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In this conception, the question of "job hunting," "official corruption," etc., in the economic organization, enters only as an incident. Of course, the revolutionary union must have its own officials, organizers, etc., and will need to guard against mere job hunters or labor fakirs. The prevailing principle in the I. W. is to have as few paid officials as are necessary for the efficient administration of the affairs of the organization, and to keep their salaries as low as possible. But we do not place entire reliance upon such measures. The growing intelligence, solidarity and revolutionary spirit of the rank and file of the industrial union as the Call intimates (the only clear hint in its whole editorial) will prove most effectual against the A. F. of L. brand of officialdom in the I. W. W. And that presupposes no change in human nature. (Strange, isn't it, how socialist editors are now repeating against the I. W. W. that old capitalist chestnut about human nature?) It is simply a question of material class interest.

But the question of "office seeking" is more than an incident in the Socialist Party. Office seeking is one of the principal and necessary characteristics of any political party. Offices are numerous, and politicians must either be found, or made, to fill them. Some must be filled by lawyers and other professional men, who may clear psychology. All political offices are outside of the workshop and the atmosphere breathed in the daily life of the working class. All political office holders must observe the rules of the game, which are carefully drawn up so as not to menace the property and other rights of the ruling class. Otherwise, economic pressure will be brought to bear by the rulers to remove those office holders. Hence, a little care must be exercised in securing "conservative" office holders. Office seeking is really becoming already quite a serious proposition in the S. P.

From all of which, it appears that there are fundamental differences between the S. P. and the I. W. W., which the Call would do well to understand a little more clearly before it laments the alleged attacks of one upon the other. For all that, the I. W. W. will reluctantly pursue its two-fold purpose to fight the capitalist enemy and all his supporters to the final goal where the working class will be fully equipped to supplant capitalism with the industrial commonwealth.

NEWS AND VIEWS

In Butte, Mont., where the Socialist Party is in municipal control, a tie-up of the metal mines and smelters is threatened, in order to secure the re-instatement of hundreds of Socialists, discharged because of their political affiliations.

In the Pittsburg district Socialists are being fired by the railroads and told by the Steel Trust to sever their relations with their party or suffer the loss of employment. They are turning to the I. W. W. as a result. All of which goes to prove the I. W. W. position, that political voting is based on economic might; that voting is important when backed by control of the means of subsistence. Get wise, socialists; get wise! Join the I. W. W. Organize the economic power of the working class.

Many big strikes and labor troubles are

either on or threatened. The advent of spring finds building construction either tied-up or in danger of tie-ups, in Chicago, Boston and other leading cities. Shoe strikes are threatened in Lynn, Mass. In the silk textile industry of Passaic, Paterson and other New Jersey points a revolt against the four-room system and for more wages is being waged. In the anthracite and bituminous regions extensive coal strikes are imminent. On the railroads all the eastern lines are negotiating with the engineers' brotherhood regarding increased wage schedules. New England is rampant with revolts; soap are being thrown out without effect. Everywhere the spirit the verge of unprecedented trouble that can only be temporary allayed by improved conditions and higher wages. Help the movement along. Join the I. W. W.

New England and its many revolts, actual and incipient, reminds one of the theory that wage advances paralyze the revolutionary development of the working class. Having had their appetites whetted the workers, according to this theory, will smack their lips and say "amen." Unfortunately, New England does not substantiate this theory. The mill corporations granted a 1 per cent increase in wages, when, lo and behold, the textile workers demanded an additional ten per cent, with the understanding that more will be wanted when that is secured. This latter fact is worrying the mill owners. They believe that if this game of throwing tubs to the whale continues there will come a time when they will have no more tubs to throw. The prospect fills them with horror. And well it may. As for the theoreticians the fear of the mill owners points the moral to the tale that they have not understood. They'd better read up.

Wall Street believes that the country is on the eve of a big industrial revival. In the steel industry it is stated that the depression has passed and the turn has come. These statements have a familiar ring; we have heard them repeatedly during the past year and are somewhat sceptical about them, as a consequence. Still we hope they are true; a revival of industry means demand for labor and a chance for organizing labor and improving its condition. This demand is important in the sense in which it is used in the Communist dictionary, but it is not absolutely necessary to labor organization. As the big strikes of the year show, at Lawrence, Mass., and in Great Britain, particularly, poverty as well as prosperity necessitates industry. The theory that panics destroy effective economic action on the part of labor no longer holds good. Labor will revolt and organize on the ebb tide as well as the flood tide of conditions. Economic necessity demands it. Nevertheless, we'd rather organize for the overthrow of capitalism with a full stomach than with an empty one. So here's hoping the business revival is coming to satiate our appetites. But come or not, we are always on the job.

