perpetrated, viz.,

3. The danger of what Glenn Frank so ably calls "the dictatorship of the reactionary". This latter is being boldly advocated in this country. Mr. Julius Barnes, head of the U. S. Chambers of Commerce, Judge Elbert H. Gary, notorious Steel Trust head, and other honorable gentlemen have dined with the Italian dictator, Mussolini, and have extolled his strong arm virtues ever since. They, like the Chicago Tribune, think his "iron hand" is needed to guide democratic and republican America to a place of safety beyond giant industrialism and imperialistic wars. They talk Christ, quote the Bible, but bank on the Mussolini type of "Statesman".

But they are not sure about this dictatorship business. They are not sure about

(Continued on Page 25.)

Organizing in Steel

What Are the Steel Workers Thinking About, and What Effect Will Their Thoughts Have On The Labor Movement?

By FRED W. BOWERMAN

WE attempt to sit on the narrow, crowded side seat of a jerky, bob-tailed street car, which carries its pushing and tugging load of humanity from the hill to the mills and back again. By bob-tailed, I mean our car has one small door up front, with one man, who acts as the "crew," motor-man conductor and all. The car also acts as a teeter-totter upon its one small truck and gives you a ride up and down as well as ahead and backwards. The "crew" calls out "Twenty-ninth" and your fellow occupants rise as if by command and shoving, pushing, pass out that one single front door. Their places are quickly filled by those waiting to get on and the car is again soon on its way. Those who left and those who have just entered bear the same general appearance as to overalls, dinner-buckets, dress and manners; with the exception that the ones entering look more fatigued than those who left.

I ask my seatmate, "What works was that?" and he answers, "The tube mill," and adds "six thousand working there. They promised us the eight hour day back in August but we 'aint saw it yet." You then begin to understand why those who have just boarded the car after finishing the twelve hour grind look less fresh than those who left.

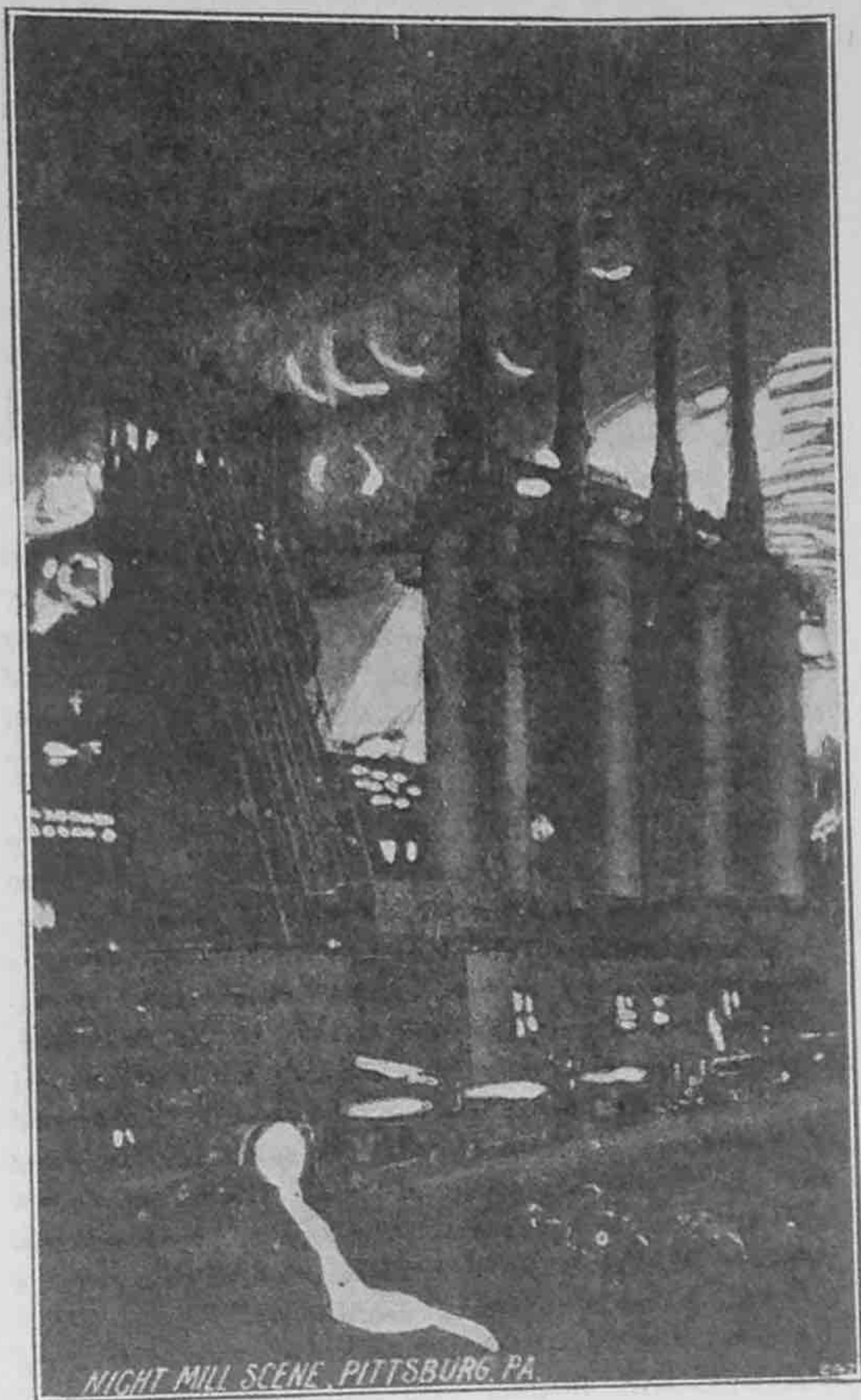
Out of the window to the right your view meets the muddy Ohio, with its ferry-boats and bridges. On either bank, up and down, as far as the eye can reach, are seen the steel mill stacks, which pour out those great black clouds, darkening the sky, and you know that America is once more suffering from Prosperity. You also know that that prosperity is being made possible, under the black roofs of thousands of steel mills; where the tens of thousands of steel workers are working twelve hours out of every twenty-four.

During the day those clouds, and by night, that huge, red, devilish glare lighting the sky, informs you that thousands are tugging, pulling and sweating for the great Frankenstein, the steel corporation.

Many of your fellow passengers are either sleeping in their seats or on their straps, to which they cling as our car jerks slowly along. I ask my seatmate, "Got the eight hour day here yet?" and he replies, "Not in a damn mill. They claim they can't get the men, but that's the bull. It's the low wages and rotten conditions that's keeping the men away from the mills. There's lots of men to man the mills if they would only offer a decent wage and cut out the seven-day week stuff."

And he, in turn, asks me, "How'd you like to do the twenty-four hour trick every other week?"

I answered with a shake of my head, and further inquire, "Then it's a fact that the steel industry is not being placed on an eight hour basis?"



"Why, of course it's not; and there's a lot of us that don't want it, if it's going to come over the same route it did in department eight this spring. Over there they used to have four men to the furnace and two to the ashes; but after they got the eight hours, two were taken off the furnace and one off the ashes, and the company wanted the three men to do as much in eight hours as six used to do in twelve. That's the kind of an eight hour day we're not in a hurry for."

I then realized that the Judge was partly correct when he said that his workers preferred the twelve hour day, the only thing he neglected to mention was the kind of an eight hour day they opposed.

After conversing with a few other steel slaves, I began to realize that the Judge, the Capitalist Press or any one else was not going to fool the workers into the idea that they will get the eight hour day on a silver platter.

If you inquire further among the steel workers

Fifteen

you will also discover that a very respectable number of them know that their only hope lies in organization and also are awake to the fact that it must be the correct kind of organization, the I. W. W. kind. When you talk to them about the eight hour day and better things, as if the steel mill owners were going to give it to them, you are met with a look of contempt. They look at you as if the jokes sprung on them by the steel trust were not enough and you were trying to rub it in. But when you talk about these things from the angle of organization you receive a ready ear and response.

A few days later I was talking to a group of steel workers in a small Ohio steel and coal center, and one, in relating about his search for a job, told of refusing five different jobs at the mills due to the forty-five cents offered, and added, "What's the use of taking a job with them fellows at forty-five cents an hour and take the risk of losing a hand or an eye?"

Upon inquiry, I learned that five had been killed in the mill during the past week, besides the many accidents which took place. The company never allowed a full report of any accidents to leave the mill; and, in many instances when a worker is killed the news is not allowed to get out for several hours later unless it is brought out underground.

During one accident when four were killed in one day the women folks crowded the mill gates to learn if death had overtaken any of their family. They were held back at the gate and four reporters were arrested by the guards for attempting to ascertain how many and the names of those killed. It was late that evening before the families of those who had been struck by death were informed of the names of those killed. As one of the injured men from his hospital cot said, "You know, we workers are not supposed to give out any news regarding accidents in the mills, and if we do we take the chance of being discharged."

Only the steel workers realize just what the word CONDITIONS means. So when you talk about wages, hours and conditions to steel workers, it is the issue of conditions they are interested in most of all. It is the CONDITIONS which Gary is attempting to impose on the steel workers that are bringing about new thoughts, thoughts that will lead to action.

It has been the oppression of the steel trust that has forced the workers to take things into their own hands. At many points the workers in the mills have left their jobs in demand for the eight hour day. There have been at least three hundred walk-outs in the steel industry at different points this year and this shows the steel workers have begun to take matters into their own hands. These strikes usually developed out of the dissatisfaction existing regarding the long hours and small pay. And yet some people think that the Judge is going to give the eight hour day to the steel workers out of the goodness of his heart. The steel trust is modifying its labor program in compliance with the ever-growing demands of the rebellious steel workers, who

have lost all faith in Garyism and begin to realize that the steel mills are HELL; let loose on earth.

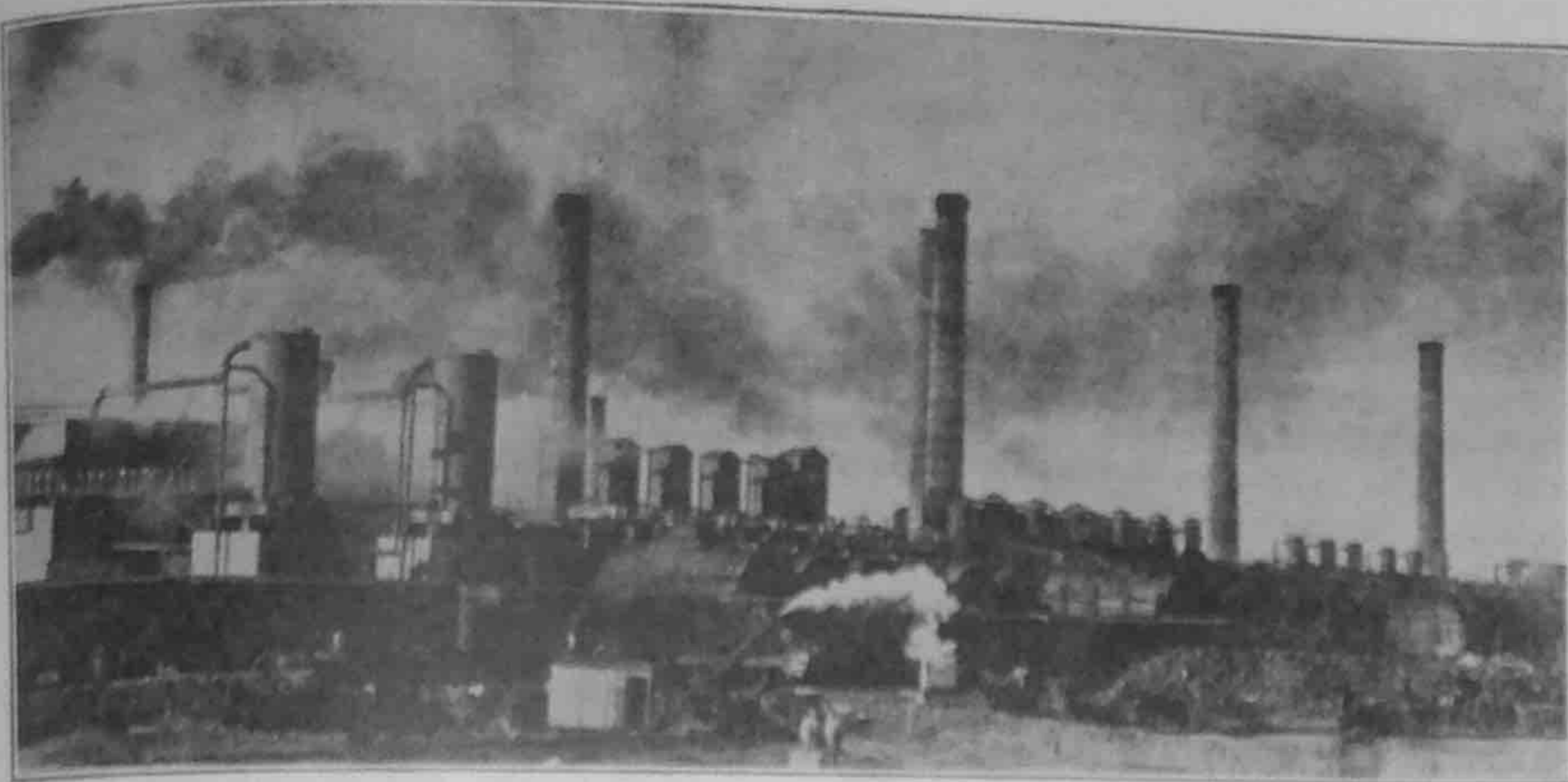
Going further into the investigation of the steel workers' turn toward unionism, I found that they realize that the new unionism in the steel industry must be the One Big Union kind. At the same time, I found the capitalist press carrying notices to the effect that the A. F. of L. would attempt to organize the steel workers and had arranged a series of meetings for that purpose.

Attending one of these meetings which had been well advertised, I found twenty-three people in attendance, being addressed by six labor fakers. This was at Cleveland and I learned that twenty-one of those attending were delegates or officials from the Cleveland Federation locals. Adding this experience to the general expression of disgust I found among the steel workers toward the craft union idea, it could easily be seen that the Federation will not have any sailing at all in organizing the steel industry and they perhaps realize it by now.

At another meeting arranged by the Federation at Gary a worker asked one of the speakers, "How many unions do you intend to organize in this place?" and the speaker, realizing his listeners were smarter than he, answered in disgust, "About a thousand." Loud laughter greeted this rejoinder.

The steel workers have been taught by the hard school of experience and today to effect any organization among them there must be a program that unites them in One Big Union. Whether it be the Mexican, Slav, Italian, Rumanian, Bulgarian or any other steel worker, if he is interested in any labor movement you can make up your mind it is the O. B. U. Many people do not as yet realize the great undercurrent of revolt that is gathering in the ranks of the steel workers. At times, this feeling overflows in an unorganized strike, but, as a whole, the drift is in the right direction, toward industrial unionism. The oppression of the Steel Trust is going to result in something good, from the standpoint of organization. It is like the black cloud just before the sun shines. The steel workers are reading and thinking. Their thoughts, which point straight toward Industrial Organization, are going to turn the tide in the American Labor Movement.

From now on there will be strike after strike in the steel industry. Where the organization work has not been attended to and the union has not been built, of course, failure will result. But there will be many strikes between now and spring that will bring home the bacon. This will occur where there are I. W. W. members or branches to properly handle same. But regardless of the success or failure of these small strikes in the domain of steel, these outbreaks will lead to a general strike in the steel industry at a little later date. This will mean action in the eastern industry and ACTION is what is needed more than anything else now. And who can say that it will not be the opening wedge that will pry open the whole eastern industries for the Industrial Workers of the World?



STANDARD REFINERY AT CASPER, WYO.

In The Domain of Standard Oil

THE Standard Oil Company of Indiana is not a weakling, or an ugly duckling, though you would conclude that there must be something wrong about it to hear its vociferous defense of itself. It reminds one of the lady in the Shakespearian play who was given to too much protesting. It solemnly declares to the world-at-large that in ten years it paid "to its employees in wages and salaries the gigantic sum of \$335,000,000, while it paid to stockholders in cash dividends \$74,000,000, and to the local and federal government in taxes, \$79,000,000.

Thus it must be apparent that the Standard Oil Co. is operated primarily for the benefit of employees and tax-collectors. Its stockholders are self-sacrificing citizens who live only to do labor and society good.

That Senator "Bob" La Follette claims a disproportionate amount of that \$335,000,000 is "pulled down" by stockholding officials in salaries is not in evidence. Nor is there any record going to show stock-dividends paid in addition to cash dividends. As these stock dividends mean a greatly enhanced stock-ownership in the corporation, Standard Oil, of course, values them so lightly as not to mention them. It's only when somebody wants to tax them as income that they shout "Confiscation."

Oil companies always tell the truth. That is they tell as much of it as becomes the argument. They don't lie, but they don't tell all there is to know. Nor are they given to interpreting all the facts. They are a very disingenuous lot, to be sure.

Real Strategy

Says the Standard Oil Company of Indiana:—"With the great bulk of production in the hands of competitors, and with their refining capacity far in excess of our own, it is apparent that the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) cannot dominate the

market as arbitrarily to put the price of petroleum up or down." No; it's cheaper to let the little fellow do the gambling connected with drilling and production. Corral transportation and distribution; and what can the little fellow do? By controlling pipe lines and marketing facilities the Standard Oil can dictate prices to producers and refiners, while driving out the strongest by price wars. Competitors come and competitors go; but Standard Oil goes on stronger than ever.

