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EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

DIRECT ACTION WILL GET THE GOODS

Industrial Worker

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!"

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
General Headquarters—307 Mortimer Building, Chicago, Illinois.
Vincent St. John.....General Sec'y-Treas.
George Speed.....General Organizer

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P. Eastman, Jos. J. Ettor, Ewald Koettgen, F. H. Little, J. M. Foss.

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To live, or not to live, that is the question! Whether 'tis better in the end to serve our masters, or by opposing, cut the gordian knot which binds the slave with the oppressor. To act—to die! perhaps, and in that death to ever live for glorious liberty! Throw down the gauntlet to the common foe, and leave the cowardice to tyranny. Freedom is life, and life is food and clothes and love and harmony.—Harriet T. Churchill.

Here's hoping the spirit of May First may last.
May Day is not a day of rest. It is a day of revolt.
The broader are your views the more restricted is your view liable to be. All liberators have been jail-birds.

Although bankers may deny it, there are thousands of parasites without principle who are drawing interest.
The I. W. W. accepts concessions as its due, but has conquest for its final aim. The capitalists know it, too.

The workers are still paying profits to idlers for the privilege of earning their own wages. But not so willingly as of yore.
One clergyman remarks that class divisions will always exist as there is not enough lobster for all. Tut, tut, parson, you fellows sometimes forget yourselves!

The tools of production are not in Washington, D. C.; they are where we work. The kind of tools to be found in legislative halls are utterly unfit for use by the producers of wealth.

Craft unionism arose with the system of small scale skilled production. It has made no impression on large industrial concerns. Today skill is getting to be a drug on the market and trustification of industry is taking place. The crafts must go and in their place rise the industrial union.

LOOK-A-HERE, LUMBERJACKS!

Don't you forget that on May 19, 1913, the greatest convention in the history of the lumber industry will be held at Alexandria, La., in the hall of the Southern District of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the I. W. W.

Speakers of international reputation will address the convention. Delegates from the Northwest will be present to aid in the deliberations.

Some quick work will allow delegates to be sent from even the smallest locals. Wake up, lumberjacks, for here is one convention that will be feared by Weyerhaeuser, Long, Kirby and other lumber thieves of the Sawdust ring. Be there!

MAY DAY

May Day is come once more. Nature is breaking the fetters of winter, forcing the sap upward in the trees, calling the feathered songsters from their winter homes, and in the budding spring is giving promise of a bright summer and a bountiful harvest to follow the bleak and barren winter; while among the workers the growing spirit of solidarity is bringing joy to millions, giving them new hopes and aspirations, replacing patriotism with fraternity, nationalism with internationalism, division with unity, and preparing them for a harvest of industrial freedom to follow their siege of economic travail. A new social system is being born and each recurring May Day marks a period in its gestation. The labor pains of the past year set this out as the most prophetic May Day of all.

The world wide revolt of the slaves of mine and mill and factory and field is a sign of the times. Well may the international master class tremble before the rising international proletarian clan, for when the myriads of toilers stir all society must move. Now that the workers are creating a Social Will, there is nothing that can withstand them in their building of a new social order.

May Day is the International Labor Day, as distinguished from the Labor Day that has been set and sealed with the legal approval of America's employing class. It is on this day that the toilers of the world clasp hands in class friendship and swear to fight their common foe until the victory is won.

While the struggles of the past have been well nigh heart-breaking, we are cheered when we see racial and national hatred disappearing from the workers' minds and the black,

brown, yellow and white workers joining together to battle for their class.

Let us not, however, be swayed with a false sentiment that will lead us to exalt May Day while forgetting the thing it symbolizes. May Day is nothing—International solidarity of labor is everything. This, too, not on one day, but on every day in the year.

We must strive, therefore, to bring labor closer together so that our allied forces may overthrow the damnable wage system and rear in its place an Industrial Republic where classes will be unknown and joy will be the mainspring of human activity.

SOME I. W. W. PRINCIPLES

Here are a few things about the I. W. W. that may be of interest to those who are just learning of the organization.

The I. W. W. accepts only actual wage workers to membership. No wage workers are barred, with the exception of those who are serving as detectives, police, soldiers, militiamen and the like. They are not wanted nor allowed. The negro and the asiatic are eligible to membership without restriction. All who toil, be they young or old, male or female, skilled or unskilled, born here or abroad, are welcomed in the ranks of the One Big Union.

The initiation fee is light, never running over \$5.00, and generally amounting to but \$1.00. The dues are never over \$1.00 per month and in nearly all locals are 50 cents. Assessments are few and cannot exceed a specified number of set amounts each year. Assessments must be sanctioned by referendum vote of the entire membership involved.

When once an initiation fee has been paid there can be no other amount collected on that score. A membership card is transferable to any line of industry. The I. W. W. does not ask whether one can pass an examination as to skill, but inquires only as to whether the applicant is at work for an employer.

The I. W. W. fights the craft idea of organization, well knowing that such methods lead to jurisdictional quarrels and to disunity. The I. W. W. allows none of its membership to scab upon striking craftsmen and it fights in company with the craft unionists when the battle is on against any section of the employing class.

The state, with its whole machinery of repression, is also fought by the I. W. W. The workers can make no gains through legal channels, nor can freedom be bequeathed to them by a superior class. Toward existing government the I. W. W. is openly hostile!

The purpose of the I. W. W. is to fight today for more and better food, clothing and shelter, and in so doing develop its power to gain still other concessions. The object is to seize more and more industrial control until finally the employers are powerless. By using the economic might, it develops through organization, the I. W. W. strives to overthrow the present system of production and exchange. The industrial union then will form the framework of a new social order and all social activities will be handled through the union. With Capitalism overthrown all who are physically able must be producers and the union then embraces the whole of society. Class lines will disappear and instead of present wage slavery we shall have an Industrial Democracy.

DESTRUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION

On the surface it does appear that the I. W. W. is a purely destructive force. The added fact that our greatest publicity is gained through strikes, free speech fights and open conflicts against established authority, gives the idea a firmer hold in the public mind. Yet, in spite of this, the I. W. W. has a greater positive than negative power, is more constructive than destructive.

The I. W. W. is frankly the enemy of the employing class. As this class moulds the existing ideas of morals, religion, patriotism, politics and, in fact, all institutions, the I. W. W. is immoral, irreligious, anti-patriotic, non-political and in opposition to all institutions of capitalism.

We battle against the existing moral code and in so doing we are creating working class morals.

We tear down the "meek and humble" slave religion taught by our enemies and encourage the idea that "An injury to one is an injury to all."

We mock at the false patriotism that exalts an incompetent bureaucracy within artificial boundaries and for it substitute an internationalism embracing every wage worker on the face of the earth.

We refuse to play the legal game of politics, knowing that power rests on control at the point of production. We strive for that necessary control.

We fight all institutions of capitalism in just the measure that they are used to try to prevent our development of economic force, and in fighting we develop new ideas and ideals.

But aside from that the I. W. W. is the greatest constructive force of present society.

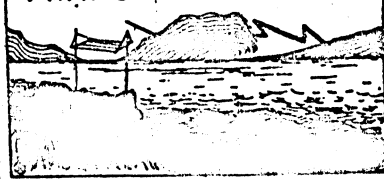
Construction can take place only on the industrial field; the political field is only for the carrying on of property disputes. The industrial union builds for industrial control with every move it makes and thereby prepares itself as the producing agency of future society. This is not true of any other organization.

Forced down to facts the political socialist has to admit that in the event of their victory the industries would have to be managed by other than political methods. Even with a political machine attempting to manage industry, the real power would always rest with the toilers in each industry. If the toilers decided to strike, then what? The politically managed society would fail. It could do nothing else. But through an industrial union, whose component departments had full charge of the work of which their members alone had knowledge, there would be no basis for a strike. The workers would not strike against themselves.