The arrest of Tom Mann proves that, like the bourgeois, the capitalists never learn. They believe that the syndicalism advocated by Mann is based on leadership instead of the development of their own industrial system, with its need of militant props and oppression. Consequently they make the great mistake, as did the Lawrence capitalists in arresting Eitor, to jail Mann in the belief that they will thus kill off English syndicalism and its antimilitaristic agitation. They have to learn that as long as their own industrial system persists syndicalism and the Tom Manns are both inevitable. They may jail Mann, but, as in the case of Eitor, other leaders will spring up to take his place by the dozens. Capitalist industry is prolific of syndicalist leaders. To kill off syndicalism, to rid themselves of the Tom Manns, then, the capitalists will first have to abolish their own industrial system—their own class, their own selves. While this is a consummation devoutly to be wished for, it is not likely to occur, except indirectly through the stupid attempts of our modern bourgeois to prevent peaceful evolution by means of forcible oppression, aided by the growing industrial organization of an enlightened working class. J. E.

It is reported in Wall street that President Wood of the American Woolen Co. is about to lose his job. The stockholders' Manx Trust are alleged to have over Wood's toolish handling of the Lawrence situation, which precipitated the great strike. They say Wood should not have reduced wages when the 54-hour law went into effect, as by doing so he caused an eventual loss of 15 per cent to the stockholders as a result of the victorious strike. Our hats off to Wood, wooden head that he is!

While the editorials and some articles are of a highly educational nature—logical, convincing, and inspiring the fighting members to renewed efforts to "go on" under the most trying conditions for the idea and more of the goods—there is not sufficient space in our press to put the One Big Union idea, its concrete expression (the I. W. W.), its aims and methods before the prospective member. The man on the job, the man at the home, the man in the boarding house, the man outside of the hall and lecture room must be reached with our message; the man with whom we have not much time to talk, explaining the ifs and buts.

The lack of space for agitational purposes must be overcome at once, and our fellow workers must be the doers. Too much space is occupied by notices, canned code, ads, too large headlines and extreme spacing between articles. Some of the ads look like an ocular demonstration of the size of a concrete in the industrial republic to come. What is more, all this seeming waste of space serves no apparent purpose. But there's a reason why it must be done at this time: The man in the cash drawer of our papers isn't there at all to do the job. One has but to pay a visit to the places of business and he will wonder how it's done even with all these shortcomings. The notices complained of have to be as space fillers. To reduce the size ads, notices of meetings places, which cannot do and replace it with live stuff would cost more money for composition.

All this is known to the managers of our press. They have told it to you through the columns of the papers and in monthly bulletins, perhaps in a different manner than yours truly. Now, you fellow workers, and the ones that are "just members" are at fault for missing your opportunities to get the I. W. W. great into the hands of non members. You are all handcupping the doers in their work. The first-time reader must be given something that will lead him to become a constant reader of stuff that will arouse well as educate him; that will not induce him to join and pay one month dues, but to remain in the union; merely to become a stay-at-home member, but a clear-headed, class conscious fighter to the finish.

Our press must become a field of means of general and industrial education (in a technical sense) and a center of communication—up to date, readable and quick. It's a strategical point valuable at all times, and to be effective must have a mass of readers. In order to get them we must bet on efforts towards being able to meet the competition of the penny press. An increase in space means more reading paper and more readers; more readers (the members (educated) and more money and appetite to get the goods, and so on until wage slavery is a thing of the past.

However, first of all, we must get more subs. What's more, it's got to be done now. Take the hands of our editors by the collar and say, "The cash drawer must be able to pay the typesetter to fill the space with the stuff that will make a dead man sit up and take notice." D. TROTTER-MUTT.

WHAT ABOUT DIRECT ACTION?

It's about time that the mouthpieces of the I. W. W. give a concise explanation of what the I. W. W. means by direct action. A sort of composite declaration of the membership, rather than the individual opinions of a few members. First, all I suggest to have our editors make plain to us and to the deliberate class in the socialist movement, how we translate "direct action"—its when, how, and where.

Next, our members on the firing line and those who hold positions such as secretaries, organizers, from Chicago down to the smallest local. A discussion on the subject would furnish great agitator reading matter. It seems to me that this question is as important as our statements on direct action. Why not a declaration of direct action. Why not a declaration of direct action, sabotage, the character our papers after we have come the general understanding on the subject? It is, every opponent of the I. W. W. instructed its methods in direct mean everything, but what now, reply of it to stand for, and a clear S. JOHN, tion can prevent that from MIT SI, TROTTER-MUTT.

Agitate for the right thing, as agitation.