The Standard Oil Company of Indiana is not a trust. It says so; and that establishes the fact. It says "monopoly is abhorrent to the American mind" and since it is "the American mind," why that settles it. That the Standard Oil Company of Indiana operates in only 10 mid-continent states and has only 27,000 employees, may be due to the fact



Oil Workers' Office, Casper, Wyo.

that it wants to leave some territory for the other Standard Oil Companies to operate in. And it cuts the prices only in order to help out governors intent on price reduction. That some of its competitors disappear in the course of this campaign, simply proves its non-trustified character. It's so small and insignificant that it wins out on that account.

Paternalism

The Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, says it is not paternalistic in its treatment of employees. Not at all! It's simply despotic, that's all! Of course, it has the industrial relations play with its employees' council, that was forced on Standard Oil employees by John D. after the infamous massacre of miners' wives and children at Ludlow, Colo. "The Iron Heel"—that's the introduction to the employees' council. It's not paternalism; it's just plain hypocrisy and hell!

An employee of the Standard Oil refinery at Whiting, Ind., said to a Pioneer representative:

"No paternalism in the treatment of employees! That's to laugh! Why it's written all over the plant. It's evident from the time you step into its confines. Rules are evident all over the place. You are told what to eat and how to drink. Not too much meat in summer, nor too cold water. All this has its humorous phase, as I will show later on.

"The paternalism begins in the physical examination, after you enter the main gate. Prospective employees are hustled in large numbers into very cramped quarters four at a time, told to strip to the waist, given a hurried examination by a company doctor, mainly to see if the applicants are ruptured, given a slip stating their condition of health and sent back to the employment office for another examination as to their life history, antecedents, former places of employment, family life, relatives, references, etc. They are then hustled out to work with a 'nose-bag,' i. e. a lunch bag, full of stale sandwiches and fruit. Many do not stay, because of the nature of the work and the bad camp conditions.

Industrial Relations

"The industrial relations plan, also, is one of paternalism. According to this plan employees elect representatives to an employees' council, which pas-



Casper Oil Workers

Eighteen



Ditching Gang for Midwest

ses on wages, hours, etc. But the results are almost always nil. They are vetoed by the higher ups.

"Recently, the guards employed to police the works, asked for a reduction of hours from twelve to 8 a day at 12 hours' pay. This request was not granted. The management 'felt' it was agreeable to granting the guards 8 hours a day, but the increase of hourly wages involved was flatly refused. The company did not consider them more valuable than fifty cents an hour. The guards were very much dissatisfied at the outcome. But having no union of their own they had no 'come-back'. However, such is their attitude, as a result of the company's refusal to their request, that they are now able to commiserate with the laborers in the company camp although they do not live in it themselves.

"The switchmen employed by the company also requested an increase in wages. They work 8 hours a shift, three shifts a day. This request was also turned down, as the company heads claimed that to grant it would make the cost of haulage too expensive to warrant the increase. The switchmen did not take the arrangement very well; though some of them, evidently familiar with the outcome of all of the council's efforts, did not expect anything else.

"Another petition that was taken up was one for increased bathing facilities. About 900 men in a certain department go off work at every shift. There is only bathing facilities for about 200. As many of the men are married and anxious to get to their families, minus all the grease and muck of the refinery, the delay robs them of considerable time away from home; hence the petition. But it suffered the same fate as the others. It was placed on file; which is practically the same thing.

"The employees' council idea originated in Colorado. As a result of the mine war in that state, young John D. Rockefeller hit on this brilliant idea of doing away with labor unions and labor troubles, only to cause the latter to exist in suppressed forms. So that even the employees' council is paternalistic. It's supposed to be a plan beneficial to employees inaugurated by the company. The men did not inaugurate it.

The Labor Camp

"Another paternalistic feature of the company is the laborers' camp, wherein 500 skilled and un-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

skilled men are bedded and boarded by contractors acting directly under company supervision and in co-operation with the company. These 500 men are without any home-life, except such as that which the company provides. They live not in homes of their own, but in shacks provided by the company. These are practically like army barracks, only less favorably so, being, if anything inferior to them.

"These company shacks are frame buildings one story high, with concrete flooring and twelve double deck iron-frame bunks; twenty-four inmates to a shack. There is a big stove in each shack. Privacy in them is out of the question; and the method of living in vogue is not conducive to health, to say the least. Large numbers quit every day, making many complaints regarding the rotten food provided by the commissary boarding supply company in charge of the boarding and lodging of the workmen in the camp.

"Another reason for quitting is the general surroundings. Work in a refinery is of a peculiarly dirty nature. It is the dirt of oil and grease and pitch and tar. It is hard to get rid of; and very easy to acquire once you are in and about the works. And so this camp reflects the general surroundings in that it is dirty and greasy, reeking of oil and grime. And another thing about the works are the sharp, cutting acid fumes. These float into the windows and bunks of the camp, and right into the sleeper's lungs, causing sharp pains and making breathing anything but a pleasure. In fact, between a couple of hours a day getting rid of grime and breathing acid fumes at night, life in this Standard Oil camp is far from being an unmitigated joy such as the company organ would lead one to believe it is.

Why Big Turn-Over?

"It might well be asked why the company goes to such great expense; and why it is content with such a big turn-over of labor annually, due to poor food and housing conditions? The answer is that 'it pays'. This labor employment system, once believed to be peculiarly western and associated with construction work mainly, is now going eastward. Steel, oil, and other corporations are now housing



Pipeline Laying in Wyoming



The Pioneer's Newsboy

laborers in camps in their plants. They are creating conditions of life and morality that are not generally known. They are not animated by altruistic motives; as the contract labor camp system is one full of jobbery and graft. It also provides a means of guarding labor from unionism and creates caste divisions between the camp employees and the workers living in the cities outside of the plants.

"The company at Whiting, Ind., employs about 2,500 workers. Practically all of the work is out-of-doors, regardless of weather conditions.

They Never Die

"Much stress is laid on 'the chances of promotion for the worker with ambition.' But it is mainly stress; for, as in politics, the higher-ups are a long time in migrating to the great land beyond. They stick with the big show, as the actors say. Numerous men walk round with 20 and 30 stars on their sleeves who are still in the very humble classification of laborer. Evidently 'industry and loyalty to the company' has got them nowhere, except a beginning.

"The Standard Oil worker is a company-fed and a company-groomed animal. And he looks it. Stolid, unacquainted with freedom and initiative, he regards the company club house and company enslavement as the height of ambition. Some few are wise to the whole game, which is simply to make suckers of them for the Standard Oil—Standard Oil suckers, that is what they feel is what the Standard Oil is trying to make of its employees. Such is not paternalism; oh, no, but something worse! It's degradation of the many, for the profit of the few."

It is asserted by other oil workers that the conditions at Whiting can be duplicated at Casper, Wyoming, and other points where the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana has a refinery and is a factor.

The Story of a Proletarian Life

A Review By JUSTUS EBERT

It is always a pleasure to the writer to go back, in recollection, to the year 1911, when a strike of 10,000 Italian shoeworkers raged in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he then lived and was acting as the voluntary correspondent for *Solidarity*. True, there is nothing pleasing about a strike with its police brutalities, arrests and imprisonments, its evictions, starvations, blacklists and general hardships. Strikes are a phase of economic war—the result of conflicting class interests in society—the outgrowths of a wrong social system, and to be condemned, together with the system that creates them, as such.

Still this strike had some very pleasing features. One was the forensic ability of these obscure Italian shoeworkers. They were truly, on the whole, great orators. Though the writer understood very little that was said, yet he, nevertheless, hung with breathless interest on every syllable uttered. What precision, poise, dignity, eloquence! It was truly superb! The classical orators of ancient Rome seemed to live once more in these humble wage slaves of Brooklyn's shoe hells! At least, such was the charm they threw over the writer he had no difficulty in making the analogy appear real unto himself, no matter how it may have affected others.

It is something of this same charm, this consciousness of a classical heritage, that seems to permeate Bartolomeo Vanzetti's, "The Story of a Proletarian Life." The very first sentence, "My life cannot claim the dignity of an autobiography," possesses a modest, nay, a noble simplicity, that is re-enforced and re-emphasized in the words that immediately follow, to wit, "Nameless, in the crowd of nameless ones, I have merely caught and reflected a little of the light from that dynamic thought or ideal which is drawing humanity to better destinies." Could class-conscious obscurity be more eloquently voiced?

The Story's The Thing

But the style is not the man, nor the book; it is only the dress that makes the essence of both interesting and absorbing. It is the story of a studious, industrious life in search of existence and ideality, ending, through rank injustice, in the shadow of the electric chair—"scheduled," in Vanzetti's own impressive words, "for prison and for death"—that counts.

Yet, a well known lawyer, familiar with the case, writes: "The Vanzetti story does not do justice to the man. He is a whole lot bigger than the story."

Every informed workman knows how, on April 15th, 1920, at 3 p. m. a group of four or five men shot down Alexander Berardelli and



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

Frederic Parmenter who were carrying the payroll of Slater and Morrill, at a point in front of the Rice and Hutchins factory. The attacking party escaped by automobile.

On May 5th, 1920 Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested at Brockton, Mass. They were convicted of first degree murder on July 14, 1921. Five motions for new trial have been filed. They are at the present time undecided. All of these motions involve alleged newly discovered evidence.

Every informed workman knows all of the foregoing. But they do not know what went before. They do not know the antecedents of Vanzetti, so full of privation, disillusionment, suffering and hardship as a worker, and so rich in study and aspiration as an idealist, as to make criminality an impossibility. As Alice Stone Blackwell says, in the Foreword:

"Vanzetti's autobiography****is a remarkable human document. Let the reader consider it with an open mind, and judge for himself whether it indicates a character of the criminal type."

The verdict must be in Vanzetti's favor. And with this we urge the reading of the little labor classic.

(Publishers, Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Boston, Mass., Price 15 cents. Send for a copy.)



Pipelines Play Strategic Part in Oil Industry

Coming Fuel and Transportation Trust

By EDWARD E. ANDERSEN

THE use of either of the two main fuels of industry, oil and coal, is determined largely by which is the nearer. Transportation charges enter heavily into this consideration. This is a country of great distances. It costs more to transport a ton of coal 500 miles than it costs to mine and load it. Transportation of oil in tank cars is also costly. Pipelines are being constructed to lower the cost of transporting oil.

One such pipeline is now under construction and will when finished connect the Midcontinent oil fields with the refineries near the Great Lakes. Another is surveyed and contracts for its construction have been let. It is to connect the Wyoming fields with the first mentioned pipeline, at Sugar Creek, Mo. Both of these lines are being built by the Standard Oil group.

The Internal Struggle of Oil

Present competition with coal as a fuel, and within the oil industry for the control of oil demands independence in transportation problems. Although main pipelines are classified as common carriers and as such under the control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, they are handy instruments in the internal warfare for control of oil.

In the olden days the Standard Oil gained advantage over its competitors by the use of railroad rebates. Today a more subtle method is used.

The New Transformation

"Oil in storage" is taxable. But, by pumping the oil from one tank farm to another, "oil in storage" is transformed into "oil in transit," which is non-taxable. A fine distinction and a very profitable use of pipelines. It puts the independent producer under a handicap and acts as a lever to pry him loose from his oil. It provides the excuse for the refusal to accept his oil for transportation that "the line is busy," thereby forcing the little fellow

to either ship by rail at a greater cost, sell his oil to the large purchasing companies, who own the pipelines or build storage tanks. To build storage tanks is costly, and without the facilities for transferring the oil held, from tank farm to tank farm, means the payment of taxes, that the large companies escape, and is suicidal for the little fellow. Hence he is forced to sell to the large purchasing companies at the current market price, however low, instead of holding his oil for a better price. The large companies, such as the Standard, in this manner gradually gain control of more and more oil.

Fuel and Its Transportation Interlocked

In coal production, transportation and mining operations are so intertwined as to make it almost impossible to distinguish between mere railroad ownerships and mere mine ownerships. Fuel and the transportation thereof go hand in hand—coal and railways, oil and pipelines.

Oil Versus Coal

Despite this surface division, railroads touching the oil fields are turning to oil as a fuel. About a year ago the M. K. and T. began to equip its locomotives with oil burners between Denison, Texas, and Parsons, Kansas, and began the use of oil in the shop boilers at Parsons. These changes caused the closing down and dismantling of nearly all mines of the Folsom-Morris Coal Co. at Lehigh, Oklahoma. The Rock Island has made contracts for burning fuel oil on all its lines in Arkansas, south of Little Rock, and in Louisiana, and is now figuring on installing oil burners on the Memphis-Amarillo line, and part of the mainline from Chicago to the Gulf. All these contracts concluded, the Rock Island will temporarily abandon its mines at Hartshorne, Oklahoma. This change from coal to oil has caused many independent mines also to be abandoned and dismantled.

Twenty-one

One Reason for Choosing Oil

The fuel oil taking the place of coal is the heavy residue oil left after the lighter oils, such as gasoline, kerosene and their by-products, have been extracted from the crude by the process of refining. It has lately been a drug upon the market and taxed the storage capacity of the refiners. The miners' strike of last year created a market for it. The railroads, although owning their own mines, were seriously handicapped by the lack of coal and turned wherever possible to oil. Furthermore, the workers in the oil industry are largely unorganized and consequently the possibility of a strike curtailing the supply of fuel looms less threatening in the oil industry than in the highly organized industry of coal mining. So, naturally, oil received the preference.

Oil, Coal and Transportation Interlocked

This is a battle between coal and oil—but not on the financial side. It is worker against worker, with the miners getting punished for striking last summer. The Rockefeller interests of the Standard Oil own immense coal deposits in Colorado, and are elsewhere interested in railways and coal mines. The Royal Dutch Shell, an oil company considered the Standard Oil's most powerful competitor, is controlled by European capitalists who are also heavily interested in some of our eastern railroads; which again means that they are interested in coal, because railroading in the East goes hand in hand with coal mining.

Another Reason

But the fact that the coal miners are organized and the oil workers as a whole are not, can hardly be taken as the sole indication for this change from coal to oil. No, the reason that the capitalists are pushing the sale of oil to the apparent detriment of coal is rather that the oil resources of the world are supposed to be limited and will give out before long. Greed demands that they, the large capitalists, get their share while the getting is good.

The Mad Scramble for Oil

Oil is a fluid drawn from the depths of the Earth. It is found in pools beneath the roofs of so-called domes which appear along certain faults or cleavages of the Earth's crust. Like other fluids, it is constantly seeking its level. These pools are generally very irregularly shaped, often reaching miles one way and only short distances the other, with arms stretching out in this and that direction; no one knows where until found by the drill. It is at present guesswork to outline pools before drilling. Countless "dry holes" testify to that, and geologists are as often as not wrong in their recommendations. This leaves the holding of large tracts of oil lands for speculation and future exploitation a very hazardous investment. Witness governmental experience with the Naval Oil Reserve of California, which the Standard Oil and others are said to have pumped dry without trespassing upon government land; and the Tea Pot Dome Naval Reserve of Wyoming,

where operators upon state land found a seepage, forcing the government to either drill or lease.

Investments—Safe and Unsafe

Once oil is struck it is necessary to keep on drilling and draining the pool quickly unless assurance is had that the company owning the lease controls all the land covering the pool, in which case the well may be capped and let alone until needed. On the other hand, coal being a solid, may be left in the ground until needed and actually improves with age. Coal offers a field for safe investment where properties may be acquired and held indefinitely without fear of poachers. Therefore, money gained in oil is invested in abandoned coal with an eye on the future.

The Coming Consolidation

Hydro-electricity is yet in its infancy. Fuel is still basic as the driving force of industry. Today we speak of the Coal Trust, the Oil Trust and the Railroad Trust as separate; tomorrow we shall see the consolidated Fuel and Transportation Trust. It is here now in substance, but as yet not in name. Control of fuel and transportation means control of all industry thru means similar to those used in separating the independent oil producer from his oil. Control of industry means control of the nation with all it infers—a stranglehold upon liberty, upon our very lives.

Can the workers be said to have their weather eye as keenly peeled for the future as have the capitalist? Can the workers be said to be awake and aware of the situation and to the need of organizing in such a manner as to be able to cope with it when occasion demands it? Both answers may well be in the negative. The workers as a whole are apathetic, dormant, sound asleep! Only the few are awake and aware.