So in all actions that tear down capitalism the industrial union is being strengthened and it alone is the constructive force in society today.

The I. W. W. knows what it is about and even though a comparatively new movement it has a clearer conception of what constitutes a constructive program than is found in any other organization at this time.

TRANSLATED NEWS



INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF THE SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT

How the Different Countries View the Proposed International Syndicalist Congress.

Germany
The appeal of the English and Dutch comrades for the convocation of a congress of revolutionary unions of all countries has been received with real joy at Berlin and in all those parts of Germany where free unions exist (Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gerwarkchaften). This appeal promises to realize the decisions taken by the German congress held in Magdeburg in Mal, 1912. The Dutch proposals are the most suitable as they allow enough time for preparation. After ample consideration we have come to the conclusion that the Dutch proposal is the best, and we have written to the secretary of the preparatory committee, Van Erkel, in Amsterdam, to let him know that we think that the congress cannot be held before the end of September, and that Holland seems to be the most suitable country for the purpose. At the same time we addressed ourselves to the English comrades to give up the idea of a congress at Whitson and to work for our proposal. With the same request we address ourselves to the revolutionary unions of other countries, convinced that this will be the best solution.

As programme we suggest the following points: 1, Theory and tactics of revolutionary syndicalism; 2, Syndicalism and war; 3, Creation of an International Secretariat. As to the first point it seems necessary to us that the congress should elaborate a clear basis (declaration of principles) which unequivocally sets out the aim of the revolutionary syndicalists and the ways to attain it. By the second point we hope to arrive at a resolution declaring what action syndicalist organization consider advisable in order to stop wars which destroy civilization and massacre people. Point 3, the creation of a revolutionary international organization of unions besides the reformist International already existing, seems a necessity if we want to uphold our syndicalist principles and tactics and work for their spreading.

We hope that our proposals will help to inspire our comrades to work to the best of their ability for the success of our congress. Perhaps it would be useful to say a few words on the subject of the representation from foreign countries. Though it would be not advisable that the centres of each country should be represented only, generally speaking it would be best not to have too numerous delegates as the more persons are present the more difficult it will be to arrive at unanimous decisions when discussing important questions. Besides the difficulty of many languages must not be forgotten. For this reason we think that all attention must be given to the question of representation, and the presence of delegates of provincial centres is more advisable than those of separate unions as professional questions naturally will not be dealt with on our congress.

We, members of the Central Committee of the German free unions (Geschaftskommision der Vereinigung deutscher Gerwarkchaften), intend to send and submit to all our organizations the above mentioned proposals requesting them to discuss, modify or enlarge them according to their opinion.—Fritz Kater, Berlin, April 6.

England

It seems that the revolutionary unions will come to an understanding concerning the International congress more easily and promptly than could be expected. In the last number of the "Syndicalist" the English comrades state that they have put off the congress till the autumn in consequence of the observations and letters received from all sides. So what concerns the time the English comrades agree with the Dutch. But the English evidently want the first congress to be held in London. They even have fixed already on a hall, and they give in their paper a reproduction of Holborn Town hall situated in the centre of London. In this hall they propose to hold the congress from September 27 to October 2. We hope that a general understanding may be arrived at and that all comrades will set to work at once.

France

"La Vie Ouvriere" gives an answer to our remarks on an international congress, and we note two points in this answer.

Monatte insists that the Dutch appeal refers to the creation of a second International Secretariat. "What is this 'international union' to be if not a second international secretariat? Why play with words? By all means let us be clear, but let us state the facts and not guess what the congress is going to do. The above named German proposals speak for themselves. And it can be stated quite plainly that the Dutch appeal is made by the Dutch organizations who had no mandate to invite the foreign organizations to the creation of an international secretariat. They simply were told to ask the foreign comrades if they were favorable to the idea of holding an international syndicalist congress, and which country would be the most suitable in that case."

The second point in the answer of Monatte is regarding tactics. He asks: "Would the holding of an international syndicalist congress mean the dropping of the attempts of the French C. G. T. to transform the international conference of secretaries of national centres into real international labor centres?"

It is evident, we think, that this is not the case. Surely the C. G. T., the only organization

in opposition in the reformist International Secretariat will continue to work for the realization of real labor congresses with all those who are of this opinion. But does Monatte think that this excludes for the C. G. T. the possibility to take part in an international syndicalist congress? But what about the autonomy of national organizations affiliated to the Berlin International Secretariat? Have they not the right to work besides for their own ideas? This is all the more true as we shall succeed more easily to oblige the conservative unions to drop their political socialist leaders by direct action from our part than by opposing them in the small conferences of secretaries of national centres.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION MEETS

Several leading thinkers delivered papers on the subject, "Why Laboring Men Should Be Capitalists and Vice Versa."

The Reverend Silas Trimmer was in the chair and, in a few opening remarks, said: "Labor cannot get along without capital and capital cannot get along without labor. Manifestly, therefore, they cannot get along without each other. This makes it of the greatest importance that capital should ask nothing that labor doesn't want to grant and of no less importance that labor should ask nothing that capital doesn't want to grant."

Mr. H. Fudgeby Chinner made a number of telling points. Among other things he said: "When unions are properly organized and can be made to see that the more wages they get the less they receive, then employers are justified in welcoming them with open arms. If, however, labor unions forget the spiritual side and use their power for such sordid purposes as raising wages, shortening hours and improving working conditions, then, of course, I cannot too highly denounce them as inimical not only to their employers, but to the country at large."

Mr. Samuel Pompous, the well-known labor leader, was equally emphatic. He said: "What I am trying to do is to find a common ground on which labor and capital can stand and be happy. As soon as I find it I expect labor and capital to gather together upon that common ground, as we more enlightened ones are doing now, and indulge in such a feast of love and good will as has not been known since the Bacchic revels of ancient Greece. I hold that labor and capital really love each other, but the trouble is that they have not yet found it out. When they do find it out, nothing can prevent the one from emptying its resources into the coffers of the other."—Life.

MASTERS AND SLAVES

(Scott Nearing in March Everybody's Magazine.)

Was industry made for Man or was Man made for industry?

If Man was made for industry, then it is just that industry should be the Master and Man the slave. It is just that five hundred thousand men and women should be killed and injured annually while they minister to the industrial deity; it is fair that woman toil long hours for a pittance; it is right that humanity writhe in agony under the goad of the industrial taskmaster.

If, on the other hand, industry was made for Man, then it is just that Man should be the Master and industry the Slave. It is fair that any calling which crushes men's bodies, destroys the souls of women and little children, or takes a toll of life and joy greater than its contribution to the happiness of the community, should be reformed or abolished.

Two thousand years ago Jesus rebuked the Pharisees and justified His disciples—who had picked corn on the Sabbath day—in these words: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The world listens for the modern prophet who shall proclaim: "Industry was made for Man, and not Man for industry."

"We cannot traffic in our principles, we can make no compromise, no agreement with the ruling system. We must break with the ruling system and fight it to a finish."—Liebknecht.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

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 has interests in common with their employers.

Their 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 wages 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 everyday 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.

Murmurs of Merryville Murderbund

Rosepine, La., April 15, 1913.

So insistent has been the calls on our (?) noble Governor L. E. Hall, to compel Sheriff Gus. Martin of Beauregard Parish to cease allowing his pug ugly scissorbill deputies to play the part of company thugs that a special extra session of the honorable District Court has been called to sit at DeRidder, and company tools and gunmen are to be tried (?) for beating up and maiming union men during the past two months, at Merryville and Singor, La. Of course there will be feather fines—not to say downy ones—imposed on these useful members of capitalistic society, and thus will the law be vindicated and the district attorney, sheriff and governor can point with pride to their administrations, and tell Mr. Block how, even in the face of powerful opposition, they arrested, vigorously prosecuted and fined these brutes, who beat up the horny handed sons of the woods and mills. And of course Mr. Block will amble up and drop his ballot in the box for his enemies, still bugging the fond delusion that politics will help to free him from his chains.