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Without quoting any part of the above, the Call answers as follows: "A trade union does not run itself. If the membership increases there is the need of more paid officers. As the membership increases, there is the growing desire to gain still further members, and organizers are put in the field. Those organizers are drawn from the working class, and though a union changes its name it does not change the characteristics of the person from whom it draws its officials. ... Any claim of personal superiority on the part of the I. W. W. leaders over those of the A. F. of L., for instance, is a fundamental absurdity. ... There can be no extension of the I. W. W. without the formation of a permanent secretarial and organizing force, that is, the office force—the union "job holders." ... When, therefore, some members of the I. W. W. come forward with the discovery that the socialists are "office seekers" (an accusation that has the hearty support of the Times, the rest of the capitalist press and all capitalist political parties.) it is only fair to ask another question: Why, if this is so, should the I. W. W. have any officials at all? May they not also become labor skates, permanent office fixtures, leeches on the movement? If not, how has human nature, good old human nature, been changed?"

The Call misses the point. The fundamental point of distinction between the "political party" and the "economic organization" is not to be discerned in the question of "office holding" or "job hunting" alone. Even a child should understand that fact at a glance. The distinction between the two is rather to be observed in the fundamentally different characters of the revolutionary industrial union and the political party. The latter, whatever its pretensions, is bound in its actions by the rules of the game laid down specifically in the interests of the ruling economic class. It cannot depart from those rules without first destroying the economic supremacy of the ruling class. Consequently, a political party must necessarily move exclusively within the legal circle of capitalism—that is, class society—and cannot function outside that circle even should all its members elected to office be workmen. Its every action must be "legal," or it ceases to be a political party and becomes merely a band of outlawed "propagandists. Does anyone doubt that such has been the history of the socialist political movement throughout the world, to date? Is there any reason to assume that it can be otherwise? This does not affect the contention that many of the S. P.'s members are revolutionists, or that its office holders even may deal gently (within legal limits, of course) with the workers in times of industrial warfare. For all that, within the limits of the existing class society, the political party in office functions merely as the secondary coercive power of the ruling economic class. Wall Street uses Washington to help coerce the workers.

On the other hand, the revolutionary economic organization is fundamentally different. Its structure and tactical program are immediately as well as ultimately determined by the requirements of the NEW society whose outlines are perceived in the evolution of the old. That new society is perceived to be industrial and homogeneous in an economic sense, in contrast-distinction to the present political question as to an

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"THREATENS THE SYSTEM"

Following is an extract from a two-page illustrated article by Charles Willis Thompson, in the New York Sunday Times of March 17:

A perfectly practicable scheme of non-political socialism has been gradually spreading itself over the United States for the last seven years.

Nothing much is known of it in the east even now, when its management of the Lawrence strike has focused the attention of the country upon it. To most Easterners the I. W. W. is merely a name, but the West learned that it was something more when Governor Steunenberg of Idaho was blown to pieces and when Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone were placed on trial and acquitted of the crime.

The I. W. W., the full name of which is the Industrial Workers of the World, is an association which ought not to be overlooked or slighted. It is the business of every American citizen to acquaint himself fully with what it aims and what it stands for.

It is the political party, many seem to be threatening because of the rapid growth in numbers; but wherever Socialists get into office they turn out to be not very different from other people. Their theories are modified by the conditions they confront, and political Socialism in operation is entirely different from theoretical Socialism.

It is the Socialism of the masses, and it has never gotten anywhere.

But the I. W. W. stands for a plan which means business and which actually could be put in operation, if it got enough of the working class to stand with it; and its aims and methods are revolutionary.

The plan of the I. W. W. is to abolish the wage system. Not through politics; the I. W. W. has no intention of running the government through commercial and manufacturing industries.

State Socialism approaches the problem from the governmental end. It proposes to acquire control of the nation's industries by voting its followers into public office. The I. W. W., on the contrary, proposes to have the workers of the world acquire control of the nation's industries until a point is reached where the capitalists will be forced out.

It is the only one of the three which does not depend on an increase of pay in wages. If it gets the inside it waits for awhile and then asks for 5 per cent more. So it will go on until it has forced the wage scale up to 100 cent, by which time it will have won the capitalists out of the field, and the I. W. W. men put it, "taken possession of the machinery of production."

The I. W. W. differs from all previous labor organizations. All of them recognize the present system of society and tacitly acknowledge the right of capitalists to exist. All they do is to try to secure advantageous terms for the workers. But the I. W. W. declares war on wealth, and to win it it intends to tear down the whole social structure, and build it anew.

This is why such men as William D. Haywood are perfectly understood when they are charged with being revolutionists; why they preserve a tranquil countenance when horrified society cries out, "But you are incendiaries."