Worker Against Worker

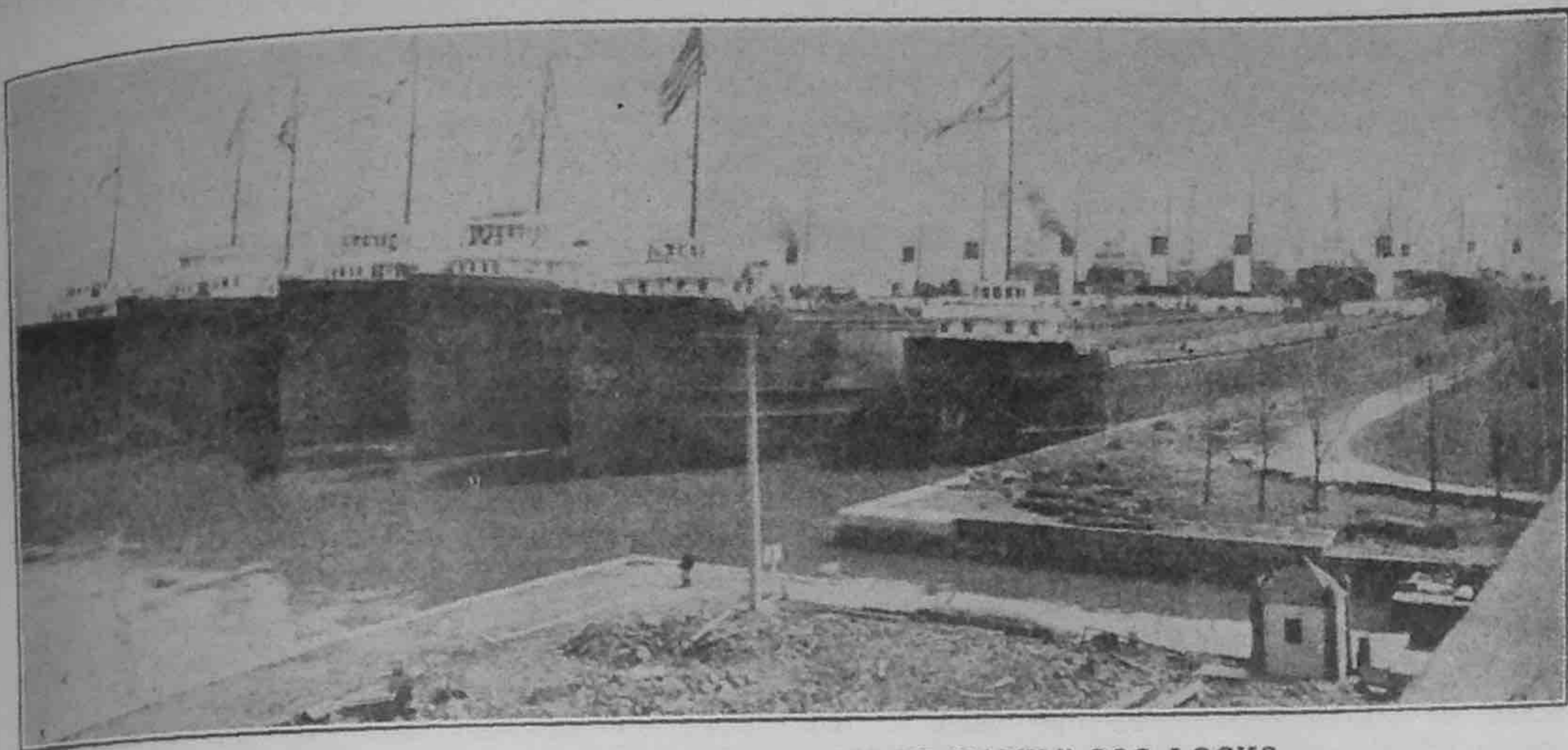
The capitalists are struggling among themselves for strategic positions, using workers' blood and bone in their battles. Oil workers are being used to grind miners into submission. Miners work two days a week, some not at all; oil workers work piece-work and overtime. Some of these days we may expect a turn of fortune and see miners used to crush oil workers.

Organization, Our Only Hope

We, the workers, must organize the One Big Union of all who work for our own immediate protection, for the protection of our fellow workers and for the protection of posterity as well. Only an all-encompassing union can hope to successfully combat an all-encompassing capitalism.

A LOCOMOTIVE EVERY HOUR

The Baldwin Locomotive Works, in a recent record-breaking output, produced a locomotive every hour. This is characteristic. Production makes ever new records. But how about consumption? Does it increase in the same proportions? It sure does not; and the result will soon be more under-consumption, otherwise wrongly known as overproduction.



PART OF "HARRY COULBY'S TIN-STACK NAVY," SOO LOCKS

The Lads on the Lakes

By CARD No. 416,897

FOR a number of years the I. W. W. has concerned itself chiefly with the migratory workers. Now, however, there are plans afoot to push the idea of industrial unionism into the big staple industries. As in any other enterprise, breaking new ground means new problems, new obstacles which must be overcome if the project is to be a successful one.

Every industry has problems peculiar to itself; problems not met with elsewhere—even separate departments of the same industry often have problems not to be met with in the others. A case in point is that branch of the marine transportation industry represented by the Great Lakes. Marine transportation taken as a whole has many phases peculiar to itself, but the Great Lakes present a difficulty not to be found in any other division of the marine industry.

Migratory Type Does Not Predominate

When one looks the entire marine industry over, it becomes apparent that most of the men employed are of the migratory type. This statement may be questioned by those thinking of the dockworkers or longshoremen but as the men on the ships go, it is incontrovertible. The sailor has perhaps less to make him a homeguard than any other member of the world's working force. The great majority of them are without wife or family. His home is the pitching, rolling, swaying fore'st'le of a deep water ship, bound today for the torrid ports which lie beneath the blistering sun of the tropics, and tomorrow is headed up the latitudes for some ice-bound, snow-shrouded harbor in the Arctic Circle. Today he may be wandering down the Bund in Shanghai; tomorrow he is sitting in Battery Park watching the transatlantic liners come and go; or perhaps his floating home has carried him in a different direction, and he may be getting

his shore legs in Cape Town and wondering how far it is to the top of Table Mountain. Here, there, everywhere, any port and every port, torrid zone and arctic circle; bucking the great West wind around Cape Horn, lolling peacefully on deck beneath the Southern Cross on balmy nights in the South Pacific, or freezing in the crows' nest while his ship picks its way carefully thru the ice bergs in the North Atlantic in the spring months, the deep-sea sailor has always been the true rover. The nature of the marine transportation industry makes him so. When one turns to look at the sailors on the lakes, however, it soon becomes evident that they will not fit into the same category as their deep-sea fellow workers. Here are to be found men with an entirely different psychology. While the ocean sailor from the very nature of his life has a very proletarian outlook, a great many of the men on the lake boats have an entirely different one.

The men who labor on the deep water vessels are, for the most part, men who figure on putting in their entire lives aboard ship. They accept the sea as a life-long mistress (or master). Efforts to organize them in order to obtain shorter hours, better conditions and higher wages meet with their full approval and co-operation. They feel that they are on the sea to stay, and any proposal which will make their lot more agreeable is met with open arms. Many of them are no more class-conscious than other workers, but they can see an immediate betterment of their lives thru organization, so they are in favor of it.

The Younger Set

This view of the matter is not taken by a great number of the men on the lakes, particularly by the younger ones. These youngsters form two groups which we will take up in turn. The first

group consists of thousands of young men about eighteen or nineteen years old. They are known as "summer sailors." Unlike the salt water sailors, they have no intention of making sailing their life work. They arrive in the lake ports, usually in the months of May and June, work two or three months and then step off the boats, never to return. Next year another bunch comes to take their places.

During the early months of navigation and thru the cold stormy weather of the fall, this group is conspicuous by its absence. These men are not interested in joining a union to better the conditions aboard the boats because they feel that in a short time those conditions will be matters of no importance to them. They will be driving a delivery truck for some grocer, jerking soda in some soft drink emporium, or in a large number of cases will be out on the football field of the school or college from which they came in the spring. Their attitude is "I should worry" about the sailors' conditions; I'll only be here a short time.

The second group of youngsters is just as much a problem as the first. These boys are natives of the towns situated along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers for the most part. From these towns come most of the captains, mates and engineers of the lake boats.

During the long winter months these officers are looked up to as the leading citizens of the towns, and naturally the younger element is filled with a desire to follow in their footsteps and become captains and chief engineers themselves. As these lads offer an unequalled opportunity to secure submissive slaves, the officers take them along in the spring to whatever port their boat has been lying in thru the winter, take them aboard, acquaint them with the various duties, impress on their minds the axiom of "work hard for the company and you will be captain or chief engineer yourself some day," and thus start them off on their maritime career.

When one takes the motives which actuate them into consideration, the unwillingness to organize which this group (almost as a whole) displays is not to be wondered at. These young men intend to make sailing their life work, but their ambition is not to help the men below the licensed grades better their conditions, but to step upwards themselves without any loss of time. They fear that entangling themselves with the sailors and firemen thru joining a union will militate against their advancement and consequently they turn a deaf ear to any efforts to line them up with their fellow workers for an attempt to secure concessions from the boss.

The thought that they are working against their CLASS interests never enters their heads; in fact, many of them never heard of the war of the classes. In this respect they are very much like the first mentioned group, the "summer sailors."

These two groups of young men present the biggest problem the organization must solve before the lakes can be successfully unionized. There

are, of course, thousands of older men, many of them originally salt water sailors, but these men are easily organized. In fact, at the present writing the majority of them are carrying the red card of the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510 of the I. W. W. The few older men who are not yet lined up, are men who have carried craft union cards for years, only to be disillusioned thru the failure of this sort of organization and consequently they are a trifle soured on labor organization. A little patience with them will enroll them with the rest of the older men.

Without the younger men, however, any organization on the lakes is foredoomed to failure and defeat. A way must be found to interest them.

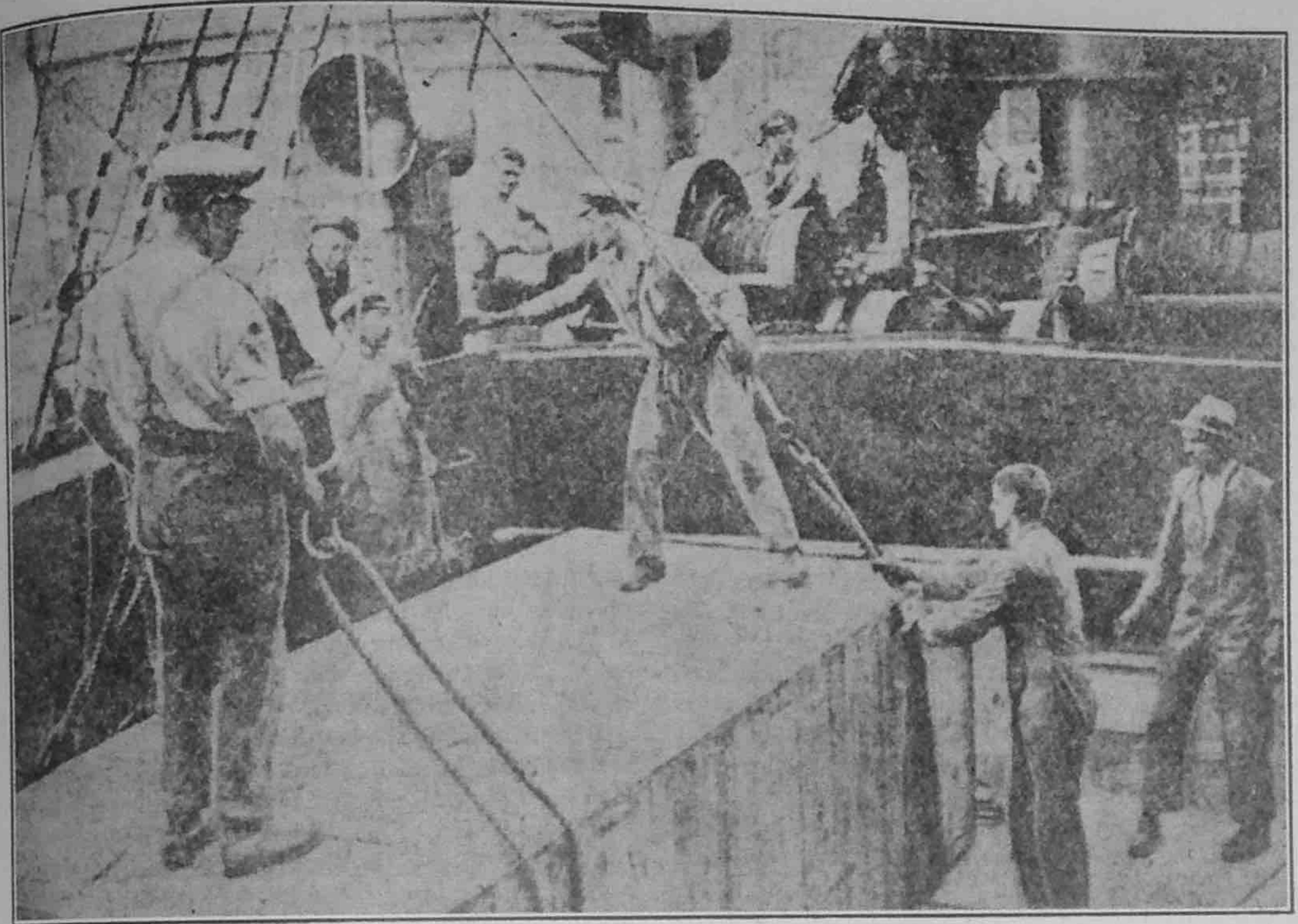
After extensive observation, the writer is inclined to doubt the efficacy of the system used at present. Not because the system is not right, but because it is a trifle too advanced. This is one place where intensive class education is necessary before attempting organization. These youngsters are woefully ignorant of their true positions in society, and any effort to interest them in a working class organization is a good deal like putting a roof on a building before laying the foundation. When a delegate approaches one of them about organization, they are actually bewildered, they don't know what it's all about. They ask the most nonsensical questions and in other ways betray their total ignorance of the subject.

They need class education first—organization only when they have grasped the principles of the upward surge of the labor movement. Putting cards into their pockets, even if it could be done, would mean nothing. In their present state of mind they could not be depended on anyway. Class education then, is the prime requisite. This can be accomplished in two ways: First: thru the I. W. W. press; second, thru educational meetings in every port thru the summer months and in the towns from which the majority of the second mentioned groups come every spring. No great expenditure of money is necessary for the first part. Every week a certain number of newspapers and magazines, pamphlets and leaflets can be sold, or if necessary, given away at the dock gates in the different ports. (It would surprise the average reader how quickly these boys will buy any kind of reading matter). The second part of the program will require more effort and funds. Able speakers are necessary and full co-operation by the membership, in each port.

A few months of this sort of treatment is bound to interest a number of these lads, and when they are once interested it will not be a difficult matter to arrange a series of meetings in their home towns during the winter months.

One thing is certain: they must be educated; without taking preliminary educational steps, efforts to organize them will be futile, and without them any organization on the lakes will be a joke.

Let us educate them to help us defeat the Lake Carriers' Ass'n., as the L. C. A. once used them to defeat the workers. It will be poetic justice.



A PHASE IN THE LONDON DOCK STRIKE

S. S. Siam City, moored at Royal Victoria Dock, has its captain and officers, with clerks from the owners' city office, to discharge her. The picture shows Capt. Thomas and his colleagues at work.

When the British longshoremen were on strike, captain and officers, members of the "Officers' Guild," donned overalls, and proceeded to scab on the dock workers. This is one more illustration of craft unionism at work. The scabbery of craft unionism in the marine industry must disappear before the One Big Union of all marine workers, the world over. The M. T. W. I. U. 510 is manifesting itself as the real union. Note the absence, in the picture, or any seamen or firemen.

Why Are We Discontented

(Continued from Page 14)

anything. Our masters of co-ordinated capital are divided. They can't agree on the League of Nations; or on an imperialist career. Some think America sufficient unto itself. Others don't. They fear immigration—"the revolutionary hordes of Europe" is their great danger. They do not know where future wars may lead, and so some favor disarmament and world's courts instead. They are in doubt, pessimistic. And as we take our national moods from them, through their press and movies, and have the same fears and rejoicing as they do, consequently, do you wonder that optimism has flown? With our great spiritual leaders talking both Christ and Mussolini, while keeping their airplanes tanked up and their

eyes on the other fellows, what is there either inspiring or exalting about all this?

Why are we discontented? Why, shouldn't we be? What is there in present day industrialism and imperialism to get enthusiastic about? Its so-called good times alone?

There is only one ray of hope. And that is the organized labor power of the world's workers. With that succeeding the failure of the present social system, as appears inevitable, there will be something to get sanguine over. Otherwise, life is a fraud; a hideous apparition of one damn depression, industrial enslavement and futile war, with their worse dictatorships, after another.

Up with the world's workers!

Twenty-five

A Modern General Strike

(Continued from Page 4)

will explain what it is. It is a common red cider first, into this the bartender, sometimes the bar-lady, cunningly pours a shot of ether. At once the red cider changes to amber colored "smilo". This retails for ten to twenty-five cents and after two or more injections Dr. Jekyll becomes Mr. Hyde. I am not talking of grain alcohol, readers, but of "smilo," a brain crazing liquor peddled openly to migratory workers in the northwest.