Many of the familiar booze-faced individuals that were so noticeable around the commissary and company office at Merryville, during the strike and who were Johnny on the spot when any thugging was to be done, are missing. Gone they are, the way of the scab! The Santa Fe Company and Scissorbill Citizens League thought it best to get rid of these fellows, who knew too much and who no doubt grew chesty and practiced sabotage on their benefactors. Suits might be instituted by those union men and agitators who were beaten and deported without a trial, and it might come down to a case of being blackmailed by these star performers or the truth being told. So, I repeat, they have been given their congé, and are now seeking pastures new and fields green in which to ply their dirty trade. The manner of their going should be a lesson to all scabs, who imagine that they will get a medal and lifetime sinecure for turning traitor to their class and doing dirty work for the Boss, when the workers "have him on the hip."

Geo. Wilson, Engineer Mitchell, Shipping Clerk Mitchell, (Bro.) Gunman and Checker Waldron, Superintendent Bud Zacharie, Saw Mill Foreman—these are the scabby gunmen who have bit the grit. New men (?) have taken their places, and their chief, who remained always in the background, and is therefore blameless, has been made Superintendent Jim Estes—of Grabow and Merryville fame. A dyed-in-the-wool typical Southern Scissorbill—the worst ever.

The American Lumber Company is still having oodles of trouble with green "nigger" scabs (the negroes are all union men) and the logs brought in are a new kind.

To the casual observer or even the eagle eye of the experienced woodsman, they look just like any other innocent pine logs, but looks have ever been deceiving and these logs under their placid exterior hide some of the damdest "knots" that ever busted a big fine cortly hand saw. The writer is informed that quite a number of said saws have bucked these knotty problems much to the chagrin of the Boss, whose pocketbook looks apoplectic, from its continued lamentations, not to say downright agonizing yells of pain.

Keep it up, logs! May all of you possess the same hard tumors! Not that we have sought against those shiny bands of steel with teeth, whose heart gets broken by your hardness, but it is the vitals of Mr. Pocketbook that we are after, and your help is highly acceptable.

Fellow workers, wage up! Don't you see how your class is being brutally beaten and shot all over the country? Little Falls, Akron, Auburn, Merryville and in the coal fields of West Virginia. Get wise! Join the I. W. W., the only real labor union in the United States, whose slogan is the World for the Workers. Don't the walls of poor little starved children and cries of toil and nerve racked mothers touch your very soul? Nor the groans of your bleeding fellow workers? For your sakes, and the women and children of your class, go to the nearest Local Secretary of the I. W. W. and get a Red book with a stamp in it, and then rush out and get on the firing line. Subscribe to this fine paper and Solidarity and the young giant of the workers, The Lumber Jack. Get 'em all for \$2.25, read 'em and then pass 'em on.

Be a man, a real union man, an I. W. W.
PHINEAS EASTMAN.

Lucy Parsons Maltreated

Mrs. Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert B. Parsons who was one of the Haymarket martyrs, was arrested in Los Angeles, Cal., on Sunday, April 13, charged with selling literature without a license. She is on a lecture tour of the country, selling a book which seems to show the real facts of the conspiracy against the workers in 1886.

The police arrested Mrs. Parsons at Second and Los Angeles streets and took her to the police station where the matron made her strip in spite of the offense being but a misdemeanor. Upon her refusal to remove a finger ring, two burly policemen pounced upon her and forcibly tore it from her finger. She was then detained for twenty-four hours without being allowed to communicate with her friends.

Her case is set for trial on April 24. This is a sample of "fair and impartial justice" in Los Angeles.

"We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-way jest with us; it is a terribly earnest affair, with life or death, worse than life or death in the issue."—Wendell Phillips.

To Gain the Shorter Workday

(By James P. Thompson)

When the labor market is overstocked the bosses are very independent. Not needing us all, they simply pick us over. With age limits and weight limits to guide them, they select from among us the ones they think will suit them best; then they give us a trial and if we don't work to suit them, they fire us and hire somebody else. Conditions may be so vile that our health is being ruined and yet if we kick about it, the boss will say: "Well, if you don't like it, you can get out. We can get all the workers we want."

This is the condition all over the world today. We have over-work on the one hand, and no work at all on the other. Little children by the millions are being literally worked to death, while strong men and women tramp the streets looking in vain for work.

This competition in the labor market causes us to work cheap. The jobs go to the man with the most hungry family. When we work cheap we are compelled to economize in order to get along on our cheap wages and when we do this we lower our standard of living. This grinding down process has been going on so long already that today millions of our class are not getting wages enough to keep them in normal condition. Which means that they are dying by inches; fading away before our very eyes.

Although labor can produce more wealth today, in less time, than it ever could in the history of the world, yet the fact remains that millions of our class, over-worked and under-fed, are slaving their lives away; going down



Necessary labor 40 hours.
10 hour day.
Jobs for 4 workers.
4 times 10 is 40.
One unemployed

to the grave without ever having really lived at all.

This condition is getting worse. Every improved method of production makes it possible to get a certain amount of work done with less workers. The number of unemployed is increasing all the time.

All this just suits the capitalist class because their aim is to force down wages and boost up profits.

The interest of our class is just the opposite. We should aim to reduce the number of unemployed and boost up wages until such time as we are able to abolish the wage system altogether.

Problem of the Unemployed and the Answer
A certain amount of labor is necessary to do the work of the world, and the reason we have an unemployed army is because one part of our class does all the work, and there is nothing left for the others to do.

For example, let the four fingers and thumb on your hand represent five workers. Now suppose we have forty hours labor to be performed and we have the ten hour day, will there be jobs enough for all five workers?

No, there would be jobs for only four, because 4 times 10 is 40. But since 5 times 8 is also 40, it is plain to see that if each worker would only work eight hours instead of ten, there would be jobs for all five.

If four workers, by shortening the working day from 10 to 8 hours, furnish a job to one worker from the ranks of the unemployed, then four million workers, by shortening the working day from 10 to 8 hours, would furnish jobs to one million from the ranks of the unemployed.

The effect on the unemployed of shortening the working day is even more far-reaching than the above illustration shows. If, for instance, one hundred men are working with shovels and they create a condition where, in order to get the work done, the boss would be compelled to hire 25 more workers, it would also require 25 more shovels.

More weavers in a mill would mean more looms. More looms, more spindles, and so on down the line. All this would mean more work for the metal and machinery workers, etc.

If we shorten the working day, the unemployed will dwindle down, competition in the labor market will become less, then those who are working will be more independent. If they lose one job, it will be easier to get another one. Then they won't work so hard, and the very fact that they don't work so hard will mean that they won't do so much work, which in turn would draw more workers from the ranks of the unemployed.

Under such conditions if the boss should storm at them and tell them to get a move on, instead of bowing over the wheels of labor and taking the abuse, they would stop altogether and say unto him: "If you don't like the way we are doing this, you can do it yourself."

Overwork would stop. Think what that would mean to the swarming millions of our class! Overwork shortens the workers' lives and makes their short lives miserable.

If we shorten the working day, we lengthen the workers' lives.

Many workers today are afraid to come to a union meeting for fear the boss will find it out and they will lose their jobs.

Many work so hard that they come home at night exhausted physically and mentally. Too tired to think. Too tired to sleep. Many of them will only find rest in death.

Shorten the working day and, like magic, all this will change. Our class will be more free and independent. A harder class to hold in slavery.

Today a large number of our class are being driven blind by being compelled to work in poor light. Many are ruining their lungs by working in poorly ventilated places.