"We are," Haywood and his men reply, "that's what we have been trying to make you understand. Glad you see the point." Denunciation is wasted on such men. It might as well have been addressed by horrified French society to Danton and Robespierre.

If the plan sounds impracticable the I. W. W. will frankly reply, "So it is, today. But there is nothing impracticable about it if we set a majority of the nation's workers into our organization. If we can't educate the workers up to our standpoint, why, then we fail. If we can educate them nothing can stop our success, for the machinery of production is already in the hands of the workers. All they have to do is to recognize that fact and take possession of it."

Now, so thoroughly obsessed is the American citizen with the idea that nothing much can be accomplished through politics—through government, through some law passed on the subject—that it is next to impossible for him to get the I. W. W. viewpoint through his head. He is a state socialist, who of all Americans is the one most thoroughly obsessed with the political or governmental idea, will be next to understand. The state Socialists will not let you down, when he is—
—(Special take bottom up.)

Indiana labor organizations last Sunday the 16

are much more concerned about the growth of the I. W. W. than are even the employers, for such organizations as the American Federation of Labor recognize in this new society something deadly, something which will wipe them out of existence if it continues to grow.

This explains what must have seemed incomprehensible to uninformed newspaper readers—the hostility of John Golden and other labor leaders to the Lawrence strike. Golden and his like are fighting the battle of the employers in Lawrence, not because they especially love the employing class, but because the Lawrence strike is an I. W. W. strike.

It is declared, not for the old A. F. of L. motive, that of securing better terms for the workers, but as the first step toward wiping out the capitalist class. Hence Gompers, for instance, who clearly understands what the strike is for, is more bitterly hostile to it than even the employers, whose interests are directly affected, but who do not understand what the fight is for.

IS THE I. W. W. ANTI-POLITICAL?

One of the first principles of the Industrial Workers of the World is that political power rests on economic power; that is, the control of the means whereby men live, such as their jobs, for instance. The capitalists control the government of every country where capitalism exists, because they control the land, machinery, finances, etc., on which the people of those countries depend for existence. By means of such control the capitalists are enabled to impose their dictates on society, regardless of governmental or political forms; they rule in monarchical Germany, as well as in republican America. Consequently, the Industrial Workers of the World teaches the working class that, if it would be a real political party, it must first acquire political power; that is, it must gain control of the shops, shops, railways, mines, mills—in a word, the capital of the country—through industrial organization. Before a working class, industrially organized and conscious of its power, the government is powerless to proceed in the interests of the capitalists; nay, more, it is forced to act against them. This fact is being demonstrated in modern life, in Lawrence, Mass., and England, as will be more specifically shown further on.

Mere Vote-Getting Not Politics.

Mere vote-getting, or vote-casting, according to the recognized methods, is not politics. A party may poll enough votes to capture State Legislatures, governorships, Congressional and U. S. Senatorial seats; it may roll up a million or more votes for a presidential candidate and enter the electoral college; it may even cause the adoption of serious legislation, on trusts, finances, railways and interstate commerce; it may do all this, as did the Populist party, and nevertheless fail, as did that party, because it lacks economic, that is, real political power. Or, a party may capture majorities and municipalities, yet have no power to recall over mayors, aldermen or councilmen who violate the principles on which they were elected to office; it may also act honorably and well, through the selection of men of good principles and character, yet be without real constructive influence, being, at best, a palliative agent, insuring, flesh, cheap, healthy and philanthropic government, all because it has no real political, that is, economic, power back of it, as in the case of the Socialist Party. Majorities do not make governments; the financial plutocrats of this country are a minority more powerful than all its voters, because of their economic power, that is their control of the capital of the country; they are its real government.

Political Parties Seek Economic Basis.

That politics and political power are something more than mere vote-getting and vote-casting according to the recognized methods—something more than the direct of the established political parties. These parties, of whatever name, all seek an economic basis; they seek to reflect economic interests, without which they have no reason for existence. In the United States, consequently, we have two Socialist Parties. Both proclaim themselves to be "the political expression of the economic interests of the working class," though both are mainly composed of middle and professional class elements. Neither of these Socialist Parties is an outgrowth of modern working class economic organization, despite their protestations that they are reflections of working

class economic organization. They are organized the end that it political agencies. class domination. working class economic organization to their own. One opposes industrial revolutionary basis, in favor of the A. F. of L. on the ground of neutrality, in order to secure A. F. of L. support, alliances and votes. The other opposes, neutrally an A. F. of L. reaction in order to dominate the industrial union movement in the political interests of its own sectarian cult. Both will denounce, praise, cajole, assist and betray labor as occasion demands; they will do anything for labor but get off of its back or out of the way of its own political development. They are illogical, cart-before-the-horse, developments, and are only of real value when they cease to be political parties and aid the direct action of the economic organizations of labor—in strikes, etc.—which they are now most frequently compelled to do.