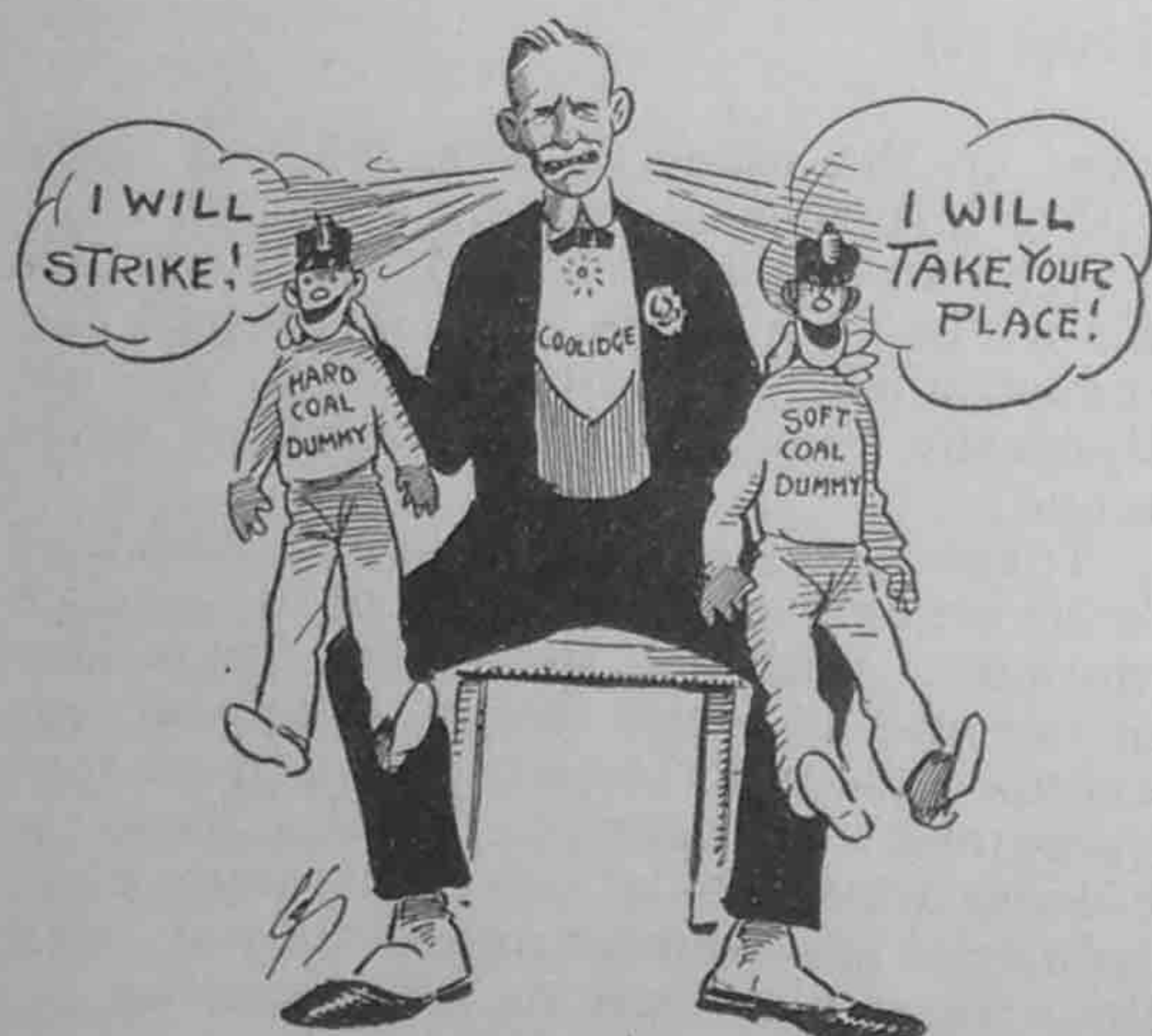
The dehorners did good work in Portland, Aberdeen and Centralia. But the greatest excitement occurred in Seattle.

Seattle is ruled politically by one Edwin J. Brown. If you followed Socialist Party news some years ago you would read a lot about the soap boxing and office running of this red-party-card dentist. He was even arrested on one occasion. But the war came and Dr. Brown got behind the President and shone with patriotism and respectability. Some years later as an independent and liberal candidate for the office of mayor he landed on the municipal throne.

Now Seattle's police force, like other police forces, is not in business for its health. It protects "smilo," moonshine and gambling joints for a consideration. A policeman has just been arrested for alleged bootlegging but the **Seattle Union Record** published a long list of other police who ought to be—giving their names. Brown keeps these vice-protecting cops on the force for his own reasons.

The Dehorn Committee

Came the strike and danger to the working class movement if the joints ran while the walkout was on. The dehorn committee waited on the Chief of Police and notified him that the "smilo" and marked card stuff must be off immediately. If he did not act they would. The chief promised to act but nothing happened.



Same Old Act

Then the dehorn committee took direct action. A group of husky lumberjacks, they were, and followed by a crowd estimated at from one to two thousand. I. W. W. traffic officers kept order. The band swept into the "poison area." Into First Avenue, Washington, Occidental and Main Streets, Second Avenue South, Jackson St. and all through the highways and byways of the district south of Yesler Way they marched. Proprietors become good boys when the committee gave its orders.

* * *

"I'll attend to the dehorners," shouted Mayor Brown angrily next day.

Back came the challenge of the chairman of the Seattle strike committee, asking him if he was lined up with the lawbreakers and declaring that the I. W. W. was going ahead with its clean up campaign. This challenge was nailed to the mast head of the **Industrial Worker**.

Brown quickly showed his line-up. Next evening a small army of police met the dehorn squad. Fifteen cops on motorcycles and more in special automobiles. "Dick's Place," next to Our House, the "Jackson Soft Drink Parlor" and other joints got protection and tried to go ahead with a business-as-usual campaign.

Two fellow workers got thirty days but they feel that the work was well done. Business is not as usual. Many workingmen who had been imbibing the poison obeyed the appeal of the dehorn squad and kept out. And the working people of Seattle saw that the much vilified I. W. W. was the only force aggressively fighting for decency.

Back on the Job

Centralia out ten days transferred its strike to the job but called on other branches to stay out for that same length of time. Seattle followed suit.

Other branches are out as this is written.

The strike on the job, the slow down program is the next move when the strike off the job is over. Both mean punishing the boss for his refusal to release political prisoners. This punishment is most severe at this time because the demand for lumber was never keener, with the Japanese in the market heavily and prices going up.

Both forms of strike require energy, idealism and organization efficiency. This means tireless work on the part of the active members, willingness to be inconvenienced by frequent losses of the individual job and willingness to post themselves on the facts of their industry.

Just watch the northwest!

READ THE I. W. W. PRESS.
READ THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKER
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER
PUSH THE I. W. W. PRESS.



THE BURIAL OF ABE SHOCKER

A Visit to San Quentin Prison

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

"The vilest deeds like poison weeds
 Bloom well in prison-air;
 It is only what is good in Man
 That wastes and withers there;
 Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
 And the Warder is Despair."

A NUMBER of fellow workers from San Francisco, visited the boys in Quentin last Saturday. The trip by ferry-boat, train and motor-bus is a pleasant one. It reminds one of a jaunt to a summer camp in the hills, save that on the trip over he sees sad-eyed women and grave-faced men going to see some loved one who has fallen foul of the law. The surrounding country is resplendent in its summer garb beneath the golden California sunshine. The grounds of the prison are kept trim and neat. The guards lounge around the entrance in their spick olive-drab uniforms. A prisoner flits silently by on some errand in conformity with the prison routine. Other prisoners busy themselves with garden and yard work. To the casual eye everything is peaceful and serene, but on closer observation one sees signs of harsh discipline on every hand. Fear is written on the faces of the prisoners; a furtive glance as the guard passes, a quick dropping of the eye-lids, the submissive and resigned air of the prisoners, all tell a tale of a prison system fit only for the dungeons of a Spanish Monastery during the Inquisition.

In the Visitor's Room!

A guard signaled, and we entered the visitor's room. The prisoners entered by another door. Here loved ones greet each other; mothers embrace their sons, laughing and crying at the same time, wives and husbands cling to one another lovingly. Tom Mooney sits with his arm around his wife, who has visited him regularly thru dreary years of waiting. A Fellow Worker grasped me by the hand and seated

himself on one side of a long table while I took a chair on the other side. A striking difference can be seen between the Wobblies and the rest of the prisoners in their attitude towards the guards. Instead of humility and resignation, so noticeable in the other prisoners, one sees in the Wobblies the personification of the indomitable spirit that has kept the I. W. W. alive through the dark days of the modern Inquisition. It is not bombast, it is not defiance to the prison rules. It is self-respect, and an innate sense of justice that commands the respect, not only of their fellow prisoners, but of their keepers.

Their One Concern

The first question asked on seating yourself at the table, is:

"Well, Fellow Worker, how is the organization progressing?"

This is the problem uppermost in the minds of all our men confined in San Quentin. They do not brood over their imprisonment, they do not indulge in self pity. Their only thought is to see the organization they love, live and thrive and flourish.

The conversation drifts to old times, you are asked where is this fellow worker, where that fellow worker has gone? Did you meet so-and-so, in your travels around the country? How is the I. U. 110 getting along in the harvest fields this year? Has I. U. 120 got job control in the lumber camps of the North-west yet? Are the construction "stiffs" lining up in 810? Never a word of complaint, never a thought of their own condition. They would rather talk of the organization in the half hour or so that they have to visit. The visitor must be a prosecuting attorney to get anything out of them relative to themselves.

"Oh! I'm getting along alright," is the inevitable answer, when asked how they manage to live in "Castle Despair".

"The food? Well, it is pretty rotten. The work is not so bad outside the jute mill. The mill is hell."

One gathers from what is said, that the jute mill must be terrible indeed.

The Jute Mill Strike

In fact, so bad is the mill, that men prefer isolation on bread and water, to having their health wrecked in that iniquitous place. The inhuman conditions existing in the mill caused a strike among the members of the I. W. W. confined in Quentin a short time ago. The prison rules call for twelve months work in the mill by each prisoner before he can be assigned to other work. On several occasions members of the I. W. W. have been refused other work, upon completing their twelve month period in the mill. On such occasions a display of the solidarity of organized labor asserted itself. Several weeks ago a fellow worker upon being denied the change of work that was due him, refused to go into the mill and was thrown into the hole, a strike among the membership of the I. W. W. followed. They were put in isolation and kept there forty-two days on bread and water. This was the only means they had of protesting against the discrimination shown members of the I. W. W. Incidentally, this was an illustration that the slogan "An injury to one, is an injury to all", are not idle words. The strike was won; although some of the boys returned to the mill, the speed-up system was eliminated and has not been again put into effect.

The Death of Abe Shocker

Among those who went on strike, at that time, was a fellow worker by the name of Abe Shocker. After coming out of solitary confinement, Fellow Worker Shocker was assigned to the dock to shovel coal. In his weakened condition he was unable to perform the task. Instead of sending him to the hospital, the guards in charge of the work had him again put into the hole. But he only stayed there a short time and was taken to the hospital for treatment. This was on Monday, on Wednesday morning he was again assigned to work; this time in the rock quarry. That evening he returned to his cell in a state of physical exhaustion. Not being able to perform the task assigned to him, and not wishing to embroil his fellow workers in another strike on his account, he preferred to take his own life rather than to submit any longer to the intolerable conditions prevailing in the prison. Wednesday night, he committed suicide by hanging himself with his bed clothing. A note explaining his act was found beside his dead body. The death of Fellow Worker Abe Shocker, tells all too plainly the story of life in San Quentin prison.

Books Are Needed

During the conversation the writer had with Fellow Worker William Baker, the subject of books was discussed, and I found that the boys are in need of reading matter. They have read nearly everything that the prison affords. So, friends, if you can spare a few dimes, send along some good books. They must come direct from the publisher or from a book store and the name of the bookstore must be

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on the wrapper. This applies to the boys in Leavenworth as well as the ones in 'Quentin. In fact wherever our Class-War prisoners are they can always use some good books. In Leavenworth the books must come direct from the publishers. There are many more articles that the boys need, such as candy, fruit, tobacco, base balls and gloves, fountain pens, tooth brushes and paste, soap and bath towels, etc. It is against the prison rules to send these articles in, but if money is supplied they can procure them. The California Branch of the General Defense are supplying these needs, but must have your co-operation.

An automobile horn sounded, and the guards in charge of the visitors' room informed us that the stage to 'Frisco had arrived. Hurried good-byes were said. The boys turned into the gloomy prison, there to become once more numbers instead of human beings. They belong to the "subterranean brethren", who are forgotten, for the most part, by the great world outside.

Poet's Words Are Too True

As we left the prison and inhaled the crisp sea air, a feeling of rage against the system that condemns men to penal servitude because they are Soldiers of Freedom welled up in me. How true are the words of the poet:

"But this I know, that every law
That men have made for Man,
Since first Man took his brother's life,
And the sad world began,
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff
With a most evil fan.
This too I know—and wise it were
If each could know the same—
That every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars lest Christ should see
How men their brothers maim."

On the return trip the sun did not seem to shine so brightly, as the cloud in my heart obscured its radiance. The grim walls of our penal institutions were before my eyes, behind whose shadows men are hidden whose only crime was that they preached the doctrine of industrial brotherhood. A vision arose, of the red brick walls of Leavenworth penitentiary, topped with turrets in which guards, armed with rifles, scowl down on the prisoners within. I could hear the slow stealthy tread of other guards atop of the grey stone walls of Walla Walla, Boise and Folsom. The vision fades; the scene shifts to the court house in Sacramento, where five men are on trial for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law. The question arises, will they to go manacled to the state prison, to swell the ranks of our entombed fellow workers, who dared to think? Again the scene changes and I see the wan faces of other men, in the county jails, awaiting trial, on the same old charge—Criminal Syndicalism.

In Leavenworth, Kansas, there are approximately thirty-five men, who went to prison during the war hysteria, because they preached a message of industrial unionism to the workers of the United

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Immigration and National Development

By JAMES WILLIAMS, Able Seaman.

MR. ARTHUR BRISBANE, very able and very high salaried editor of the Hearst newspapers, makes the burning subject of immigration the topic of his leading editorial in the August 22nd issue of *The Evening Journal*.

Mr. Brisbane admits that his mental effusion in this instance has been inspired by a letter recently written by M. L. Vasser, to whom he graciously refers as "an earnest, and doubtless a first class workman."

Mr. Vasser, according to the noted editor, is "excited and annoyed; he thinks that keeping out immigrants will help workers, now here, get better wages."

In our humble opinion, however, it is the mighty corporation editor, not the "earnest, and doubtless very good workman," who is so madly "excited and annoyed" over the present phase of the perennial immigration problem.

At the outset of his astute argument, Mr. Brisbane attempts to floor us with the astounding, and oft-reiterated stock quotation that, at the beginning of our national history, when the population of the United States was four million inhabitants, or even less, that "the average pay was less than fifty cents a day, and only one man in the country was able to earn as much as a dollar a day the year around. That is FACT," exclaims the haughty editor, in accentuated type. "No theory about it."

Now we have some other FACTS of our own, that were not imparted to us at the leading universities where the millionaire dictator of economic theories has spent so much of his time.

In our judgment, Mr. Brisbane's arguments, not to quote him at length, are entirely too far-fetched and illogical, and utterly irrelevant and beside the issue as well.

States. Walla Walla, Washington claims seventeen victims of the Class-War. Boise, Idaho has its quota of three Industrial Workers of the World, and four others awaiting trial on a C. S. charge. In California the number of Class-War victims is appalling. There are eighty-three in San Quentin, thirteen in Folsom, one in the reformatory, five on trial at Sacramento at the present time and over one hundred awaiting trial and pending appeal. The total in the earthquake state reaches almost two hundred and fifty. This does not include the many who have gone before, Ford and Suhr, Sacco and Vanzetti, Rangel and Kline, Tom Mooney and a host of others. It includes our so-called political prisoners and victims of this outrageous Criminal Syndicalism law.

Think of it, Fellow Workers! Three hundred men and over in the prison camps of the enemy! What is the answer to the Plutocracy of America? Agitate! Organize! Prepare! for the general strike for the release of all Class-War prisoners.

There can be no logical or practical comparison drawn between the economic conditions existing in these United States at the close of the revolutionary period and those obtaining today.

At that time the exchange value of money was probably more than ten to one against what it is today. The fifty cents per day, therefore, was not so small as the Boss's editor would try to make us believe. Moreover, there was no great corporations, or vast industrial concerns to exploit labor and grind the faces of the poor. Agriculture, fishing and maritime commerce, constituted the principal industries of the country.

Home Industry

Everybody could have access to the soil, and every householder could keep his own cow and pigs and chickens and cultivate his own cabbage patch. Every housewife had her own spinning wheel, and, perhaps, a hand loom, on which the women folks made homespun and sewed it into raiment for the whole family.

The field labor, in those days, was performed mainly by Negro slaves and white bondmen, who were also slaves in fact if not in name. There was, therefore, no pressing need of foreign immigration to develop the fundamental industries then available.

With the development of our railroad systems, the opening of our coal fields and mines, the establishment of immense manufacturing plants, which marked the evolution of the age of iron and steel, and the advancement of our new national era, together with the abolition of slavery, and the statutory inhibitions against white peonage, which resulted from the arbitrament of the sword after the Civil war,—then came the great and growing demand for foreign labor, skilled or unskilled, to man our ever growing national industries, and help develop our unknown natural resources.

Organized Labor's Stand

It was at this period that, owing to the unlawful and corrupting methods adopted by the industrial barons in their efforts to exploit unsophisticated and illiterate immigrants that Organized Labor throughout the country was compelled, in self defense to institute its crusade for the reasonable restriction of surplus immigration that glutted the labor market, and threatened the country, at times with anarchy and bloodshed.

It is in defense of the poor immigrant, as well as in behalf of the American workman, that organized Labor speaks today in its protests against a reversion to the former status in the labor field when the great corporations were permitted to bring in swarms of helpless foreigners, in direct violation of the "Alien Contract Labor Laws," then extant, thus menacing the lives, health, morals and happiness of American workers, by forcing them to work for European wages, and accede to

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European conditions of life and labor, or even worse in many instances.

The present attitude of Organized Labor on the question of immigration, is inspired by dread, and not by prejudice, as all the apostles of Mammon are trying to make the world believe.

We are, all of us, either immigrants or the off-spring of older immigrants. Why, then, should we try to exclude our own families and fellow workers? Simply because we realize the conditions existing in the country, and would warn them against the consequences their coming is bound to incur upon themselves as well as others if they are permitted to arrive in overpowering numbers.