Shorten the working day, the working week, and the working year, then conditions will improve. Death-traps will disappear.

As competition in the labor market becomes less, wages will go up. Then our class will have better clothes. They will have better food. When they have better food they will have better blood. When they have better blood, they will feel better, their eyes will be brighter, their brains clearer, they will live longer and be happier while they do live.

The interest of the working class demands that we shorten the working day.

The way to do it, is to do it.

The way to get it, is to take it.

We should all unite in One Big Union and back up each other, through thick and thin, come what may, until the workers of the world are free.



Necessary labor 40 hours.
8 hour day.
Jobs for 5 workers.
5 times 8 is 40.
All employed.

A Letter From the Denver Bastille

Denver City Jail, April 16.—Seventy-one free speech fighters are now in Denver and are enjoying the hospitality of the city. We are locked up in the City Bastille and are beginning to get fat on bread and water twice a day. These rebels are the bunch that left different points of California a couple of weeks ago. They concentrated their forces at Grand Junction, Colo., from which point they traveled in one body to Denver.

The city officials of different points along the route were all anxious to see the bunch on their way to Denver. So they allowed us sleeping accommodations and gave us breakfast and tobacco, also told us we were pretty decent fellows and not half as bad as we were painted. Colorado Springs was our last stop before reaching Denver. There we received a night's lodging and a breakfast, after which we took a train for Denver. We intended to get off at Littleton, some ten miles from Denver, but the train not stopping there, we got off just before reaching Petersburg, which is five miles from Denver. Funny how that fast train stopped where it did. (We ought to look up Article 6, Section 2 of the S. P. constitution.) Anyhow, we got off where she stopped and it was a good thing we did, for all the bulls of Denver and some tin soldiers were waiting for us in full force further down the line. We split our forces and some managed to reach the I. W. W. hall. Others were arrested on the tracks; some on the street cars. Then the hall was raided and everybody in it was arrested. There are some who were not arrested, but we expect to see them come in any minute.

We were taken before a kangaroo court and handed a fine of \$120 and costs; one or two were let out and a few others \$60 and costs and others \$80 and costs.

The bulls here are as brutal a lot as ever walked in shoe leather and they are doing all in their power to goad us on. They have issued an order that instead of using the hose pipe, they will club the life out of us if we make a noise.

They have got us all in a small tank, a tank that was made for twenty-four men. They have seventy-one of us in a place of that size and bread and water, twice a day, is all we are allowed. We all asked for a jury trial, but the judge would not allow us one and we were not allowed to say anything.

Now, fellow workers, there is the right kind of rebels inside and there are a good many on the outside. What are you going to do about it? The fight must be won, and it will be won of the reds on the outside will act and act at once. Don't come into Denver in bunches, but get in the best way you can. We have to use tactics. Don't let it be said that Denver licked the I. W. W.

If any of the old time rebels, who are good on publicity, can get in here it would be a good thing for everybody. Publicity is what is needed right now, as the Denver papers are keeping pretty quiet. Let all foot loose rebels concentrate on Denver and after the fight we can all take in the harvest.

Press Committee.

Another View of the Land Question

(By L. W. Williams, Sanderson, Wash.)

The orthodox school of Socialism used to teach that all the working class had to do was to organize, become class conscious (and clear); that Capitalism was digging its own grave and that when it was dug the working class could step in and organize the co-operative commonwealth.

That the present form of capitalism is digging its own grave there can be no question, but that the capitalists are becoming weaker industrially I do not think any of our political socialists will contend. On the contrary, they are becoming stronger every day. In fact they have nearly accomplished their task of perfecting a gigantic industrial machine of production, distribution and communication for themselves in America,—in other words, becoming industrially organized. When they are completely organized they have only to wait until such time as machinery will do the greater part of the work. Then they will not need a great unemployed army. They could not sell the surplus products, therefore they would have to revolutionize society, some socialists contend. Sure, they could simply exchange things among themselves and have an ideal society for themselves, resting on the backs of slaves. In the meantime they would have to find some way of disposing of the great mass of unemployed. They could keep enough of the workers to maintain the species and make eunuchs of the rest. It seems to me that the thing for the working class to do, is to beat them to it,—that is to build a new society within the shell of the old and do it for themselves before the capitalists have a chance to do it for themselves.

Every industry has become trustified except farming, and if it takes but one-half as long to develop into a trust as it has taken other industries, conditions will have forced the revolution long before it catches up. In discussing the land question in the "Worker" the main point has not been touched upon at all, that is: Can you take and hold the land without the aid of the working farmer? You may organize, and they should be organized, every one of the so-called floating farmhands and you are no nearer taking and holding than before.

I think the time has passed when a revolutionist should say that "no man knows how the revolution will come about." It will certainly come when the working class feels the economic pressure the most. That is in the winter months when the floating farm hand is away from the land and in the city.

With a tractor engine three men can sow, reap and put to market the grain from three thousand acres with the assistance of one man in the harvest time. Now there is no machine yet made which will work on all the land, that

is to crop and harvest. Of course, the tendency is for great tracts to be farmed by companies in certain dry localities. The tendency is also to rent these tracts to three or four men on shares, a sort of piece work, piece so fine that when the renters pay up all expenses they have not nearly as large an income as one of the aristocratic iron moulders. Statistics prove that there are nearly as many working farmers whose income is not above \$400 per year as there are industrial workers. No wonder there is a constant stream of "corned" country boys flocking to the city to take jobs, bad as they are, that give them more social opportunities and in many cases a better living than on the farm. And as the industrial workers in the cities raise their standard of living there will be more of the corned country boys coming to the city, unless something is done to raise their standard of living on the farm.

I doubt if there is another industry so complicated as farming. Suppose the little farmer is put out of business; while the putting-out process is going on he is going to the city to compete on the labor market. If he doesn't side with you, it will be because he has not had the opportunity to study industrial unionism.

It makes no difference what action the I. W. W. takes at the coming convention, the revolutionary farmers who realize that they cannot better their conditions without the help of the city workers, and that there is no hope for their children for the future only in so far as the workers succeed in wresting power from the capitalists, through their economic might, will soon organize because the present so-called "Farmers' Union" no more satisfies them than the A. F. of L. satisfies the rebels in the industries. No matter where you go you will find some farmers who are rebels. Many of them have been through the 33 degrees of capitalism in the cities before they took home-steads to escape slavery and found that they had only changed their form.

Some will contend that the only time a farmer is fit to be organized with the proletariat is when he is entirely on the bum. In other words that the revolution is builded on the misery and degradation of mankind. That, to a certain degree, is true. But there comes a time when decay sets in. Take conditions in the Southern cotton mills, where in many places the worker has become so degraded that the parents of children place their hopes upon the time when they shall have children enough to put in the mills to support them. I have not heard of any progress being made in organizing them, and I take all the I. W. W. papers.

I hear the remark on every hand from the farmers: "Why cannot the farmers and the workers get together and take the world for themselves." In just the proportion that the

I. W. W. wrests power from the capitalist class will there be people who are not in the strict sense wage workers, who will throw their lot in with them because the real source of might is the control of labor power. I do not believe, as an old rebel, in organizing the farmers right on the jump. But it does seem to be that the I. W. W. cannot afford not to use this new force.

When the I. W. W. controls the industries in the cities there could be found a way of organizing the working farmer so that he would be able to benefit himself. The chief thing that he suffers from is not being able to find a market for his produce. He can find a market only in proportion as the working class of the cities and in general raise their standard of living. At the present time there are tons of vegetables and fruit rotting on the farms and yet thousands of people are unable to buy them. If he had stores where he could sell his stuff the wage workers could buy it at all times. You would have the power of the boycott over him and could compel him to pay union wages when he hires help, but he would have a market and there would spring up a community of interest between the industrial worker and the working farmer.