The other political parties are too obviously based on capitalist interests to need analysis. They protect capitalist interests because the capitalists control them through their economic power; whether free trader or protectionist; trust or anti-trust, they know their masters' crib and always act in the light of their knowledge. They use the courts, police, militia—in a word, the powers of State—to aid the capitalists, because the capitalists are the State, thanks to their economic power.

Industrial Union Changes Government.

But these old political parties, like the Socialist Parties, also feel the influence of an industrially organized working class; they, too, pose as friends of labor, and, much against their will, are compelled to act in a manner detrimental to capitalist interests. When labor revolts and unites industrially, as in Lawrence, Mass., old party politicians act in ways that expose and weaken the power of capitalism. The President, Senators and Congressmen feel constrained to cause investigations and create situations that are of immense educational value and that otherwise rattle the dry bones of capitalist legislation in the interests of labor. There is much perturbation, fear and grieving for the old order and action in favor of the new; not because 2,000,000 votes have been cast against capitalism, but because 22,000 men, women and children have asserted their economic power through industrial organization; and are, consequently, a political factor.

If we, for a moment, forget "our" much lauded country in order to look abroad, we shall find working class power organized and asserted in a manner that makes capitalist political power a weak and valueless force, insofar as the capitalists are concerned. In the English railway strikes of 1911 such was the power of the strikers that the army officials had to secure permission from them to transport fodder for horses. The English miners' strike now on (March 5, 1912) again demonstrates that government, in fact all of society, is paralyzed and powerless before an industrially organized working class. Such a class holds not only political control, but also the fate of civilization in its hands.

Under the circumstances, then, it is no wonder that the English government supports the miners' principle of the minimum wage and uses all its powers to force concessions from the mine owners favorable to the strikers. If a million miners can force the greatest capitalist government to act against capitalism what is there the whole industrially organized working class cannot compel it to do? The industrial union forces changes in government. It organizes the economic power of the working class and, in so doing, makes it the political arbiter of society. It is a new political factor, before which the capitalist "powers of state" must eventually give way.

This fact is slowly dawning on the working class. A new conception of political powers and forms is taking possession of their thoughts and aspirations. They see the possibilities of labor controlling society directly, through a democratic form of industrialism; that is, production and distribution primarily by, and for, the workers. They declare that the vote of an organized working class, polled in the Union hall and applied on the job, to questions of wages, hours, conditions, etc., is the vote that is most important now, both positively and prospectively. It affects essentials at the present time; and is a training for future citizenship; a citizenship which will vote because it owns and controls and will own and control because it is the organized economic power of the

Why...
Political...
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Union Scabs and Others...
War and the Workers...
Why the A. F. of L. Cannot Become an Industrial Union...

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I. W. W. PREAMBLE

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 the working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

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

We find that the centering of the management of industries into the hands of a few individuals, has made unions unable to cope with the ever-increasing power of the employers. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one class of workers to impose its will on another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to divide and weaken the workers. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class in mislead the workers of the world, by making them believe that the holder of the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class satisfied only by an organization formed in such a way that the employed masses can act in unison. If necessary, we will carry on a general strike, and we will not stop until we have achieved our ends. We will not accept a compromise, but we will make an unflinching fight for 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 overthrow of the bourgeoisie, 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.

Send for some Three Months Sub Cards to Solidarity. Commission, 25c. on the Dollar.
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land.
These men are organized in the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization aims to build up the framework of a new society within the shell of the old. It builds on the lines of industrial evolution, through the industrial union form, as dictated by such evolution. In accordance with modern tendencies, it works for the industrial democracy which will eventually take the place of the present financial plutocracy. Instead of being anti-political, the I. W. W. is, the only real political factor in American society today. Join the Industrial Workers of the World! Organize to control industry by and for the workers. This is real politics; all else is fake politics, wherewith to mislead the workers.

SYNDICALISM CASTS ITS "SHADOW"

London, March 20.—Syndicalism cast a shadow on the great scene in the house of commons last night during the debate on the bill to terminate the coal strike. Every mention of the subject attracted the closest attention of the crowded benches and galleries. Obviously every one present was anxious to learn everything possible regarding this new force in industrial warfare.

It had been charged in the newspapers that the syndicalists in South Wales were scheming deliberately to render the mines unprofitable as a preliminary to their capture by the workmen.