National Greatness

We agree with Mr. Brisbane in his assertion that "A great country needs a great people, a BIG POPULATION," etc. But, we respectfully submit that the greatness of a nation does not consist in population alone, but in the greatness of its industrial opportunities. If we glut the labor market with millions of unemployed, for the sole benefit of the capitalists, we are simply driving the workers into serfdom, and the idlers into starvation, misery, discontent and crime.

We have had too many exhibitions of this kind during the past half century, to allow ourselves to be beguiled by a lot of well paid blatherskites and intellectual prostitutes, who sit in high places and presume to act as the national arbitrators of our national economic and industrial policies.

The man who never did a day's work in his life is hardly the safest one to dictate to Labor what it needs.

Mr. Brisbane refers to the tariff, which, he alleges, "we have been forced to put around our shores in order to protect our highly paid working-men." It is hard to tell at this point in his essay, whether the great editor is deliberately lying, or trying to test his sense of humor on our credulity.

To the best of our recollection, information and belief, however, the various commercial tariffs existing under the U. S. statutes, were originally erected as barriers against the importation of foreign made goods in open competition with home manufacture. The tariff laws were enacted by Congress at the earnest and anxious behest of the manufacturers, and labor had nothing to say in the matter. But, far from protecting American labor from foreign competition, these laws had, in practice, exactly a contrary result as their promoters intended they should have.

Foreign Labor

For, as soon as the tariff schedules had been safely established in the Federal Statute Books, the business interests proceeded to import hundreds of thousands of unsuspecting immigrants to enter their factories and produce their goods under practically the same terms and conditions to which they had been accustomed at home—and this to the practical exclusion, likewise, of American Labor.

This was true in all great industries. In factory

and foundry, in mine and field, in forest or stream, and in the merchant marine, American labor was almost entirely eliminated, and foreign labor was grossly exploited, degraded and abused. But when the foreign elements had been here long enough to become enlightened, by observation and contact, and had imbibed a smattering or more, of the spirit of American independence, the meaning of American ideals and traditions, they, too, organized, and gave the interests which had so shamefully hoodwinked, and so heartlessly exploited them the fight of their lifetime.

Then, of course, they were denounced as low-lived foreigners, ignorant agitators, dangerous aliens, etc. They were fired quicker than they had been hired; reviled, deported, imprisoned, and otherwise maltreated, and more greenhorns imported to replace them.

Such has been our modus operandi with regard to immigration for the last fifty years, until now it is evident that too much population is apt to be a standing menace to the public order and industrial tranquility of the country, and that it is safer and wiser, in the interests of all concerned, to limit the influx to industrial requirements of the nation at all times, editors and aggressors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Over-Population

Both India and China are over-populated, not beyond the available resources of the countries mentioned, but far beyond their material development. What is the result? Disorder, misery, starvation, stark anarchy and class ignorance, everywhere. And similar conditions might easily be imposed upon the United States, unless the progress of degradation should be arrested by revolution.

In China, surplus female children are slain, and in India they are fed to the crocodiles to prevent over-production. Such is the result of huge populations without sufficient supporting factors available to keep the people profitably employed. That such horrid methods should ever be resorted to in this country is, of course, unthinkable; but, nevertheless, we would warn all editors, arbitrators and capitalistic aggressors, that "he who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind." And the most casual perusal of wide world history from the earliest dawn of civilization down to date, emphasizes the truth of this one proverb more than any other. Tyranny always digs its own grave, and financial and political arrogance, run to excess, is tyranny in its grossest and most dangerous form. But while he was about it, the exalted high priest of the Hearst windbags might have informed us what salary the editor of a newspaper received a hundred and forty years ago, and likewise how much he draws today, for placating the interests and blinding the ignorant.

(See article on Some Anti-Immigration Fallacies, elsewhere in this issue.)

Henry Ford, a Peculiar Entity

By GEO. WILLIAMS

HENRY FORD is the most outstanding figure in American industrial life, or in the world, today.

Henry Ford is the most powerful individual (financially) in the world today.

Henry Ford will still acquire more power and influence. The profits from the Ford auto alone are sufficient, at the present rate of profits to make and maintain him as the richest man; and yet he is reaching into other industrial fields, the extent of which will equal his automobile interests.

Ford is a peculiar entity among the modern industrial lords, in that he has acquired enormous riches without encountering the hot-blast antagonism from the radicals that has so justly been laid at the doors of other predatory individuals. Not that he is escaping some criticism, but what is directed at him is of a different nature. He is debited with no Ludlow or Calumet style of enforcing his proprietorship or of maintaining his power. From all opinions, friendly and hostile, he appears to be a smooth and painless exploiter of labor, and very successful.

Ford Can Be President

Ford can be president of these United States with no more effort than passing along the word to an admiring mass of scissors and scissorines. He can be anything that they have in their power to give, for he has captured the imagination of the great majority of what is known as the common people, or that portion of the population that is neither radical nor reactionary.

In connection with Ford's popularity with the rank and file on the one hand, he is thoroughly disliked on the other by the big banking and other interests, simply because he is a poor customer to the bankers in Wall Street, and a dangerous competitor to certain large industrial interests. The Ford organization conducts operations seemingly against sound business practice and by all the dope it should have failed. But what is seemingly against sound business practice is not in reality against it at all. The Ford organization has only applied modern ideas of exploitation to its labor force and thereby succeeds in increasing production and profit.

Ford's Life by Himself

I have been asked by the editor of *Industrial Pioneer* to read a new book bearing the title *MY LIFE AND WORK*, By HENRY FORD, In *COLLABORATION WITH SAMUEL CROWTHERS*, and give my impressions of it. I have found the book very interesting, not that I agree with any part of it, but because it deals with industrial conditions in the Ford plant that in themselves provoke thought.

I am only acquainted with Ford's method of production from second hand information. However, I am acquainted with the knowledge generally

prevalent that the Ford auto is assembled by the conveyor method and by reason of such methods of assembling the Ford car, the Ford organization is far ahead of competitors in the automobile industry.

Each part of the car "flows" together, we are told (not unlike small creeks and rivers flowing into and swelling the larger river), through the means of the conveyor, and at regular intervals, as the various parts "flow" together, are human beings who place nuts and bolts and other parts on the "flowing" car that is in the process of formation, until at the end of the conveyor system there emerges a completed car. Nor is this all; each of the component parts of the finished car, the engine, the wheels, chassis, magneto, and whatever goes to make up the finished Ford car, are themselves assembled in the same manner in their respective departments, and the assembling of these parts being completed in their departments, by its own conveyor system, "flows" on uninterruptedly into the main assembling shed and moves into its place in the final operation like converging waters. And yet more: this conveyor system not only assembles the autos rapidly, but it also performs the valuable function, in a figurative sense, of carrying back a steady stream of golden profits.

Production Methods

Around this method of production, aside from the profits derived, there is much discussion concerning the human element. In the book, Ford, through his collaborator Samuel Crowthers, discusses his production methods.

I am sure that a thoroughbred Marxist could scuttle Ford's economic ideas from a Socialistic viewpoint overwhelmingly and conclusively, but as I am no prodigy on Marxian economics, I can only deal with other phases of his discussions.

Through the medium of the book Ford is giving voice to his philosophy of life and business. He attacks both the radical and reactionary groups in society and lays down a principle of industrialism which he thinks will cure all the evils that now exist. This principle is, briefly: That modern business and manufacturing is conducted not with a view of producing a good servicable article, but of producing in order to grab quick profits while the grabbing is good; whereas manufacturing and production of anything must be based on the service to the users and its utility, and with no thought about profits. In the words of Ford's book, "If we shift the manufacturing from the profit to the service basis, we shall have a real business in which the profits will be all that any one could desire." Chief among Ford's ethics of business is, that lower production costs should always be balanced by lower selling prices, and if present-day business were conducted on that

basis, argues Ford, there would never be a falling market. Thus Ford propounds the great IF, which obviously is a destroying IF; for IF all other manufacturers produced for service and not for profit, Ford's market advantages would disappear. But why predicate an argument on the impossible IF? Capitalism is not going to discard profits for service any more than water is going to flow up hill.

Labor Increases Own Productivity

Ford confuses service with cheap production made possible by extracting a larger volume of productive labor from the general working force. He has demonstrated in his book that labor scientifically distributed can and will increase its own productiveness. As an instance, the book describes a certain operation in which three men were necessary, until a blind man was put to work. This particular operation required only certain definite movements, viz.:—counting bolts and nuts for shipment to branch establishments. In two days, we are told, the blind man did the work so well that it was necessary to take the other two men (who could see) out of his (the blind man's) way. We are also made acquainted by the book with ways in which men are replaced by new machines or frequently displaced by quicker and finely calculated moves.

There is the example of assembling the chassis, cited in the book. In the early operations it required an average of twelve hours and twenty-eight minutes per chassis. The first crude conveyor method of a rope and windlass reduced the time to five hours fifty minutes per chassis. By experiments and improvements the time of assembling the chassis was finally reduced to one hour thirty-three minutes.

"It must not be imagined, however," says Ford, "that all this worked out as quickly as it sounds. The speed of the moving work had to be carefully tried out; in assembling the magneto we first had a speed of sixty inches (conveyor) per minute. That was too fast. Then we tried eighteen inches per minute. That was too slow. Finally we settled on forty-four inches per minute. The idea is that a man must not be hurried in his work—he must have every second necessary but not a single unnecessary second."

Principles of Assembling

In describing the principles of assembly, the book says:

"1—Place the tools and the men in the sequence of the operation so that each component part shall travel the least possible distance while in the process of finishing.

"2—Use work slides or some other form of carrier so that when a workman completes his operation, he drops the part always in the same place—which place must always be the most convenient place to his hand—and if possible have gravity carry the part to the next workman for his operation.

"3—Use sliding assembling lines by which the

parts to be assembled are delivered at convenient distances."

Ford deals with the question of whether the displacement of labor by machines or improved methods does not stagnate the labor market. He answers substantially as follows: That such displaced labor is absorbed in the increased production of industry, in new industries constantly created by new methods. Thus the motor car industry which destroyed the bicycle gave employment to many times more workers than were employed making bicycles, in addition to which it created other industries and opened up a tremendous amount of road construction work. This I think is in great part true; however, under capitalism, there is always unemployed and the benefits of this process is not returned to labor as it should be, in the form of shorter hours nor in increased quantities of food, clothing, shelter and the articles thus newly created. While more and more things are produced the great majority of the people still remain on the same comparative level of existence, if not lower.

Little Skill in Ford's

There is very little skill in the Ford factory, we are told, and very little hard work. No expense has been spared to place machines to do the heavy work. Only about 16 per cent of the labor in the Ford plants require physical strength. A full grown child, woman, or a man below the common physical development, can do most of the work required. Nor is the mental effort high. A very large percentage of the work done takes very little skill, only 14 per cent requiring from one month to one year to become proficient, the rest of the operations calling for experience ranging from only a few hours to a few weeks at the machines."

Now a person might say, in contemplating the labor methods of the Ford organization, that the monotony must be terrible. But Ford says, in substance, that while there is some monotony necessarily in the methods used, there is less than in the old and less intensive methods. There is less monotony in doing a light task over and over again than in doing a heavy thing over and over again, besides the physical exhaustion is eliminated. And, too, the Ford employes receive a higher remuneration, which is a mental palliative. His employes, however, have yet to be heard from on this point.

Ford argues that the vast majority of men do not want to go ahead; "they want to stay put. They want to be led." They are satisfied with the economic security and the slight responsibility that goes with their job.

However, much logic there is in this view—and we must concede there is some—we find out on reading further that the majority of improvements in assembling the cars are due to the employes. To use the words of Ford, "Whatever expertness in fabrication that has developed has

been due to men. I think that if men are unhampered and they know that they are serving, they will always put all of mind and will into even the most trivial of tasks." On reading the foregoing and from other instances cited in the book we become suspicious that the whole vast scheme in the production of Ford cars is the sum total of the thousands of ideas handed in by the rank and file, which ideas finally appear in total on the balance sheet as assets of the Ford Motor Co. Thus the brain and labor of myriads of workers are converged by another invisible conveyor into the legal proprietorship of **Ford, the owner**. Under this system Ford does well to appraise the "help" as mere automatons, because the productivity of such help is then lost behind the magical and symbolic "Ford."

System Impersonal

That Ford has an impersonal view regarding the human element in his plants is only natural. Ford thinks in terms of production, and humans are only necessary ingredients in fabrication. That they are "Robots" is the best thing that could happen to them, thinks Ford. For one cannot have efficiency unless labor is "Robotized." Efficiency in production means the elimination of waste labor motion as well as wasted material. It must be remembered that the revolutionary Russian government officially installed the "Taylor system" in its factories wherever possible and "efficiency" and "scientific" are terms extensively used in radical programs. Thus the efficiency methods of the Ford plants are not to be condemned as such, but rather because the "Robots" are still robbed of the results of their efficiency. The argument is that the efficiency "Robot" (term Robot mine), in the Ford plants are better off materially and every other way than the non-efficiency "Robots" in other capitalist plants. Now the term "Robot" may not be applicable to the new society; however that may be I am of the opinion that efficiency may be insisted on to a larger degree under a new system of production than under capitalism, because the worker, being in control of production and distribution, will insist on the best possible methods of production in order that he may have more time for recreation. So, I repeat, there is no logical argument against efficiency, but there is in being robbed of the results.

So it is that Fords' citation of efficiency and how it develops from the suggestions of the workers themselves is the strongest corroboration of the I. W. W. argument that the creative minds of the workers is the greatest force existent. Ford, by giving better conditions and wages to his "help," has discovered this himself and has capitalized this very principle. But Ford is limited in the development of the re-creative propensities inherent in the worker by the necessity of selling his cars for profit; he cannot reward his "help" in wages at the full value of the finished car, for Ford must have his profit. Thus is he limited to developing the creative abilities of the workers.

Only under a wageless and profitless system of society is the full benefit of this possible.

Wages

In the chapter on wages Ford makes the usual expressions and covers the same ground. It seems to me that he draws unqualified conclusions. He says that Labor is the productive factor in industry, but distinguishes management and superintendence as separate from Labor. By this method he establishes an argument against manual labor. Wages as such, are created by skilful management molding so-called manual labor into an efficient force. The labor creates a good cheap car; it is then taken out and sold and wages are thus made possible. The better and the cheaper a car created by labor in the shop, the more cars will be sold, and consequently the better wages will be paid to labor. That is in substance Ford's theory.

We read further:

"The wage carries all the workers' obligations outside the shop; it carries all that is necessary in the way of service and management inside the shop. The day's productive work is the most valuable mine of wealth that has ever been opened. Certainly it ought to bear not less than all the worker's outside obligations. And certainly it ought to be made to take care of the worker's sunset days when labor is no longer necessary. And if it is made to do even these, industry will have to be adjusted to a schedule of production, distribution, and reward, which will stop the leaks into the pockets of men who do not assist in production. In order to create a system which shall be as independent of the good-will of benevolent employers as of the ill-will of selfish ones, we shall have to find a basis in the actual facts of life itself."

Ford means by this that the worker who works for wages should establish a cost accounting system similarly used in business houses, and charge to wages all the necessary things that go to make up a worker's life. Then in turn he sells his labor for the amount it takes to maintain and develop his labor power.

This is a naive conception of the wage problem, since Ford forgets that the employer also keeps a cost accounting system in which "labor bought" is charged to the cost of production, so whatever computations are made by labor are nullified by the selling price of the finished product that labor produces. In other words, the workers, like the dog chasing his tail, can never catch up with the margin of profit that is always exacted by the employer regardless of the wages paid. Besides, the worker spends according to what he gets and not what he should have. He doesn't sell his labor, **THE EMPLOYER BUYS IT**. And even Ford explains to his reader that he conducts his business on that very principle. **HE** buys labor and charges it to production.

Railroads

"There is a railroad problem," says Ford. "Everyone is dissatisfied with them. The public because

(Continued on Page 48)

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The Organization of Modern Industry

One of the most striking features of modern industry is the increase in the size of factories and other industrial enterprises. A few years ago a plant employing 1000 men was considered a large concern. Today, factories employing 5000 men are common, factories employing 10,000 men are not unusual, and a few plants have employed as many as 25,000 men within the confines of a single yard. A number of large corporations owning several industrial plants in different localities employ much greater numbers of workers. Statistics show that the number of corporations as compared to privately-owned enterprises and partnerships tends to increase, thus indicating a tendency towards mass financing and constant growth in the size of industrial undertakings.

There is a general tendency, also, toward specialization of industry. A few years ago it was common practice for manufacturing establishments to produce a very great variety of products. Today the general practice is to confine the activities of an industrial plant to a somewhat restricted range and in many of the newer industries a very limited number of products are produced. There are a number of reasons for these noteworthy tendencies.

Industrial enterprises tend to increase in size in one of three ways. The first is by natural growth in size of a single plant or by **AGGREGATION** as it is sometimes called. The second method is by **INTEGRATION**; that is, by extending the control over the supply of raw materials or the disposal of finished products by acquiring the methods and processes that are concerned in these operations. The third method is by **CONSOLIDATION**; that is, by combining industrial undertakings of a similar character under one management whether these undertakings are single plants or integrated industries. The economic reason for this tendency toward growth and expansion may be conveniently divided into two groups: First, economies that lead to reduced cost of production; second, economies that give greater competitive power.—**DEXTER S. KIMBALL**, Dean College of Engineering, Cornell University, in Management and Administration.