When the revolution would come the industrial workers could of course control the production of all the things the farmer needs in his work. Then there could be brought about an exchange of products with the working farmer and he would be an aid in the revolution instead of a hindrance. As this community of interests developed the farmers would see the possible structure of a new society and his idea of property would disappear. Property, that great bugaboo, that is ever in the minds of the Socialists. For my part I fail to see from personal observation among all classes of workers in 30 different states, that there is a great deal of difference in the working farmer's idea of property as compared with the rest of the workers. The industrial worker has his idea of property rooted in the skill that he possesses, whether he works by hand or with a machine. A skilled operator can turn more and better products than one who is not skilled, therefore he is more in demand and hence his ideas of property.

I read all kinds of Socialist and anarchist papers and pamphlets. When I read the "Worker" I recognize the voice of the revolution. Ah! The revolution that is recruiting its forces from the only place where the workers have any power, that is where they work. Yet many Socialists and anarchists cannot see it that way.

There is nothing the capitalist class fears so much as that the working farmer will side with the proletariat in the coming revolution. And there is nothing that will make the cold chills run down their spine so much as for a real revolutionary farmers' organization to spring up.

Strike at Rock Island

A strike of 500 sash and door workers, employed by the Rock Island Sash & Door Workers, was called on April 18. The I. W. W. is in charge.

The demands of the men are as follows:
An eight-hour day.
A minimum wage of \$2.00 per day and a general increase of 25 per cent.

Fresh water daily, and iced twice daily for drinking purposes.

Sanitary conditions of the toilets.

Clear passage to and from all parts of the shop and stairways so as to provide an avenue of escape in case of fire.

Fire escapes to be put in working condition.
A "First aid to the injured" to be placed on each floor.

No discrimination against former workers.

The boys have lined up splendidly and are showing the right spirit. The chances for winning the strike look good.

The employees of the Standard Oil Cloth Works have secured an increase of 15 per cent. They will hold meetings under their own I. W. W. charter after next meeting. The workers of Rock Island are alive to the need of One Big Union.
Press Committee.

Affairs in Youngstown

W. I. Fisher, for a time local organizer and one of our most active workers here for the past six months, who came from the Pacific Coast to the convention and thence here, is now located in the Summit County Bastille, Akron, Ohio, on the charge of assault and battery. He was arrested during the Akron strike while leaving the city and is now awaiting trial.

Rumor has it that he will be "railroaded" because he was not arrested as a striker or in any connection with the strike, but in the railroad yards. We are doing what we can to give publicity to the case.

We are greatly in need of rebels in this town to help us get on the map. Men who will go to work long enough to start something, not the kind who spend 23 out of every 24 hours in S. P. headquarters.

AGITATION COMMITTEE, LOCAL 304.

Sabotage, be it passive obstructionism or the damaging of goods and stalling of machinery, is the application by the workers to the capitalists, in order to obtain a higher remuneration, of the methods applied by capitalists to consumers in order to make larger profits. "Open-mouthed" sabotage consists in exposing or defeating fraudulent commercial practices.—Andre Tidon.

The Mailed Fist Against the Revolution

By B. E. Nilsson

The decidedly violent manner in which the ruling class has attempted to stop street speaking in various cities, and the numerous attempts to break strikes with jails and clubs and courts and bayonets, leaves us no room to hope that the proletarian revolution will be entirely peaceable. That this violence was committed by the loyal servants of the plunderbund for the express purpose of maintaining "law and order" and that it has for the greater part been utterly futile, gives us no reason to hope for peace. Beating up unarmed and unresisting strikers—especially after they are arrested and handcuffed—is such a safe and sane and, conservative form of heroism that it must always appeal strongly to the valiant riff-raff that is enlisted to save our country in time of strike.

But while the hope of a peaceable revolution is definitely excluded, it is still interesting to speculate about how great the violence is likely to become; and in order to get anything like a correct answer to that question we must first form an idea of the mental habits of the various human factors in the class struggle. I therefore propose to analyze, as well as I can, the environments and motives and mental habits of some of the more important classes or groups of people in our present day society.

The Plutocracy

The plutocracy—that small group of people who control the large industries—is a comparatively new class; it only dates back about one or two generations. There were rich people before, but their wealth was of a very different kind; their property had a definite geographical location; and they had some personal knowledge of the people from whose labor their profits were derived. The rich man of today has his money invested in stocks and bonds; he is part owner in a vast mass of wealth which extends over the whole earth; and there is no personal relation between the employer and the employe.

In the past, when the people were oppressed beyond the limits of their patience and endurance, the owner could be held personally accountable, and could sometimes be punished if his methods of exploitation were too raw; but when the oppressed people of today look for the responsible owner they find nothing but legal documents and a stack of account books. The plutocracy has a power over the life and happiness of the people which finds no parallel in history. And they are quite irresponsible; they can not be punished, no matter how they misuse their power. They can adjust the scales of justice to suit themselves, corrupt the whole machinery of government, organize and equip armies, build stockades and forts and bull-pens and jails and prisons, and dominate the church and press and public opinion. So long as this is true, it is as irrational to speak of the responsibility of great wealth as

it would be to speak of the responsibility of an earthquake or a cloudburst or a cyclone.

This irresponsibility has not been without its psychological effect on the plutocracy. They have come to regard themselves as superior beings; they waste the products of labor as they see fit, because they can afford to do so; they buy or discard a wife or a mistress at their pleasure, because they have the money to pay for such things, and because they are legally and morally immune. They have no god, because all gods are equally good to them; they have no country, because they own all the countries that are worth anything. Their moral code places their own pleasure above everything, and they think and plan and scheme only for the purpose of acquiring more wealth and greater power, so that they may have more pleasure and be more securely irresponsible.

To maintain their power in society is their only object in life, and for that object they will sacrifice everything except their own lives. The lives of other people, especially those of the propertyless class, have no value in their eyes, and will not be considered in the struggle for wealth and power. This is not because of any especial viciousness or brutality, but because of the great gulf between them and other people. They stand, as it were, on a mountain of wealth and power, and the common herd below, in the bottomless pit of poverty, seems very small indeed. We are not brutal or vicious when we carelessly crush some harmless insect under our foot.

The Middle Class

The people of the middle class are, in many respects, living in the past. For one thing, the material conditions of life have not been as radically changed for them as for the plutocracy or the proletariat. They find it more impossible to rise out of their class into the plutocracy, and the danger of being forced down into the proletariat or into the slums is ever more threatening, but the conditions for success within the middle class are much the same as they always were. Intelligence, energy, respectability, and a strictly cash valuation of their principles and moral concepts, are still winning cards in the struggle for middle class success.

Whatever we have left of ancient superstitions in our time, is kept alive by the middle class. They are religious because it is respectable, and because few of them possess that exact scientific knowledge which destroys religious beliefs. They are patriotic, because the middle class took an active part in deciding the national boundaries, and in constructing the governments, which we have today; and they naturally think that they still own these governments and countries. They regard the home as sacred, because they are about the only people who possess anything that can be

called a home. They are staunch defenders of orthodox sex morality, because it fits their own family relations. They respect the law—insofar as it serves to prevent them from destroying each other in the scramble for dollars, and insofar as it keeps the workers quiet and good and submissive and hungry and profitable.

Sometimes, when the economic pressure applied by the plutocracy becomes too great, the middle class begin to talk reform, or even revolution; then there is a spurt of literary heroics and bombastic oratory; the political mill begins to grind its gears; good men are nominated for office and supported with pens and tongues and votes and dollars until they are elected; then the great victory is proclaimed loudly and long. The plutocracy must defend itself, and its mode of action is simple, direct, noiseless, and infinitely more effective. A few columns of advertising for the editors, a few shares of stock for the good man in office, permanent jobs as corporation lawyers for a few judges, and everything is again as peaceful and serene as a puritan sabbath. But the middle class is still crowing over its glorious political victory.