"What we see," declared Lord Robert Cecil, "is not an ordinary quarrel between employers and employees over wages, but a conspiracy on the part of a band of revolutionaries to gain dictatorial control of the industries of the country. The government knows that we are menaced by syndicalism, or a general strike; it knows that the movement is controlled by men who care nothing for the sufferings of the poor and nothing for the rights of property, yet the government offers us a pious legislative declaration

carrying no compulsion and no penalties. Our entire industrial system must be overhauled if revolution is to be prevented. The government should work out a comprehensive scheme of co-partnership."

Ramsay MacDonald of the labor party blamed the coal owners and especially the restraints in Wales for the threat of syndicalism.

"Syndicalism," he said, "was not established by doctrines. It emanates from policies on the part of the employers which no self-respecting body of workmen could tolerate. Men must be treated as human beings and not as beasts of burden or profit-making machines; otherwise evil on the part of the employers will cease to exist. The interests of the workers and the vicious circle will involve deeper and deeper ill and misery."

Chancellor David Lloyd-George distastefully lightened the gloom of the house with his views of syndicalism.

"Grave as my feelings are," he said, "relative to the situation between capital and labor in this country and elsewhere, I do not fear that syndicalism is going to destroy us. What we are trying to do is not to deal with the general situation, or future possibilities, but to end the coal strike by the greatest means possible. Then, undoubtedly, we must seek a solution of our problem. For my part, I regard co-partnership as deserving of most careful consideration."

"Meanwhile no men of weight in the labor party have committed themselves to syndicalism; no men of weight of any sort have done this. Some talk as if socialism and syndicalism are two forms of the same danger, but, of course, they are destructive and radical measures will be necessary sooner or later."—Chicago Daily News, March 20, 1912.

IS UPTON GETTING WISE?

London, March 28.—Upton Sinclair, the novelist, gave a statement of his views on the labor crisis now prevailing in England to The World correspondent today. He said:

"The present situation is the result of having too many clever politicians on the side of the capitalists."

"The 40 labor representatives elected to the House of Commons ran up against shrewd, highly trained politicians, who simply waited them round their fingers. In the meantime the working class has stewed in its own juice."

"I do not say that all the labor representatives are like John Burns. The political game is too complicated in its machinery and too intricate for untrained workmen to use. They have local prestige to confront them, and whereas on the stump they have been radical and revolutionary, when they got into parliament they were like a lot of dumb sheep."

Beginning of Sunrise.

"When our working class saw that it became completely disgusted. This man, Tom Mann, is simply frank. His whole cry is 'Damn parliament; damn politicians.' He really is almost incoherent."

"The working classes are finding their power. To me this strike is the most dramatic event in human history. It is the beginning of sunrise for us, but, unfortunately, it means that the people have last found the way to enforce their will."

"A few weeks ago the politicians were sitting back laughing at the way in which they fooled the railwaymen. Now they confront a situation where all their cunning, chicanery, rules of procedure, parliamentary niceties and conventions become a much rubbish."

Difficulty in America.

"You have this hereditary privilege in England; in America, we have exactly the same sort of thing in judicial privilege. We are so tied up with political precedents and corporation judges that it is almost impossible to bring about socialism in America by political means. In other words, we shall have to use this same sort of means in America."

"You see this industrial movement represents in the field of labor exactly the same thing as the trust movement represents in industry. The old craft union fought the individual employer. The new union finds itself now facing one big big the steel trust, the coal trust or whatever it may be, and so the labor men have to be organized on the same scale and to have the mass strike; and, of course, just the same way, as the formation of trust represents the last stage of the capitalist union, on the other hand, an industrial union represents the same thing."

Ripe for Socialism.

"It means that society is ripe for socialism. It will ultimately lead to expropriation. Our whole civilization was upon the awakening of the working class."

I look upon this situation as the Giant of Labor opening his eyes. He sits and one of his chains snaps and he realizes he is only bound by his slumber. This demonstration of what solidarity will do sends a thrill all over the world."

"Every night in England, France, America, Germany and Italy there are thousands of men pointing out the meaning of this lesson, namely, that if the workmen will only stand together there is no force that can resist them."

"Labor is like an animal in a cage—continually pacing up and down—and now, suddenly the door is opened. It is wonderful. In two or three years when you get the transport workers, the railwaymen and the miners all striking together, you will realize labor's power."

TO THE MASTERS

They are coming, oh you masters,
They are coming, half alive;
They are coming—
With their sweaters, their children,
and their wives.

They are coming, oh you masters;
They are coming fast and thick;
They are coming—
With the foreigners to band you out
and pick.

They are coming, oh you masters;
They are coming, though some fall;
They are coming, as the angels to free
the world for all.