There is still one step not mentioned above. That is called coordination, in which all industrial enterprises are formed into a giant combination to exploit the world.

On War Propaganda

So apt are mankind to be wrought up into a passion by false reports and slight offenses that it is an easy matter for cunning men to set peaceable families and friends at variance, where there is no grounds for it on either side. In the same manner towns, states and nations may be set at war against each other, and I have no doubt but that it has been the case many a time, that thousands and millions have been slain on both sides equally thinking that they have been fighting in a good cause, when the whole matter in dispute would have made little or no dispute between honest neighbors.

Nor do I dispute but that it has been agreed upon by rulers of nations to make war on each other, only that they might have a pretense to raise and keep up standing armies to deprive their own subjects of their rights and liberties. This is a great object with the few, and when they attain it, it adds so much to their number, strength and importance that they have but little more to fear, and the many have but little reason to expect that they can maintain their liberties long.—**The Key to Liberty**, **WILLIAM MANNING**.

The City and It's Workers



SPEAKING of the city and its workers is to speak of Chicago. Chicago is the second largest city in the country. It is the great metropolis of the West, and the rival of New York. In proportion to its working population, Chicago is poorly organized.

Just now, Chicago is the scene of great activity, intended to make I. W. W.'s of its homeguards. Hotel and restaurant, packing house, building construction, metal and machinery, textile, railroad, agricultural, general construction, lake marine transport, and other workers are being enrolled thru their respective industrial unions.

Chicago has also a district council in which the branches of these unions co-operate.

'Frisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and many other cities are also scenes of I. W. W. activity. The homeguards are being steadily enrolled and will soon be with us in large numbers.

William Manning's "Key to Liberty"

A Review By PHILLIP TAFT

THE well-paid mouthpieces of class privileges, are wont to charge social radicalism with being a foreign growth, intellectually nourished from abroad.

This gentry evidently does not recognize that knowledge is not the peculiar property of any one nation but that truth is the universal heritage of all mankind. However, as this class of writers is more interested in obscuring an issue by the creation of prejudice than laying its causes bare, they therefore raise the cry of "alien importation," against any attempt to do so; and it therefore becomes necessary to expose their misleading arts.

For instance, the recently discovered series of letters of William Manning, entitled "The Key of Liberty," written in 1798, show that the basic doctrines of Communism and Socialism, instead of being foreign importations, were discovered and enunciated, to a remarkable degree, by an American, 53 years prior to the publication of the Communist Manifesto, or before the writers of that manifesto, Marx and Engels, were even born.

A Minute Man.

Wm. Manning was a New England farmer, residing at Billerica, Mass. He served in the Continental Army as a lieutenant; a Minute Man who answered the alarms of his country was Manning. This man, who according to his own admissions, had less than 6 months schooling in his life, recognized the existence of the class struggle and the nature of value; while at the same time advocating a world-wide union of farmers and workers for the prevention of wars.

Manning recognized, moreover, the necessity of organization among the laboring classes, urging them to follow the example of the merchants, lawyers, and ministers, who had, even at that early period in American history, associations through which they obtained favorable legislation; so why not the farmers and laborers?

Wm. Manning was aware of the conflict of interest between the few and the many; classifying as the few the merchants, physicians, lawyers, divines, literary persons, public and executive officers and all the rich, who live without bodily labor. The many, of course, were the farmers and laborers.

Anticipating Marx

As Manning saw it the whole controversy of his times was between those who labor for a living and those who do not. This statement, though lacking the literary nicety of one better educated, is essentially the same as the doctrine of the class struggle, as enunciated by Marx and Engels fifty-three years later.

Manning perceived the true relation of labor to capital; and his views are all the more remarkable when we consider that the United States was at the

time primarily an agricultural nation, and was by comparison with England or France a backward nation industrially.

"Labour is the parent of all property—the land yieldeth nothing without it, and there is no food, clothing, shelter, vessel, or any necessity of life, but what costs labour and is generally esteemed valuable according to the labour it costs. Therefore no person can possess property, without labouring, unless he gets it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others."

In the above paragraph there is stated several ideas which have become the cornerstone of all the important social revolutionary movements of the world. "Labor produces all wealth" is simply restating the above paragraph in a more epigrammatic fashion. The Marxian theory of value, as well as a recognition of profit as the unpaid labor of the worker, or surplus value as it is now termed, are enunciated in this paragraph.

War on War

Manning, as already stated, believed in a workers' organization for the prevention of war; and, as the following words prove, he had a pretty good conception of the causes and consequences of war:

"And I have often had it impressed on my mind that in some such way as this (speaking of a workers' society), society may be organized throughout the world, as well as government, and by social correspondence and by mutual consent all differences might be settled, so that wars might be banished from the earth; for it is from the pride and ambition of rulers and ignorance of the people that war arises. No nation, as a nation, ever got anything to make war on others; for, whatever the conquests may have been, the plunder always goes to a few individuals and always increases the misery of more than it helps."

Considering the times in which these letters were written, they exhibit an understanding of social forces seldom equalled even now by more learned and scholarly men.

Though Wm. Manning can no longer be classified as entirely mute; yet it is men of his type that are forced into silence by conditions and environment. Man whose crude brain is capable of superior analysis and development. Men of whom Gray in his Elegy, sung: "A mute inglorious Milton here may lay."

Wm. Manning, at least contributed a little to the ultimate removal of the conditions that make such destruction of brain power possible. His advocacy of education, as the chief agency for the abolition of social inequality and war, reflects the needs of himself and his class.

(Publishers, Manning Association, Billerica, Mass.)

WOBBLES

A JOY REVOLUTION

In years of yore the worker
Was the butt of wit;
But now the capitalist is "it."
He—Superman!—made an awful bull of life,
With his wars and class strife.
Now, none's so small as to
Honor him—
They pass him by and grin!
So, stop giving the worker
The merry ha, ha!—
Give the capitalist the tra-la-la-la!

TIMELY LOGIC

Office Boy—"I want a little time off to get a hair cut."

Boss—"What! Get your hair cut in company time?"

Office Boy—"Sure; it grew in company time."

ANOTHER HENRY FORD

Teacher (during visit of the school board): "Robert, who signed Magna Charta?"

Robert: "Please ma'am, 'twasn't me."

Teacher: "Take your seat."

Hiram (business man, school board member): "Call that there boy back. I don't like his manner. I believe he did do it."

HAY-WIRE FOR FAIR

The uninitiated are puzzled to know where the phrase "hay-wire" comes from. It is derived from the farmer's custom of mending everything with wire from baled hay. It means a miserable, poverty-stricken make-shift.

A story is told of the farmer who wouldn't buy any hay unless it had three wires on it. He explained that, otherwise he could never make his ranch hang together. His was a "hay-wire" ranch.

A FORD PRODUCT

A story is told of a "machinist" who wanted to get into the aviation corps. The officer in charge investigated his abilities as follows:

Are you a tool and die maker?

No.

Do you run a lathe?

No.

Ah; possibly you operate a drilling machine?

No.

Well, what kind of a machinist are you, anyway?

Oh, I am a Ford No. 14 bolt tightener.

THEY GENERALLY DO

The Credit Man—Your business seems to be tottering. You must have met with some staggering loss.

The Merchant—I have. My bank failed on me and I lost my balance.

MODERNITY

Sleepless night; bad food—bad liver: nervous tension. A seat at the window.

The little park across the street is dark and full of clouds. Still there are the stars in the high heavens; no rain is forboding. But the carbon odor in the air tells the tale. It is the smoke of the city.

Light is reflected in the little lake under the stone bridge in that little park. It is not the moon. The sky is moon-less. Search discloses an electric light on the roof of the factory nearby.

Foul desecration of nature's beauties: Soot, smell and camouflage. Such is modernity. J. D. C.

THE BLESSED PEACEMAKERS

Oh, well! the capitalists who say "the I. W. W. is a failure," will have to demonstrate the success of their own system before we get discouraged.

The capitalists who mistakenly allege that the I. W. W. favor violence never permit themselves to indulge in a worse infraction of the peace than a world-war.

While capitalists accuse those "terrible I. W. W.'s" of practicing sabotage they set them a good example of real constructive achievement by wrecking civilization.

THE LESSER EVIL

It's false to say "The I. W. W. is a menace to society"; but it's within the realms of truth to state that capitalist culture menaces society with cancer, consumption and syphilis. And as between two evils, alleged or otherwise, we always choose the lesser one.

This here labor shortage goes to prove once more that labor is always short somehow. One thing, it's short of is the wealth it produces. And it's shorts of guts in not resenting the fact.

Thirty-seven

The Man Without a Country

By COVINGTON HALL

I am the working man—
THE man without a country—
All nations—
Kingdoms,
Republics,
Empires,
Rest upon my shoulders—
For I am labor!
I sail their ships and planes—
I watch their citadels and towers—
I run their presses—
I drop their bombs—
I spread their gasses—
I starve their enemies—
I furnish the corpses for their faiths and
victories—
MY blood is the crimson of their flags—
By ME their glory lives—
From ME their power comes—
I make them all—
I keep them all—
I guard them all—
I, the man without a country!—
I feed the Race—
I clothe the Race—
I house the Race—
I am Agriculture—
Industry—
Transportation—
Commerce—
And Art—
I am fire and steam—
Light and electricity—
Civilization and society—
For I am labor!
The wizard gold producer—
The raw material of wealth—
The exhaustless source of—

Dividends—
Interest—
Profit,
Rent—
Taxes and riches—
The Aladdin's lamp and the Frankenstein of
Capital.—
I shoulder the State—
I carry the Church—
I build the Union—
I make them all—
I keep them all—
I guard them all—
I, the man without a country!—
I am love and life—
I am bread and liberty—
The womb of thought and truth—
The mother of Democracy—
The father of Freedom—
The nemesis of Slavery—
For I am labor!
All that you hold is mine—
But for ME—
Your fields were wilderness—
Your mines dark caverns in the Earth—
Your railways streaks of rust across a silent
desert—
Your mills and factories mausoleums of dead
and powerless steel—
Your palaces and temples, mints and banks, the
home of ghosts and worms—
Your fleets, lost derelicts on portless oceans
drifting—
Without ME all is nothingness—
I am the Logos—
The Living Soul of the Machine—
The maker, keeper, guarder of them all—
I, the man without a country!

ORGANIZATION BREVITIES

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, has trebled its membership during the past year.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, increased its membership 60 per cent during August.

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, reports an increase of almost 50 per cent in 12 months.

A feature of I. W. W. growth is its extension into Canada and Alaska. The lumberjacks, harvest stiffs and dirt movers are increasing operations in these territories.

Building Construction Workers' 330 and Food-stuff Workers' 460, are two industrial unions that are not making much noise, but are growing, nevertheless.

Eastward the star of the I. W. W. takes its

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course. General Construction Workers' 310 is now invading Ohio. The lumberjacks are going into Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin. The steel drive is also reaching into Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other points.

Not a Secret Society

No, the I. W. W. is not a diabolical secret society. Now, would you believe it, it's just a labor organization. Instead of organizing on trade lines it organizes on those of industry. And instead of confining itself to the workers in the industries of one country, it seeks to embrace those of all countries. That's where its name, "the Industrial Workers of the World," comes from.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Need of Workers' Education

The Work Peoples' College and its Courses

THE old revolutionary slogan, "agitate, educate, organize," is just as effective to-day as it ever was. The working class needs to be awakened out of its lethargy and indifference, it needs to be agitated and aroused by new ideals and aspirations. And it also needs to be educated and organized in a way that will make those ideals and aspirations capable of realization.

Sensible workingmen no longer entertain, or take seriously, the theory, that mere contact with production makes revolutionists. If that was a fact the working class, as a whole, would not be so subservient to capitalism; but, on the contrary, would be intent on its overthrow.

There is no mechanical and automatic creation of a revolutionary working class in modern production. There is, however, on the part of increasing numbers of workers, a conscious recognition of certain duties to be performed to make a revolutionary working class possible. And these include agitation, education and organization, assisted, of course, primarily by economic conditions. Let us agitate, let us educate, let us organize! On this basis may we feel assured of emancipation. And on no other!

Many of us are already sufficiently agitated to become aware of the base nature of capitalism—of its fundamental injustice, viz., its robbery of labor via the profit and wages system. But we need education in the effort to overcome this gross injustice. We need training in order that we may be better fitted to undertake this stupendous task. And right here is where The Work People's College Duluth, Minn., comes in. Read its statement, as follows:—

INTRODUCTION

The Work People's College is an I. W. W. institution organized for the purpose of teaching students who are seeking proletarian learning. This school recognizes the existence of the class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more effectively carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and ultimately the realization of a new social order.

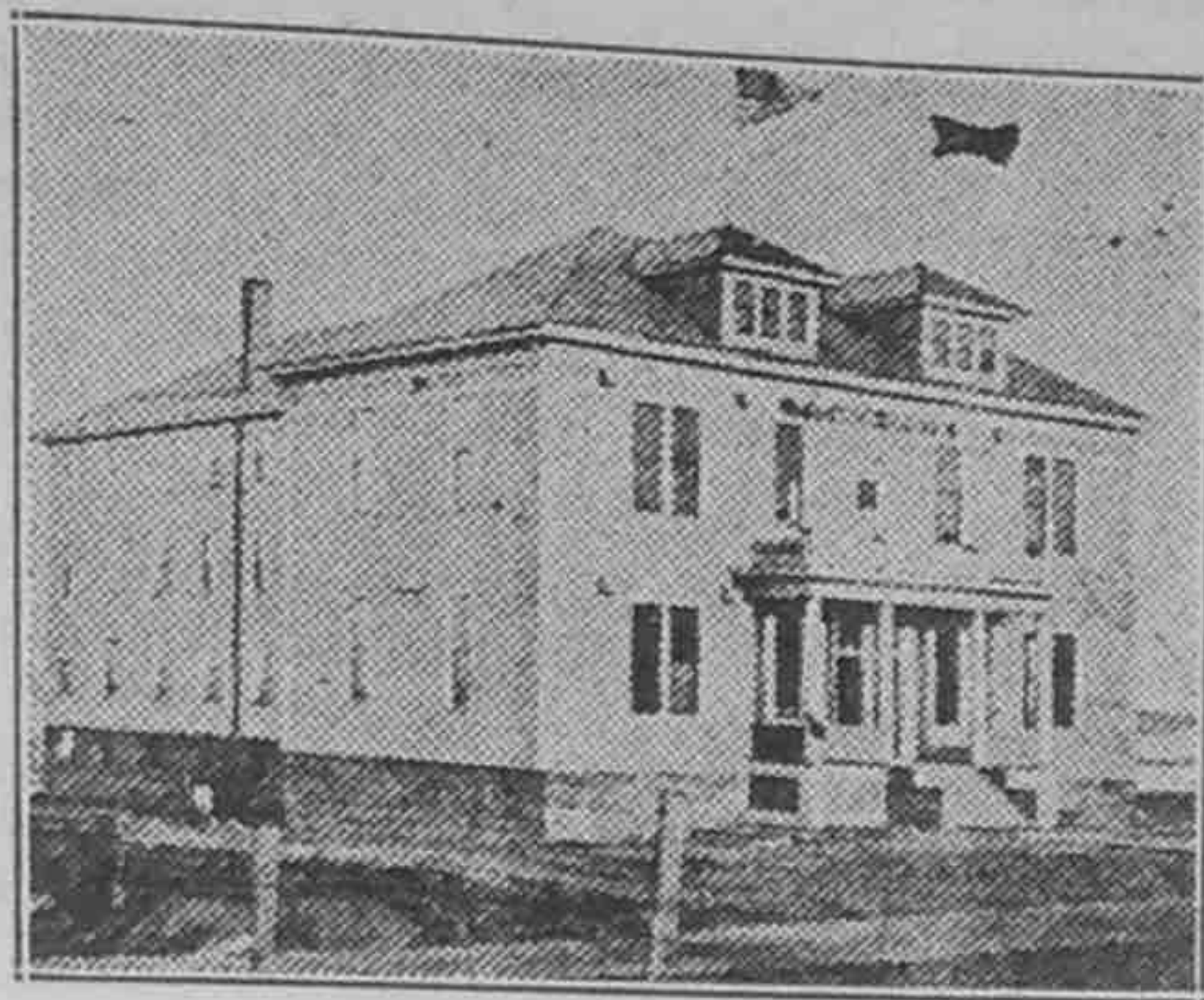
DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE.

HISTORY.

1. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. The awakening of Class Consciousness in American Labor. The mistakes of the various organizations, and how to avoid them in the future.

** REFERENCE BOOKS.—Historical Catechism of American Unionism (I. W. W.), Labor in American History (O'Neal), History of Labor in U. S. A. (Commons).

OCTOBER, 1923



The Work People's College

*** 4 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Materialistic Conception of History.** General outline history of the human race.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—Ancient Society (Morgan), Evolution of the State, Private Property and the Family (Engels), Economic Determinism, (Parce), Ancient Lowly (Ward), The Eighteenth Brumaire, The Civil War in France, Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx), Physical Basis of Society (Kelsey).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

4. Same, in Finnish.

SOCIOLOGY.

1. **The Motives of Social Activity.** The causes of human activity, and why organizations and social machinery are created.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—Introduction to Sociology (Lewis), Dynamic Sociology (Ward).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

ECONOMICS

1. **Economic Theory.** Theory of value. Surplus value and its origin and distribution, Capital, Labor, Work-day, Wages.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy), Economic Interpretation of the Job (I. W. W.), Students' Marx (Aveling), Capital (Marx), Theoretical System of Karl Marx (Boudin).