If the middle class people wake up to the fact that their politician has become a hired man, or that their party is corrupt, it is only a signal for picking out another good man or constructing another party—which is very annoying to the plutocracy. It means more advertising, more donations, more shares of stock, more corporation lawyers, and more campaign funds.

It is very necessary to get workmen interested in this political tail-chasing; not only because it will swell the votes for the "good man" and the "right party," but also because all middle class people have inherited from their ancestors an ardent desire to help and protect and save the poor, horny-headed workmen. The universal program of co-operation between the middle class and the working class is about as follows: write a party platform demanding a number of reforms, some to catch the middle class vote, and some to catch the working class vote; these reforms are to be brought about slowly—reforms are not good unless they are slow—the slower, the better. And, the middle class reforms being most important, they naturally come first.

Skilled Labor

Skilled labor, as a class or group, is a twin brother of the middle class, they both came from the womb of the petty bourgeoisie of a hundred years ago; their experience, especially in later years, have been different, but the traditions and inherited tendencies are pretty much the same. Both are inclined to progress backwards, they want to turn back to the time when they were of greater importance in the world than they are now. The trade unions are quite anxious to help the middle class run

the political government, as is shown by persistent lobbying, and in addition they have a fair imitation of the political government to run the union business.

The irrefragable trading instinct breaks out in ironbound contracts, and the desire to own some kind of property finds a curious expression in jurisdiction disputes—longwinded legal battles within their organization—to decide who is the lawful owner of some particular job. The skilled mechanics overbearing attitude towards unskilled labor is partly hereditary, but is also in part due to the better wages and working conditions they enjoy, coupled with the orthodox bourgeois habit of valuing men according to their dollars and their clothes.

Aside from these reactionary mental habits, there is a hard and cold economic fact which will effectively prevent skilled labor from taking a leading part in the coming class struggle. They have something to lose. The high wages of skilled labor is in a large measure due to the fact that the employer needs a certain number of competent and contract bound employes, and the only way he can get them is through the conservative trade union. The employers will unite in the effort to crush a revolutionary union; they also unite their efforts to weaken a strong union of any kind; but a weak conservative union is pretty safe, because the employers need it in their business.

The New Middle Class

The new middle class—the hired bosses, managers, and superintendents, are entitled to a place in the middle class because they have a middle class income, and because they are usually recruited from the ranks of the middle class; but their economic position in society is different, and therein a corresponding difference in their attitude towards the plutocracy, as well as towards the proletariat.

The hired boss does not worship wealth in the same way as the old middle class; he worships power—the power that controls production—the power that can fire him, or give him a better job. The hired boss repudiates the two great virtues of the middle class, industry and economy; he lets other men do the work, and he makes no effort to save money, what he wants is a better job. He has no delusions about the high moral qualities of his employer, his knowledge of his employer's business is too intimate for that; he may be quite ready to give his employer credit for superior crookedness, but not for superior intelligence, because he is usually kept busy rectifying the blunders of the man higher up.

Hired bosses are servile to those who control production, but they expect to get paid for that servility, whereas the old middle class often perform the most degrading service for the mere honor of being used as a footman by those who have more money.

The fact that they are hired to instruct

others what to do, coupled with that egotism which is perhaps the most important qualification for the boss job, tend to give them an exaggerated idea of the part they play in modern production—makes them believe that the wage slaves can't move unless they are told to move. They are therefore always surprised and shocked when unskilled, unorganized workers go on strike; and they invariably attribute such a strike to the pernicious activity of some agitator. Their reasoning is profoundly simple: the workers moved—therefore someone must have told them to move.

The hired boss is placed in a contradictory position. He is hired to get the greatest possible returns for the money expended in the form of wages. Whether this is done through superior knowledge as to how the work ought to be done, or by soft-soaping the workers into harder work in order to please him, or by the more brutal methods of the bona fide slave driver, makes little difference; the thing that counts is the results—not the methods.

If the boss is successful in getting the work done cheaply—or rather, if he can make the employer think the work is being done cheaply—he may get better wages or promotion to a more desirable job; on the other hand, he is pretty sure to get fired if the employer thinks he fails to get the desired results.

This is the side of the boss job which is most obvious; there is another side which is no less important, but which is not so easily seen.

If the hired boss succeeds in speeding up the work or in reducing the wages, it will mean that every employe under him will have a grudge against him and will be ready to do all they can to get him fired; it will also mean that every worker under him will have an added reason to strive to get a better job, and there will therefore be that much more competition for the boss job; the position of the boss is thereby rendered more insecure, and the employer is quite likely to use this competition for boss jobs as a means of reducing the wages of the hired bosses. The hired boss is also subject to being fired in order to make room for some friend or relative or pet, either of the employer or of the hired bosses who are higher up, and he may be forced to work under the conditions which he has himself helped to make worse, and for wages which he has helped to reduce. Thus, if the hired boss succeeds in doing what he is paid to do, he is likely to kick himself for doing it afterwards.

These facts will not seriously affect the actions of hired bosses as long as the employer's power to control production is undisputed, because an unresisting working class does not command respect; nor can it guarantee the support which the hired boss will expect before he endangers his job by taking the workers' side.

(Continued in our Next Issue.)

Italian Tenant Farmers

(By Albin Braida, Palo Alto, Cal.)

It is very important that we know the result of years of experience the Italian farmers have had with the tenant farmers before we decide to accept the latter as members in the I. W. W. The information I received from Italy, from the headquarters of the L'Unione Sindacale Italiana, is quite interesting.

In Italy the tenant farmers have always been accepted as members of the Agricultural Workers' Union. Before the farm workers were organized these tenants were very poor, that is, they were squeezed down by the big landlords as much as were the workers. They were in the last strata of the property-owning class. Nothing could save them from becoming proletarians but the proletarians themselves. They were somewhat willing to fight the "higher-ups," standing side by side with the wage workers. Numerically they were weak at the beginning.

When the farmers began to fight the landlords with success, the tenants, also being members of the union, were the first to be considered. It was a natural thing to do, because if they, the tenants, had to pay higher wages to the workers, they must, first of all, get it from the landlords. It was nothing more than an agreement between the two—the tenants and their employes. When the conditions of the tenants were bettered through the efforts of the union, they immediately became conservative. Their motives were based upon their interests.

The strikes always harmed, to a certain extent, the tenants more than they did the landlords and if they, the tenants, had to bear the consequences, it was logical for them to get something more than the workers in order to pay up the damages of the strikes. The tenants did not care if there were strikes, so long as it was possible for them to take it out, little by little, from the wages of their employes. Such a thing did not act to the benefit of the workers. If they had to pay for the damages of the strikes, then it was better not to strike at all. Consequently the big landlords encouraged tenantry more than ever, because they were out of the strike pestilence by so doing. All the large farms were divided into small tenancies and the number of tenants increased, so the real enemies of the workers were, more and more, the tenants and not the big landlords. The two tendencies became clear to the union. The tenants were against the strike and the workers for it. The first had everything to lose and the latter everything to gain by striking.

The result of the discontent on the part of the wage workers reached its climax in 1908, when, aided by the syndicalists, all the Parma agricultural regions were thrown into a big strike. The fight was just as much against their "fellow worker tenants" as against the landlords. It was a fight put up by the slaves against the masters—big and small. Since then the workers' union became more revolutionary in tendencies and in action. In those regions

now the workers care no more for the tenants than for the landlords or any other capitalists.

After the strike of 1908 the tenants gradually disappeared from the union. They could not stand a fighting organization. Strikes are not for them. This happened only when the syndicalists got in control and forced the issue on class lines with direct action. It is not the same throughout all Italy, as the Confederation of Labor controls the major part of the agricultural workers' union. The wages of the workers in those districts where the class struggle is fought with direct action against all masters, large and small, are higher than the wages of the workers elsewhere.