They are coming, oh you masters,
They are coming all at last.
They are coming—
And they'll name my name in
the past.

comes down to a mere question of terms. In an I. W. W. strike labor leaders are intent upon spreading revolutionary doctrines and in stirring up in workers a feeling that employers will not, and, indeed, cannot, economically be fair. The larger the fight, therefore, the better for propaganda; and the harder the fighting the better for the cause, too. Each man arrested; each woman clubbed by a policeman, each boy or girl that is hustled by a militiaman, is embittered and made ripe for the doctrine of force. And, if a crowd is charged by a squad of soldiers, there is just so many people who will listen to the lesson that "capital gets the state to use violence; so we must use direct action."

The mill men of Lawrence got this, not only by observation, but in the reports of these spies, who said that the I. W. W. leaders wanted the strike to go on; welcomed with grim satisfaction the trial of the popular Etor and the mistaken interference with the shipment of children. "The bosses don't respect the law," they taught, "except when it works their way. They ignore it, flout it, abuse it, when it goes against them. So must we."

Almost every move the mill men made was grist to the I. W. W. leaders' mill. It may be remembered, for example, that I pointed out that, besides the doctrine of revolution, the I. W. W. is aiming at the reorganization of the American Federation of Labor. I wish William J. Burns and the Erectors' Association, who are bent upon the same task—to discredit Gompers and his gang—I wish they could hear the I. W. W. men laugh over their efforts. "They are playing our game," these men say.

And so it was at Lawrence. The mill men had always fought the unions there that were affiliated with the A. F. of L. And the mill men had won in the long run—not so completely as the steel companies; they didn't have absolutely open shops; but they had limited the organization of their labor to the workers in the higher-paid, skilled trades. That is the result all over the country of the anti-labor-union fighting by business men. They have had to let the printers organize, and the locomotive engineers, and—all the skilled trades. And these organized trades have established very generally the principle of collective bargaining and so achieved pretty good wages for themselves.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN DETROIT

The Detroit Free (to lie) Press in one of its recent issues contained a despatch from Chicago stating that the unemployed of that city numbered over 125,000. It contrasted the ideal labor conditions of this open shop town with those of Chicago and made the statement that there are less than 300 unemployed in this city.

Figures never lie, but liars sometimes figure. There are less than 300 men looking for jobs at the free employment office. True, but how many wait the Employers' Association and make the rounds of the shops in search of work? Those figures in the large print turning out automobiles, hundreds of men have been laid off in the past few months. I don't know how many in others, but I got it recently that 900 men had to bid the git at one time. One can see for himself that the concern of workers employed by that concern has been reduced to a very considerable extent. The premium system has been installed and the latest addition in the implements of labor skinning are electric clocks and pace setters. It's going some. There is no union in this plant except a few metal polishers.

There is one feature of the automobile industry which is demonstrating our contention regarding the elimination of the skilled mechanic as the main factor in modern production. One will find among the automobile workers the proverbial butcher, baker and candlestick maker. In other words, men made jobs for some reason or other in their former callings find employment in this growing industry. Truly, in these days a man in order to find employment must become a sort of a jack of all trades, with very slim chances to be master of one.

AUTOMOBILE WORKER.

DETROIT, Mich.

TACOMA I. W. W.

Our hall is located at 110 S. 14th St. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. Address all communications to Sec'y, I. W. W., No. 380, 110 S. 14th St., Tacoma, Wash.

Don't neglect these times for agitation. Get some literature.

But the I. W. W. labor leaders didn't want to deal with that organization; they hated and feared it; and, of course, they had cause to dread a settlement with its leaders. They found that they couldn't; that I. W. W. leaders didn't want to deal with them. The I. W. W. preferred just what the owners said they preferred—have all dealings directly between the owners and their own men. The I. W. W. is a democratic organization. It believes that neither, not Haywood and Etor, should decide upon terms to be accepted by the men, but the men and women themselves, first through their locally elected committees, and finally all together, should settle with their own employers.

A Spirit of Democracy.

After all this indirection, mill owners got a real surprise. They turned to the I. W. W. They didn't want to deal with that organization; they hated and feared it; and, of course, they had cause to dread a settlement with its leaders. They found that they couldn't; that I. W. W. leaders didn't want to deal with them. The I. W. W. preferred just what the owners said they preferred—have all dealings directly between the owners and their own men. The I. W. W. is a democratic organization. It believes that neither, not Haywood and Etor, should decide upon terms to be accepted by the men, but the men and women themselves, first through their locally elected committees, and finally all together, should settle with their own employers.