3 hours lecture, 2 hours discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Modern Industry.** Conditions existing in textile, iron and steel, foodstuff, marine transportation, land transportation, agricultural, oil, coal, electric power industries in the United States, with some reference to world production and commerce.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—U. S. Documents, Census Reports, Trade Journals, Market Reports, etc. Pamphlets (I. W. W.).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

4. Same, in Finnish.

* Courses taught in English language unless marked "Finnish".

** Reference books are most of them in the college library. Instructors may add to, or change list, and may select some particular book as a text, requiring the students to secure copies of it.

*** Number of hours per week.

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GEOGRAPHY.

1. **Industrial Geography.** General topography, trade routes, centers of industry, products, peoples and language groups. The object of this course is to provide revolutionists with a knowledge of the physical basis of industry, and of the strategic points for attack on the capitalist system.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—*Geography, Physical, Economic and Regional* (Chamberlain), *Physiography*, (Salisbury), *Environment* (Swaine).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

BIOLOGY.

1. **Evolution.** The proofs of evolution, Mendelism, Darwinism, heredity, artificial evolution of domestic breeds.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—*Evolution of Man* (Boelsche), *Law of Biogenesis, Savage Survivals*, (Moore), *Evolution and Adaptation, Physical Basis of Heredity* (Morgan).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

ARITHMETIC.

1. **Elementary Arithmetic.** Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Fractions, Decimals, Speed and Accuracy, Short Cuts, Mental Arithmetic.

TEXT BOOKS:—Selected by instructor.

4 hours drill.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Advanced Arithmetic.** A course in arithmetical problems, touching on percentage, proportion, plane and solid geometry, weights and measures, surveying, navigation, monetary systems, interest, exchange and discount.

TEXT BOOKS:—Selected by instructor.

4 hours drill.

4. Same, in Finnish.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION.

PROPAGANDA.

1. **Public Speaking.** Students to prepare lectures on subjects of propaganda value. Lecture to be given to class as if to an audience of workers. Class and instructor will criticize material, arrangement, and delivery. 2 hours.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Debating.** A practice course, under the direction of the instructor. Class to be divided into two parts, and important questions in the labor movement argued between them. In the second half of the term the instructor to take the part of an opponent of industrial unionism, and to challenge members of the class in turn to answer his objections. 2 hours.

4. Same, in Finnish.

5. **Reporting and Editing.** Students write news articles on local events, editorials and essays on important matters in the labor movement. Instruction in logic, rhetoric, the right word, unity, coherence, emphasis. Best articles to be submitted to I. W. W. papers for publication.

2 hours lecture, 3 hours criticism of papers.

ORGANIZATION.

1. **The I. W. W. Structure, Methods, Present Policies and Position.** Careful study of present day operation of branches, councils, boards and committees. Sample minutes, reports, and secretarial work. Practise in making out minutes, and reports.

Relations of parts of the organizations to each other, conduct of press, activities of conventions and powers. Duties of officials. Problem of combining efficiency with Democracy.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—All I. W. W. Literature. 3 hours discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Delegates' Work.** Practice in the functioning of a job delegate. How to make out cards, reports, and what to say to the prospective member. How to start branches. Practise in lining up men. 1 hour.

4. **Elementary Organization Bookkeeping.** Principles of bookkeeping (Nurmi System). Accounts of committees. How to open, keep and close books of branch secretaries. How to audit books. Balances and financial reports. 5 hours practise.

5. **Advanced Organization Bookkeeping.** How to keep books of Industrial Union and General Headquarters. How to keep books of periodicals, special departments, etc. 5 hours practice.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

1. **Elementary English.** Reading, pronunciation, spelling. Class and instructor will read simple texts from the school library. Conversation between members of the class, and mutual criticism. 5 hours drill.

2. Same, in Finnish. (English Grammar in Finnish.)

3. **Advanced English.** Grammar, composition and literature. Reading of selected works in English literature, especially scientific and radical literature. Paraphrasing. 3 hours drill.

HOW TO ENTER COLLEGE

Those desiring to become students at the Work People's College should write to WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Box 39, Morgan Park Station, and tell the manager what courses they are interested in, what preparation for the studies they have had, if any, how long they have been in the movement, what offices they have held, if any, and how long they will probably be able to remain at the college. This is information useful to the instructors in planning their lectures and arranging courses.

The expenses to the student after arriving at the college will be \$39 per month, which covers board, lodging and tuition. If the student desires to board and room elsewhere, the tuition charge will be \$10 per month. Charges must be paid in advance for each month.

When starting for the college, bring along all your books as you may find them useful for reference.

The school year begins November 1. If you cannot be there by that time, make special arrangements with the manager.

Both men and women may attend the Work People's College.

STUDENT LIFE.

The students are organized, and have regular business sessions, parties, games and entertainments. These are never allowed to interfere with their studies. Fellow workers in Duluth co-operate with the students in programs and meetings.

There is a gymnasium, and students are required to keep themselves healthy by regular exercise, either indoors or outdoors.

Motherhood Under Capitalism

By J. D. C.

EARLY last April, a tragedy was enacted in the city of Elmira, N. Y., that was not only pathetic in the extreme, but it also points a moral in that it indicts the present social order. The latter makes motherhood intolerable, and death for the beloved children preferable to a cursed existence. It was the attempt made by a woman soon to become a mother for the sixth time to sniff out the lives of her two girls—7 and 5—and herself in order to save them and her, from the sufferings of a life like hers.

The papers of that time were full of the story. Pictures of the home of that family accompanied the tale. They illustrated, pretty clearly, the fact that the act was not committed because the mother was crazed with too much wealth, that she decided to kill her girls rather than let them live with the chances for the future, no better than were hers.

Poverty The Cause

A look at the picture of the dilapidated house and at the cap the husband wears reveals the whole story. Poverty, poor wages, unemployment, lack of comforts in her condition and perhaps an occasional ill temper, of the man due to overwork, were too much for that poor sufferer to endure. It had to end.

Unlike the woman of wealth who, under similar circumstances, would have the best medical attendance and whose children would be taken care of without her, this poor worker's wife had to be and do everything herself. Perhaps too, her child bearing was more tortuous than that of the average woman. In that case she required all the more care and patient treatment, instead of having to be housemaid and children's nurse while enduring the pangs incidental to child bearing.

Those who have ever loved children, either their own or of a near relative, say a little sister or brother, would bear witness to the horrors of even the thought of killing a child. To the writer, the agony of the deed appears beyond description, unthinkable; and yet, here is a mother who finds solace in the fact that she killed her child so that that child will escape the ills that were the lot of the mother.

Under the present system of society, the burden of the worker's household falls upon the woman. The man is himself a slave; working and sweating and enduring abuse and inhuman toil; but the wife is not only the victim of the same conditions as he is, but also, in addition, she has to endure the ill-temper that he so often brings home with him from over work. While he is a slave, she is even worse; she is a slave of the slave.

Poverty and starvation is her lot when he works, and starvation and poverty when a period of unemployment sets in. She must find a way to feed the family. She must go to the grocer and the butcher and borrow and often beg for the food

of the day. She it is, who must break her fingers in the wee hours of the night to mend and darn and patch the clothing of the family in order to keep up appearances and also, very often, to keep the cold of the winter out.

And the worker's wife bears all these and more often with a smile and a word of cheer. But there is a limit beyond which none of us can go. When the limit is reached, there must be an end. And that poor woman did reach the limit; a sixth child was about to come, and that one coming might also be a girl. The guilt of bringing three women victims into the world was a blight on her conscience that reached the test of endurance.

Just now our deepest pity is with the unfortunate mother. Preachers may dwell upon the fact that the girls might be fortunate enough to marry rich etc. Birth controlists may tell us that their cure-all would settle the problem. But the fact, nevertheless remains that the present-day capitalist system with its mainstay—wage slavery and its attendant evils of mis-education, ignorance, malnutrition, wrecked nerves and a long string of baneful et ceteras,—stunts the child before birth and cripples and even kills those grown up.

The Only Life Belt

The only life belt on the ocean of misery, the only save-all and cure-all, is industrial organization. Educate the workers for a definite purpose—to do away with capitalism and to establish the workers' industrial commonwealth. Educate the man, educate the woman, educate the child! Organize them all in the one big union of the I. W. W., and murderers of the unborn and grown-ups alike, will cease forever and aye. There will be comfort, food, ease, shelter and the proper care for all, and in all conditions of life.

Were it not for the privately-owned capital of the nation, there would be today more houses than we could occupy, and more food than we could eat, and more clothing than we could wear. But for the fact that today the few have too much control of capital for profit, the large mass of workers are robbed of the necessities of life and death is often preferable to a life of misery.

Let it therefore be our firm decision to proceed to organize and educate the workers of the world, regardless of sex, creed, color or age, and hasten the day for the republic of, for and by the workers, and in that way put an end to murders of all kinds, forever.

The fall convention of A. W. I. U. No. 110 will be held at Fargo, N. D., October 8th. This will be a mass convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the convention should send them in to the main office.

Forty-one

Who Finished the Job Up There?

By COLE J. SNYDER

WHEN we get to heaven beyond the pearly gates
Will there be work for all of us to do;
Will noble mansions, lofty buildings
Await our labor true?
I'm told a life of ease awaits our coming
That there is nothing more to build;
That joy and peace await all humans
Who on earth with toil were killed.
Who will feed the hungry there I ask you,
Who will clothe the human race;
Will shelter be provided any,
Who quit on earth the maddened pace?
Where will all the producers go then,
If everything is built complete;
Where will all progressive workers go,

Who on earth had to toil to eat?
Are there no dams to build up yonder,
No mighty tunnels to be bored;
Has all machinery been completed,
Is there no more Industrial Horde?
No mighty ships to be constructed
That shall sail the oceans o'er;
No trains to drive, no trucks to work on
That carry goods from shore to shore?
Are you sure you need no repairmen
To keep in shape those streets of gold;
Are the gates of pearl fastened safely,
Are the gates of heaven sure to hold?
Then I wonder if you will tell me
Is nothing more to do for its worth;
Why have us die here to go up yonder,
When the work is not finished here on earth.

The New Trinity

By J. BERNEDINE TEVIG

GREAT ideals whisper not of death,
But with music-laden breath
They a song of hope sing
While truth and mystery cling.
As the sun the darkest cloud defies
So Truth to Mystery replies . . .
The Gods are slain in bold defiance
By the blinding light of science.

Science is not concerned with creeds
Born of superstition and intolerant deeds,
But with that knowledge of nature's laws
Which hold the truth of primal cause.
Like a golden ray thought takes flight
And seeks the farthest star of night,
It pries beneath the earth's deep crust
To learn the secret of her dust.

The mind of man will invent the light
That will rend the veil of ignorant night;
No slave, no classes shall there be
When Science is the Trinity.

LATEST NEW PAMPHLETS

AMONG the latest new I. W. W. pamphlets is
"The History of the I. W. W." This is a
discussion of its main features, especially its
war activities, by a group of workers. 28 pages,
10 cents.

Tom Barker's "The Story of the Sea," is also
among the latest new pamphlets. It originally
appeared in Industrial Pioneer and has been re-
vised and brought up to date. 25 cents.

A new edition of Jas. Rowan's "The Lumber
Industry and Its Workers," is also among the

The Last Call

ANONYMOUS

EVER clearer grows and more distinct
The note
Swelling in volume and wider ranged
The sound
We hear the chant the prelude to
The Song.
That from the lips of multitudes
Come tumbling.

This is the song we list for through
The ages
And now it comes upon us like
A storm;
A clash of elements—Of wild discord!
Not all your brass and wind can drown
The song;
Emerges there the song in all
Its clarity
And flung upon the winds by
Voices strong—
The blare of trumpets strife and force
Are silenced,
By this the hymn of love of
Fellowman.

latest productions. It has an attractive cover de-
sign in light green, blue and brown. 25 cents.

"The Economic Interpretation of the Job," can
now also be had in Greek as well as English. 10
cents. "What Is the I. W. W.?" is now to be had
also in Swedish, Lithuanian, Greek and Italian.
10 cents.

"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." ap-
pears in English, Spanish and Croatian.

Get the handbook on "The Building Construction
Industry," 25 cents. In preparation. So is a
handbook on "The Railroad Industry." 25 cents.

We thank you!

Some Anti-Immigration Fallacies

THE article on "Immigration and National Development" to be found elsewhere in this issue, is well worth reading, not only for the valuable historical analogies that it makes and the motives for capitalist propaganda for unlimited immigration that it discloses, but also for some of the fallacies of working class anti-immigration that it reveals.

This article gives essentially the views of "Organized Labor", that is, of the A. F. of L. on the subject; for they are those of the A. F. of L. to a dot and have all of the A. F. of L. defects of argument accordingly. It is printed in order to give those views a fair hearing and also to point out in some detail, the fallacies referred to, as seen by I. W. W. eyes.

In the first place these views are based on the fallacy of working class reliance on capitalist class legislation in the solution of serious problems. It is the old, old, A. F. of L. dope of making the workers dependent on an institution in the control of its exploiters, in the erroneous belief that some help may be expected from such quarters.

What do we behold as a consequence? We see labor placing faith in laws that are either circumvented or were never intended to be enforced. In the matter of anti-immigration we see the spirit of the law violated in wholesale importation of laborers from Mexico and extensive smuggling from Canada. Also we witness, large numbers of workers entering U. S. ports as seamen and then deserting. All this is systematically encouraged.

One immigration official declares an extensive conspiracy exists to bring laborers into the country in defiance of the law and that his department's staff is too small to successfully combat the evil. It is also claimed that 1,000,000 persons annually enter the United States by these various illegal ways. Under the circumstances, what becomes of the quota law? And under the circumstances why depend on that law at all, especially as the capitalists appear to be using it merely as a camouflage?

In the second place, these views promote the fallacy of nationalism in the face of a growing internationalism. They are, accordingly, not in line with advanced working class development.

There was a time, in the history of America, when trade and intercourse between the original 13 American colonies were restricted. But thanks to railroads, that time is gone never to return. The United States

are united. They are one, with trade and intercourse free from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

A similar condition is developing among the nations of the earth, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Thanks to industrial development, we are tending, willy nilly, towards free trade and free migration. Like tariffs, with their suicidal wars for civilization, anti-immigration will have to go, because it breeds national hatreds and contributes to those cataclysmic upheavals so terribly disastrous to the race.

Third, these views are infused with the most absurd fallacy of the lot, namely, overpopulation and race-destruction through the starvation resulting from it. If there is any theory that the intensive productivity of industrialism has laid to rest it is the fear of starvation through overpopulation.

Right now, with the greatest population this country has ever known, there also goes, hand in hand, the greatest overproduction in food and other products it has ever known. Our farmers are being ruined—are going bankrupt,—because they produce excess products by the hundreds of millions of bushels and the hundreds of millions of bales. And that, too, in the face of the biggest consumption of products the continent has ever known.

The trouble is not one of population, but profit, capitalist profit. Take that out of production and distribution and the world will wax fat on products that now are not permitted to grow, because of restricted acreage, or else are permitted to rot, when not dumped overboard, to keep prices up!

Finally, Labor should cease relying on capitalist laws and fomenting national hatreds. It should get rid of exploded theories. It should be progressive and alive to the facts around it. **In the matter of immigration, Labor should build up an international working class organization for its regulation.** This organization should publish the truth about "labor shortages", expose capitalist advertisements for labor abroad; in brief, it should give publicity on labor conditions wherever found; and thereby tend to develop practical international co-operation and understanding. Otherwise, labor will continue to remain the football of international capitalist exploitation. Otherwise, labor will never develop the international organization so essential to the overthrow of international capitalism.

Criticism of Russia

CRITICISM of Russia is resented by certain elements in this country. Just on what grounds is not very evident. The critics themselves feel justified in criticizing, condemning and, what is worse, destroying, all opposition to Russia. The British Labor Party, the Indian Nationalist Movement, the German Social Democracy, the Mexican Revolution, the American Socialist Party, and others, are all subject to their vitriolic abuse and destruction. But they themselves are to be held sacred and above reproach, even when their conduct is just as traitorous and as treasonable to the working class as is the conduct of some of those whom they condemn.

What absurdity! Let's have done with it. Let those who criticize accept criticism! Let those who destroy prepare for destruction! That's the only logical, the only manly course. Don't play the baby act, and cry out, "It's not fair to do those things to me that I do to you. I am only a child and you're a big grown-up man." That's the attitude of Russia in a nut-shell.

Now, there is one thing that should be realized by the supporters of Russia and that is, since Russia has abandoned communism for capitalism, it must go "the whole hog or none", to use the vernacular. That is, Russia must pass through the capitalist stage of development in all its completeness before it can attain to full growth as a modern power. There can be no hybrid society in such progress. This, all the great industrial nations of the world already foreshadow in their previous growth. And it is likely to be more true in the case of Russia than in their case, as Russia obviously is going to be developed with the aid of the world's greatest capitalisms, with the result, quite logically, that its working class will suffer the world's greatest abuses.

Under the circumstances, it is silly to expect that Russia's working class can have capitalism with working class control. It is far wiser to organize to anticipate a repetition of capitalist history the world over, according to which the bourgeois in every embryonic capitalism has used the working class to climb to power, while brutally exploiting them and oppressing them in every way possible.

It is absurd to think that because Bolsheviks are at the helm in Russia this repetition is impossible—these same Bolsheviks having already proven themselves opportunists, who trim their sails to every peasant and imperialist wind that blows, while at

the same time putting the working class in the straight jacket of conformity, much against its will.