There are two organizations in Italy. One is called L'Unione Sindacale Italiana (Italian Syndicalist Union), just recently organized along the lines of the I. W. W., and La Confederazione del Lavoro (Confederation of Labor), which is nothing more than a voting machine for the Socialist party, and the question of tenants is up again.

The Confederation of Labor cares more for the Socialist deputies than for the condition and welfare of its rank and file. The general election is approaching and the Socialist party needs votes in order to secure a few fat jobs for the "comrade" representatives in Rome. They, too, are good Socialists. So the tenants are mostly respectable citizens, full of contempt for the syndicalists. From this political condition the Confederation of Labor gets the advantage of organizing all the tenants in order to use them as voting machines at the general election. But the real object of the tenants is not to vote, but to form a strong organization in order to fight as a unit against the militant organization, L'Unione Sindacale Italiana.

Wherever the farm workers are organized by the syndicalists the Confederation of Labor is now organizing the tenants in order to protect their interests from the "damnable direct actionists." This goes to show that the Confederation of Labor is not a proletarian organization, but is something like the Merchants' Protective League, or the "M. & M. Ass." At least it shows to be such on the land question. The tenants also expect to squeeze out the active workers by employing only those who stand for class representation and not for the class struggle.

No doubt, the syndicalists will win in the fight as they are for the rank and file; and the actions of the Confederation will probably serve as a means of severing every connection of the tenants with the agricultural workers.

To try to conserve the interests of the tenants is only to endeavor to push history backwards. I am convinced that history does not go back, but always ahead. The tenants are made of the same stuff as the landlords. The moment we try to lift them up, we waste our own time. If it were possible to redeem the middle class, then the proletariat, as a class, would be on its way to the grave. If the middle class had a chance to win as a predominant factor in society, then all the progress that has been made toward industrial freedom,

as it is conceived by the industrialists and syndicalists, would be destroyed.

The present class struggle is labor versus capital, and the elements on each side must line up accordingly.

Is Opportunism Honest?

(By Justus Ebert, Brooklyn, N. Y.)

The opposition of the opportunist element in the Socialist Party to the I. W. W. is of such a character as to raise the question of honesty. Such opposition is manifestly dictated by policy, without regard for facts. It is in the main an adaptation of capitalist argument and methods against Socialism, to the settlement of working class issues on both the economic and political fields.

The capitalist objection that "Socialism has been tried in Sparta and Peru, where it failed" has an exact counterpart in "Bobby" Hunter's objection to the I. W. W. as having "been tried in Owen's time and failed." That Socialism is "immoral" is re-echoed in Spargo's "Sabotage is immoral." Socialism is also "anarchistic"; and so is the I. W. W. The parallel in argument holds good in every instance that may be cited. The opportunist politician sacrifices the truth as ready as does the capitalist politician.

In regard to methods also, the opportunist is no less fastidious than is the capitalist. They are birds of a feather and flock together. As witness the unjust, ex-parte method by which Haywood was recalled, and how that recall has met with approval of both opportunist and capitalist.

But a better comparison is afforded by the methods of the press of both capitalists and opportunist. In the capitalist press it is the custom to claim all reforms, due to working class pressure, as capitalist reforms. In the press of the opportunists we see the achievements of the I. W. W. appropriated by that element as its own, although the I. W. W. has had to fight it for eight years and is enabled to get assistance from it only through the pressure of economic tendencies, which force the opportunist to aid in all large strikes or stand condemned and deserted by all the workers.

To cite an instance: The New York Call, an opportunist Socialist daily newspaper, claims that "the Socialist Party directed and financed the Lawrence strike." It ignores the fact that on the very eve of that strike, in a debate with Haywood at Cooper Union, Hillquit, the demagogic and Socialist Party boss, tried to give the I. W. W. its quietus. The Call joyously referred to that occasion by saying "it was not a debate, it was a slaughter." But when the I. W. W. went into Lawrence and organized the strikers, industrially and democratically, so that they won, the Call saw a great big light. It saw that it was doomed to "slaughter" if it did not fall into line and help win the strike. And, since it was compelled to do that, it now claims that the Socialist Party won the strike! The first thing we know it will claim that it was Hillquit and Spargo, and not Eitor and Giovan-

nitti, who made the revolutionary speeches in the Salem Court House!

That is not as unlikely as it seems, for only recently the Call perpetrated a criticism directly leading to the question, "is opportunism honest?" In criticizing Wm. English Walling for condemning Debs' industrialism, in favor of the I. W. W., the Call declared it saw no difference between I. W. W. and A. F. of L. strikes; and it cited, among others, the men's garment strike in New York as evidence to show that A. F. of L. strikes are precisely like I. W. W. strikes.

The Call knew, at the time it made that statement, what every Socialist and many tens of thousands of non-Socialists in New York knew, to-wit, that so different was that strike from an I. W. W. strike that the strikers engaged therein had to do considerable damage to the officers of Vorwärts, a Jewish opportunist Socialist daily, in order to make it like an I. W. W. strike! To explain:

I have before me "The New Review," a weekly review of International Socialism, published in New York City by Socialist Party members opposed to opportunism. In its April 5 issue appears an article entitled, "The Garment Workers' Strike," by Isaac A. Hourwich. In it we read, "Ostensibly the strike was conducted under the flag of the United Garment Workers. In reality, however, hardly ten per cent of the strikers had been affiliated with that organization. The tens of thousands of workers who obeyed the call to strike and stayed out to the last were unorganized. It was the obvious duty of those who assumed the leadership of the strike to organize the unorganized masses of the strikers. That was not done. Various strike committees were created from time to time, but they had a purely nominal existence; they were seldom, if ever, consulted on any subject, and the management of the strike was assumed by President Rickert, who was especially imported from Chicago, and a few national officers."

Hourwich then proceeds to show that Rickert ruled the strike autocratically, even to the extent of endeavoring to impose a settlement on the strikers, with the combined aid of Mayor Gaynor, who ordered pickets clubbed and arrested on Rickert's representations; and Vorwärts, the Jewish Socialist daily, whose president was one of Rickert's "organizers," and therefore "stood in" with his autocratic plan to help the manufacturers win. Hence the attack on Vorwärts.

Now compare the manner of conducting the Garment Workers' strike with that of the Lawrence textile strike. In Lawrence the I. W. W. practically withdrew in favor of the organization of all the strikers. It did not assume supremacy; nor did it exclude any element engaged in the strike. It fused them all through a strikers' committee, regardless of craft, skill, race or previous affiliation or non-affiliation. It permitted all the elements involved, and thus organized, to conduct their own affairs and settle the strike through their own members in their own way. The I. W. W. strike was,

contrary to the Garment Workers' strike, a democratic strike, by, for, and of all the strikers; not an autocratic strike by labor fakery for employers and favored crafts. Hourwich recognizes the difference, as he cites the Lawrence strike by way of contrast more than once. But, then, unlike the Call, he has some regard for the facts, especially their essence, regardless of superficial forms.

We cannot expect such discernment or honesty from opportunism. Opportunism is not actuated by the Marxian desire for truth and working class emancipation. It is intent on the triumph of a fixed policy, regardless of its denunciations of "any attempts to forecast the future society," or "prepare for it," as utopian.

YOU'LL HAVE TO HURRY

The Los Angeles Times, better known as (The Crimes) is day after day shouting that there is a scarcity of wage-earners in the city of the angels. (Fallen Angels.) In its Sunday issue of April 13th it had the following vacant jobs advertised. Carpenters 2, Carpenters helpers 2, Painters and paperhangers 2, cement finisher 1. So come on right this way you slaves, for in a city that claims a population of 450,000 inhabitants, and thousands of tourists arriving daily, these jobs (?) will go a begging.