And these leaders saw what the negotiators see at Lawrence—that it was useless to settle the strike there unless the cause of the strike, the condition underlying all the trouble, is settled also. The I. W. W. leaders differed from the negotiators on one point only—the negotiators believed that the employers could and would, the I. W. W. leaders that employers would not, and that they could not, solve the labor problem.

The men who undertook the settlement of this strike fixed their eyes on the conditions which made it possible. And they demanded, before they would move, that the mill owners should look in the same direction.

"We have no interest," they said in effect; "we have no interest in simply getting your people back to work for you. We represent society, in a sense; not labor and not the employers of labor, but the broader interest of the whole community. If we should settle the strike, without taking up also the cause of the strike, we should not only leave here the possibility of further trouble, we should be guilty of treating a symptom and neglecting the source of the disease. And it's the disease that hurts society. It's a fact that a lot of men, women and children cannot, by working faithfully and hard, earn a good living—that's the evil fact we would have you deal with."

This was some three weeks ago. The mill owners would not proceed upon that basis then. They did not like to make the concession implied by such an attitude that the conditions were bad and that they were in part responsible for them. The answer to this was that they knew, and they knew that the negotiators knew that the conditions were insupportable. And they were, you understand. Some families got as low as \$7.50 a week; many got more. But hardly any of the workers got what they got six days a week, and 52 weeks a year. It has been pointed out by the mill men both here and at Fall River that these workers, low paid as they were, had savings bank accounts which totaled high. And that's true. And Miss Tarbell, in her tariff articles, explained that it was a remarkable example of providence and thrift of these textile workers that, on the small pay they got, they had learned from necessity to save a little each week.

And the necessity was that there were often weeks and sometimes whole seasons when there was no work for them in the mills.

"We can't help that," mill owners answer.

"No," said a strike leader, to whom I submitted this truth. "No, they can't help that. But neither can we help the fact that these workers have to live seven days a week and 52 weeks a year. The Capitalist and stockholders are paid thus. Money exacts its interest and dividends regular and always. Why should not men?"

Not an Ordinary Strike.

But we need not dispute the question of conditions. The negotiators knew they were bad and also found out the mill owners knew that fact. That was the basis upon which negotiations were resumed.

They waited a week or ten days—long enough for the mill men to learn some of the differences between an ordinary strike and an I. W. W. strike. In an ordinary strike labor leaders, like employers, are eager to settle. They may not, but usually they pretend to be indifferent, but usually everybody wants to end the fight, and it

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Thus it proved on this occasion and a notable victory was scored which will tend to the final surrender of the Capitalist Borg to the triumphant S. L. P. Proprietor Cats of the cigar factory was forced to surrender to the demands of the workers as formulated by Organizer Cats of the W. I. W.

It is rumored that some of the bum-dummers tried to butt into the strike, but when Organizer Cats notified his friends, the police, the bummers was prevented from getting access to the meeting hall. The workers have secured, thanks to the efforts of Organizer Cats of the W. I. W., a substantial reduction in wages and a lengthening of the hours of labor, thus supporting the correct S. L. P. contention that a shorter workday is an injury to the workingman.

Organizer Cats is working along similar lines among the silk workers. It is by such glorious victories that the Revolution of the Proletariat on the peaceful plan of Political Action is accelerated.

Fraternally yours,
APRILAS FOOLIBUS.

THE NEW UNIONISM

(Continued from Page One)

so that when I was up here before, two weeks ago, an orator had only to mention the name of John Golden to draw a hoot from any crowd of any nationality. The audience might not know any other word the speaker spoke, but they all understood that "John Golden" was a signal to laugh and yell. And he and his name, you understand, were used to symbolize the A. F. of L. "aristocratic labor," and a suspicious intimacy with capital.

Well, in the face of all this, the mill men did turn to John Golden and the Central Labor Union. I explained at the time that the owners were afraid to settle with the I. W. W.; nay, they were so fearful of settling that they did not want to settle without having their employees organized by leaders who would oppose sabotage and "passive resistance." And the negotiators saw the need of some organization, not only to prevent the destruction of goods in the making, but also to make and keep a contract and afterward to appoint a committee to sit down with an employers' committee to tackle the problem presented by the bad labor conditions of the whole textile industry.

But the owners wanted John Golden, the labor leader they had checked to the point where he had been discredited, and so last week Golden went to Lawrence. The papers had it. They said John Golden had taken charge and would bring the strike to an end. He began, to the obvious mystification of newspapers, by calling his unions out on a sympathetic strike. They were the skilled workers, the aristocrats, who have remained in the mills. They came out; they settled, and then went back to work. The I. W. W. had only to say: "We told you so. John Golden comes here, calls a fake strike and then tries to drive you all back in a panic with his aristocrats."

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