We see practically the same thing being done by the Obregon government in Mexico. And we are supposed to denounce the Obregonian policy, with its concessions to Standard Oil, as a betrayal of the working class, and we are supposed to regard its so-called labor constitution as an ideality rather than a reality, while the same policy, the same concessions and the same documents in Russia, are hailed as working class triumphs! How do they get that way anyway? They get that way by living in the tradition of the revolution of November 1917—a revolution that is already gone—a **revolution that has been replaced by the capitalist revolution, the imperialist revolution on which Russia is now entering.**

It is astounding that workingmen familiar with American conditions and history can be taken in by the Russian glamour. Wasn't "our" American Democracy of, by and for the people, just as Bolshevism is of, by and for the workers? That is, wasn't this American political fetich the empty formula behind which capitalism grew to immense proportions in the exploitation of labor, just as in Russia, the foundations of an immense imperialism are being laid behind another formula whose substance has long departed?

Trotsky told Irving Bush, the big capitalist envoy from the United States, that American history is the key to Russian problems. Let's apply American history then to Russian problems, especially to Russian working class problems. Let's not forget how American capitalism developed. And don't run away with the idea that capitalism on any other soil is going to be any different. The American soil was of the best; and the working class results!—contemplate them, oh, you friends of Russia! And, maybe, after such contemplation you will realize that criticism of Russia is primarily for Russian working class good!

THE PRESS IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

Since April 1st, the I. W. W. press has printed, in addition to its regular monthly, weekly and bi-weekly publications, about 4,000,000 leaflets and 650,000 pamphlets.. Also about 1,000,000 pieces of matter were printed for the General Defense; 1,500,000 stickers for the industrial unions, 300,000 industrial union bulletins, 100,000 due books, and 100,000 constitutions and by-laws.



Editorial



THE NEXT CONVENTION

NEXT month—November 12—the annual convention of the I. W. W. will take place. This convention will be one of the most important ever held. This belief is based on the new spirit that is pervading the whole organization. This spirit is expressed in a desire for better and bigger organization, for more co-ordination and expansion. It is best put in practical form by the whole-hearted support which the entire I. W. W. is giving to the steel drive of Metal Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440. It is the spirit that realizes that the I. W. W. must organize the workers in more of the big- basic industries and must adapt its plans accordingly, if it is ever to win in the struggle with modern giant industrialism as it aims to do.

The existence of this spirit is a great fact. It refutes the old claim that "the I. W. W. is merely an organization of western migratory workers". And it upsets the efforts of communists and others to make the I. W. W. such exclusively. With this spirit back of it, the I. W. W. should more truly become, to an even greater extent than at present, the Industrial Workers of the World.

The convention will have many practical problems to tackle along the lines of growth above indicated. The small industrial unions are clamoring for more aid in organization work. This is especially true of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, No. 410, which operates in one of the largest and most promising industries for the I. W. W. in the country. And the textile industry is only one of the many big industries that should claim the convention's attention in any program of expansion. The railroad, building construction and food industries might also be added; but this will do as an indication of some of the work that the convention might tackle, to the greater growth of the I. W. W. and the greater benefit of the working class.

It is hoped that the next convention will not unduly emphasize relatively unimportant internal matters to the exclusion of the really great and important work of devising ways and means to organize the unorganized. This was one of the criticisms levelled at the last convention; this and its long and costly sessions, consuming time and money that would have done more good

if spent in other directions. With some one million of migratory workers still to organize and about 25 millions of homeguards, it is hoped that the next convention will have greater scope and considerably more vision.

Probably the most important of the convention's problems will be financial ones. Organization improvement and extension are impossible without funds. How shall they be raised? By dollar dues? Compulsory assessments? The I. W. W. also needs abler and more experienced officers. How is it going to get them? By permitting reelection? By increasing salaries? The I. W. W. needs more intensive local development. How shall it secure the same? By per capita, branch and district council organization? Or by adherence to universalism and centralism? The I. W. W. needs better parliamentary training and more internal co-ordination! How shall they be brought about? The I. W. W. needs more definite immediate demands; more practical literature explaining its functions as an organization. It needs many reforms that the convention will have to consider, if it is intent on improvement and growth. Other matters such as daily newspapers, the Work People's College, new headquarters, relations abroad, and co-operation with other labor organizations, will also be on its order of business, without doubt.

If the convention is wise, however, it will spend most of its time planning an organization drive on a big scale. Relatively picayune internal tinkering awaken no great enthusiasm. They only remind one of Nero fiddling while Rome burns. Their aftermath is generally one of disgust and discouragement. What is wanted is something to fire the imagination, arouse interest and awaken such activity as will shake the organization out of its ruts, into a realization of its tremendous tasks and responsibilities to the working class.

This is the opportune time for such an organization drive. It has already begun in the 440 Steel campaign. Let's keep it up! Let's study the methods therein pursued!! Let's extend its spirit of organization. With the working class largely unorganized, and with revolt seething in the A. F. of L., let the I. W. W. be up and doing. Let the slogan be:—

Organize the big, basic industries! Organize them into a big, basic I. W. W. All together!

AUTOS FOR WORKERS

IN four years every auto in this country will be duplicated, such is the rate of auto production just now. That is, 1923 auto production runs over 3,000,000 cars. Where's all of them going to? People sneer at the idea of workers owning autos. But if they don't, who will?

Henry Ford is wise! He's selling autos to workers on the instalment plan. They'll go into hock to him; supply him with an endless stream of cash and at the same time be his main outlet.

Soon production will be so overwhelming in every line, that the only escape will be to make a luxury-consuming class of the working class. It seems a crazy idea, but what other answer is there?

THE FOUR-HOUR DAY

STEINMETZ'S declaration that in another century electricity will reduce the workday to four hours, worries the bourgeois press. The later can't conceive of a civilization founded on leisure for all. It believes that man can't be happy unless he works himself to death—for the bourgeois, of course.

However, the ancients had a different idea. They believed that leisure meant time to prepare for the higher social duties. It meant the accumulation of the knowledge so necessary to government and science. Perhaps in the future, even the humblest workers will have time to become industrial managers and statesmen of the best kind. Who doubts it? We don't! And so, we're for Steinmetz's four-hour day.

THE JAPANESE EARTHQUAKE

ASIDE from its appalling character, which has aroused both the horror and the sympathy of the world, the Japanese earthquake has had two noteworthy effects. First, nobody has, as yet, insisted that it is a visitation of God on a heathen nation. Perhaps, people are getting disgusted with a God that indulges in such terrible pastimes, and, consequently, prefer not to refer to him. Anyway, they seem very much disposed toward the scientific explanation, which gives the slide of the Asiatic continent into the Pacific Ocean as the cause of this stupendous catastrophe. This mental attitude, therefore, seems to denote progress towards the scientific viewpoint.

Second, everybody (at least, in the editorial sanctums), seems to conclude that the earthquake will put Japan out of running as a world-power, for the time being. The loss of wealth, calculated at over three billions of dollars, it is believed, will be more than Japan can repair in a generation, at least. In the meanwhile, the other world-powers will rush into Korea and China, to the detriment of Japanese capitalism. They will thus secure advantages from which it will be hard to dislodge them in the decades to come. The earthquake thus, apparently, changes the course of history. It is not only a colossal geological, but also sociological event.

WHY NO GERMAN COLLAPSE?

GERMANY presents an amazing study, that defies analysis from any other standpoint than that of modern industrialism. Here is a nation, defeated in war and harrassed, apparently, to the verge of destruction in peace, that refuses to either collapse or turn to "red revolution." What's the secret of this phenomenon?

When Robert Owen speculated upon the extraordinary wealth of Great Britain, despite the immense drains of the Napoleonic wars, he found an explanation in the invention of machinery and the exploitation of labor which it enhanced to hitherto unknown proportions. Multiply Great Britain of the first two decades of the last century many times and you have modern Germany in all the essential similarities, with some additions, to boot.

Germany should not be expected to collapse as Russia did. Russia is the very antithesis of all that Germany stands for. It is of primitive peasant development primarily; while Germany is the most highly technical and industrial nation on the globe. Excelling in nearly every phase of modern existence, Germany is practically one vast productive and distributive organ, with extensive ramifications, and as such, capable of sustaining a pressure, as events have proven, such as would have broken down any other nation not similarly organized.

In addition, bear in mind that Germany is at once, paradoxical as it may seem, the victim and the object of support of allied capitalism. While the governments of England, France and the U. S. are wrangling over Germany, their financiers are absorbing its industries and effecting combinations with its financiers. Even "red" Russia is in on the deal; as Germany is the bridge that will bind it to French imperialism. Stinnes, with his Russian concessions, Polish mines and German industries, with their French, English and American backing, personifies the international Germany that, in the new modern industrialism, withstands the pressure brought against the national Germany of old. Stinnes' saying, "I'm a businessman, not a German," typifies the new and unbreakable era.

Of course, in all this the German workers are getting the worst of it. They believe they are saving old Germany, when they are simply weapons in the forcing of new international alliances. Accordingly, they are patriotic and political, when they should be economic and industrial. Instead of seeking to capture this new industrialism at its heart, through industrial union organization, they aim to capture the institutions which it has thrown into the discard. They'll get over it some day, in common with their fellow victims of world-capitalism, everywhere.

Subscribe for the Pioneer. Popular and sound.

How Is Your Health

By WOODBY SIANTIFIC

Foods

ACCORDING to press diagnosis the late Gamaliel Harding died from at least six or eight causes; all high sounding names — Arterio-sclerosis, Thrombosis, Apoplexy, Cirrhosis, Hyper-cardiac, Leucocytosis, ad infinitum, ad nauseum. In their regular order these symptoms are, in plain United States: Hardening of the arteries, blood clot, blot clot again, diseased liver, enlarged heart, transient increase of the white corpuscles or leucocytes of the blood stream. This is all in addition to the information contained in the slip of some reporter's pen that he might have gotten some ptomaine poisoning from crab meat that was served on the boat. And old fossilized Sawyer quickly rushed in to save the poison food interests by saying that it is a well known fact that Alaskan streams are tainted with "copper salts," and many people are poisoned by eating fresh fish from these streams. Chemists please take note!

The only reason for using this recent example of medical murder in our magazine is because of the prominence of the victim. It is not that we are grieved over the demise of the so-called great president of the United States, more than we would be for any other citizen. The event is spectacular, dramatic, has received world wide publicity, so we seize the opportunity presented in this connection to state a few very important facts pertaining to health.

Harding did not die a natural death, and millions of others who are dying annually are not going the natural way. Once in a great while you read of a man dying of old age. That is natural death. His symptoms were produced by the insane rush of modern life, and the doctors finished the job. Men of high office, usually of mediocre minds, are burdened with a multitude of duties that a corps of alert workers would be unable to perform, and then prevented from attempting the work by being constantly compelled to attend innumerable banquets where huge gobs of devitalized, degerminated, artificial substances mistakenly called food are piled into the belly. Convention requires that one must stuff it down.

The Workers' Food

The lower strata, industrial workers mostly, though we might include that conglomerate middle class, when they do eat, usually do so with about the same disregard for the laws of nature as the upper bunch. If he owns a consumptive flivver he will insist upon having the best of gasoline and oil to energize it, or if he is a fireman he will growl about having to shovel slate and dirt into the firebox; but never a murmur against the sticks, trash and poisons

the food owners push into his body mechanism.

His sticky, starchy, indigestible white bread is made from the poorest by-product of the wheat grain, the grain that was produced and gathered by his miserable hands. He helps to remove the precious alkali and other mineral salts from it. This flour, deenergized as it is, is rendered further harmful by mixing with putrid, rancid old fat and alum. Feel it roll up and stick to your palate as you try to masticate it. You are fortunate if it does not adhere to the oesophagus before it reaches the lunch tank.

But he has been superficially reading current literature that advocates whole wheat bread, bran bread, bran crackers, bran cereal, etc. On the same page he reads advertisements of these products. They are guaranteed to cure everything from Lethargy Encephalitis to plain, everyday constipation. So he buys bran breakfast food, which is nothing but the most ordinary kind of sawdust. (Go to the library and find the chemical process by which sawdust, through distillation, yields alcohol, and the residue mixed with certain sugars is used for cattle food). He buys a brown loaf labelled "whole wheat," which, in most instances, derives its color from black molasses.

That beautiful white frosting on his bakery pie is made of chalk, eggosee, cornstarch and water. The filling is cornstarch and glucose. His jams, jellies and fruit butters are loaded with saccharine, a sweet product that positively has no food value. His rice has been subjected to a polishing process that removed all the vitamins. His fresh vegetables, if he has the money to buy them, have been preserved several days in transit. And his meat has been embalmed so long that the specie from which it was obtained is almost extinct.

Ignorance, General and Otherwise

The workers' ignorance of food chemistry is more colossal than their ignorance of history, economics and industrial processes. A study of one of these subjects without properly relating it to the others would be of little benefit. Trained as they are to think of disease as a natural condition, an entity, is it to be wondered that they creep on in the self sufficient thought that they may eat whatever they like whenever they like. All sorts of combinations are heaved into the stomach at divers hours, and usually when the mind is in a turbulent state. Meat, potatoes, white bread, sugar, coffee and canned garbage are all piled in with about the same zeal as he later drives into his work. His teeth are falling out, his heart skips a beat now and then, dizzy spells attack him, he has a headache and is constipated, but all of this he seems to regard

Forty-seven

as a natural condition, and relief is to be had in swallowing more poisons in the form of medicine.

He ate his weight in artificial sugar last year, never dreaming that this crystalline white stuff is so made by bleaching with the fumes of poisonous acids. Nor is he aware that when it combines with other elements in his digestive tract the combustion that occurs, and which produces alcohol, sucks up all the available oxygen, thus leaving the other foods to ferment. You have your choice — fermentation or digestion. In his cellar or clothes closet he sees the terrific explosion occurring in the home brew vessel, but it never occurs to him that the same thing is happening in his food pouch.

Some Progress

A few idealists in some of the larger cities have undertaken the tremendous task of enlightening the people as to dietary. Some of these have established little places of business where wholesome foods may be bought, but the very nature of such an effort is futile. The primary motive was to aid, but now they are occupied with the thought of maintaining the business. And presently they are selling substitutes. Only a few people ever find them. Their prices, in the very nature of things, must be higher than is charged by big business for substitutes.

There is just one way to assure ourselves of real live food, and consequently normal health: Industrial Organization to the end that we may fully and absolutely control the entire process, from soil to ultimate consumption, of food production, transportation, milling and canning preparation and distribution. This will entail more than a knowledge of operating technique. In the educational departments, and by that I mean the colleges that we should be establishing soon, it is imperative that we have a well trained corps of HEALTH teachers.

(Next article will deal with methods of "cure")

HENRY FORD

(Concluded from Page 38)

rates are too high, the employes because wages are too low and hours too long, the owners because no adequate returns are realized on money invested."

Ford says that the men who know railroads are not allowed to manage and run them—the idea of service is subordinated to profit. The bankers' groups have control of the railroads and manipulate stock and bond issues. The price of stock is hammered down or up according to the desired end. The book propounds questions concerning railroad methods that might well be termed socialistic. For it seems that Ford has been stealing socialistic ideas and adding it to his thunder. For instance he asks: "Why are live cattle hauled thousands of miles, from Texas to Chicago and then shipped back dead as dressed meat? or why are enormous shipments of wheat sent from Kansas

to Minneapolis, over hundreds of miles of roads, entailing tremendous labor and motive power, and then sent back to Kansas as flour?" He answers, "We need instead of mammoth flour mills, a multitude of smaller mills distributed throughout all the sections where grain is grown. Wherever possible, the section that produces the raw material ought to produce also the finished product. The same with food products and other products of manufacture."

The New Decentralization

This brings to mind that Ford stresses very heavily on DE-CENTRALIZATION of industry. Not on the DE-CENTRALIZATION of the ownership however, but in manufacturing processes.

The Ford organization, we are told, is now carrying out an extensive plan of de-centralization in the production of Ford cars. All parts are to be made as near as possible to the source of raw material. The glass wind shields, wheels, etc., are to be made in different plants and from there shipped to assembling plants according to the amount needed. The big plants in Detroit and River Rouge now make mostly parts and assemble only enough cars for the Detroit and nearby markets. Assembling plants in different large cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, will receive parts and assemble them for their own market and with their own conveyor system.

There is too much waste in the centralized plant. Under the new de-centralized system a part is only shipped once; from the place where it is produced to the point where it is to be assembled and sold. Under the old system of centralized production the parts were shipped into Detroit to be assembled and sent back as a part of the finished automobile.

The book is well written and interesting from end to end. It is the sort of book that can be read twice and still hold your mind. It is certain that Ford did not write the book, but his ideas are there. He furnishes good arguments which will require discerning reason to pick out whatever flaws there may be, for it must be remembered that the book finds much fault with modern business methods, or capitalism, and on this head no one will doubt that Ford has an argument. As the head of a large corporation, Ford views things from the heights. He qualifies himself by discarding the pronoun I and using the plural WE in his discussion, maybe having his own suspicions that some others besides himself had something to do with building up the Ford organization.

Ford's critics are many. His Jewish campaign, "Peace Ship" expedition, the mere fact that he is rich, have brought forth critics of a type. There remains yet to come from an employe of the Ford plants a criticism of the working conditions.

Next month we will deal with some of Ford's critics and discuss what they have to say against Ford and the Ford organization.

(Publishers, Doubleday, Page and Co., Garden City, New York.)

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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 defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

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

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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