One only has to take a walk down to the city market, and what a sight one will see. Men, women, and children eating out of the garbage-cans, in the land of sunshine and flowers. With their real estate sharks and chambers of commerce they have made this city, a city of paupers. The I. W. W. is on the job here and it is only a matter of time when we will change these conditions, and make scabby Los Angeles a One Big Union town.—Wm. R. Sautter.

TWO INTERESTING CLIPPINGS

Chicago, March 21.—Den Miller ate three sirloin steaks, half a peck of vegetables and an apple pie, refused to pay, and was perfectly contented when taken to jail. "My stomach is good for three days, like a camel's," he said.

North Platte, Neb., March 21.—A man, probably 70 years old, was found dead in a snow drift in the Union Pacific yards yesterday. He was brought to town and recognized as a man who registered at the Y. M. C. A. rooming house as John Hammond. He was scantily clad. In his pocket was found a note book with an identification slip filled out in the following manner:

My name is "Guess who."
My home is "Nowhere."
In case of death or serious accident notify "The floating population."

"Whatever the State saith is a lie; whatever it hath is a theft; all is counterfeit in it, the gnawing, sanguinary, insatiable monster. It bites even with stolen teeth. Its very bowels are counterfeit!"—Nietzsche.

Wages and Prices

(By Robert Brander, Cedar Grove, N. J.)
 Labor is the creator of all wealth. Without labor being applied to the natural resources, there would be no commodities produced. It has not been many years since the production of commodities was done by hand labor. Gradually machinery was introduced which rapidly did away with hand labor, until today there is hardly an industry which has not some sort of machinery to do the work once done by hand.
 Now, the value of a commodity is determined by the social labor power embodied or worked up in the commodity. If in a suit of clothes there are 4 hours of social labor involved and the same amount of social labor is embodied in a table, the table and the suit of clothes would be equal in value, because they both contain equal amounts of social labor. As labor is the measure of value, the more modern and larger the machinery used in the production, the less labor power it will take to produce a commodity and, consequently, the lower will be its value.

(The foregoing are a few preliminary remarks to the subject of "The cause of high money prices for commodities," which we are all reading about in the papers, and which the various politicians promise to remedy, if elected, but when elected to office they quickly forget.)

In America and the modern countries of Europe gold is the standard backing of the medium of exchange. Now, gold is a commodity, just like a chair, a table, a suit of clothes, piano or anything one can name. The same economic law, that of modern machine production depreciating the value of commodities, holds good with the commodity gold.

Ten years ago one could buy with one dollar nearly twice as much as can be bought today. Why is this? Gold has depreciated in value. Its value has decreased 50 per cent in the last ten or fifteen years. The reason of the decrease is: Gold can be produced much more cheaply today than it could be produced ten years ago. Large machinery and the cyanide process figure largely in the production of gold these days.

There is no greater factor than the modern means of production, and consequently the depreciation of the value of gold, in the cause of "The high cost of living."

Different political parties lay it to the tariff. Whether the tariff is high or low makes no difference. It has been proven that all countries which have gold as a standard of currency, are affected with the rising market prices, just as we, in the United States of America.

England has free trade; Germany is highly protected; France and America have a light tariff and, yet, all these countries join in chorus against the rising prices of commodities. Even Japan and minor European countries, where the tariff is differently arranged, they are troubled in the same way. So it should be apparent to all that it is not the tariff which is the cause of the rising prices of necessities.

As the working class is in the majority and it is the working class which feels the effects of "the high cost of living," relief to them must be made. And how is it to be made? The answer is simple. By raising their wages! It is true that the workers get more in dollars and cents today than they did ten years ago, but their wages have not increased as fast as the purchasing power of their wages has decreased.

Under these conditions the working class ought to combine and struggle for more wages, or, what amounts to the same, more of the wealth they create. But the working class should always bear in mind that gold will continue to decrease in value, owing to the more modern machinery used in the mines and in the smelting of the ore. They should perfect their organizations and demand more wages all the time and finally the abolition of the wages system, all the time striving to establish the co-operative commonwealth wherein the workers get the full product of their toil.

Do Raised Wages Mean Raised Prices?
 It has been asserted by many people, capitalists and political socialists alike, that consequent upon a general rise in the rate of wages the capitalists would combine and raise the prices of commodities. They also say, what is the use of working men combining together and striking for more wages, for if they should win the strike, the capitalists who are affected by the strike would raise the prices of the commodity they are engaged in manufacturing.

In the first place, there has never been a general rise in the rate of wages. Such a time can come only when the workers are so thoroughly organized as to demand a general raise in wages, and with the realization of such power they would not be content with anything less than the full product of their toil.

What wages the workers get now, as low as they are, they had to fight for. The capitalists would lower wages to such a dead level as to reduce the working class to the worst state of penonage, if the workers did not resist and combine in trade unions. The only trouble with trade unions today is, their tactics and form of organization are not modern.

There are about 2,000,000 wage workers in the American Federation of Labor. They represent mostly the skilled workers of this country. Their wages on the average are much higher than the wages of the workers who are not protected by the A. F. of L., both skilled and unskilled. Can any one prove that because a union man gets more wages, prices of commodities are higher on that account. If that were true, it would be an injustice for a working man to accept a rise of wages from his boss. He should be true to his class and refuse the rise in wages and, whenever possible, reduce them and thus reduce the cost of living.

But the instinct of the working man is right. He knows that he can buy more with \$3.00 than he can with \$2.00. If the capitalist has such power to raise the prices of commodities at the time when his workers go on strike, why does he not give the raise asked for and add same to the price of the product after the strike

is over, instead of combating the strikers and using every means to beat the workers back to work?

No corporation has a complete monopoly on the world's market. The greatest trust in the country, The United States Steel Trust, does not control the world's steel market completely. In the recent investigation of the Steel Trust, by the "Stanley Investigating Committee," Louis Brandeis, noted Boston lawyer, proved that Germany and England export more steel and control more of the world's steel market than does the United States Steel Trust. If the employees of the Steel Trust would organize and demand an increase of wages, and if they should win their demands (the Steel Trust would not raise the price of steel because of the powerful competition of the steel trusts of Germany, England and other foreign countries, who would unload their vast surplus product wherever it is needed and be glad to do so.

The Lumber Situation

(By John Pancker, Bellingham, Wash.)
 The International Union of Shingle Weavers, Saw Mill Workers and Woodsmen, A. F. of L., is making a big noise and that's about all. They are trying to steal the I. W. W. thunder. If their organizer meets a radical worker, he is in favor of everything the I. W. W. favors; if he meets a conservative, he is anti-I. W. W., anti-Socialist, or anything that can get the almighty dollar. In Grays Harbor they bank in the smiles of the Lumber Barons and the police. In their papers they shout, "one industry, one union," not like the I. W. W. all industrial unions in One Big Union. Oh no! They still hang on to the Federation with its one hundred and twenty-one craft and fake semi-industrial unions.

Read some more of their papers and you will find that they are anti-Jap and not industrial. They also have articles by Bobby Hunter, against the general strike, direct action and sabotage.

They are a part of the Washington State Federation of Labor, which has committees at Olympia pleading the Democratic, Republican and Bull Moose politicians for labor laws, and then they use the Socialist party and its press to further the interests of this conservative union. Watch the Oregon Ballot, printed in Astoria, and the Finnish Socialist papers; read the Journal Independent of Bellingham, Wash., and you will see the weekly lies, calling the I. W. W. scabs, grafters and disrupters. Great argument against the I. W. W., isn't it? No longer or saw mill worker reads the A. F. of L. Journal at Bellingham, so their appeals to prejudice are in vain.

How many times is the A. F. of L. going to attempt to organize the loggers and saw mill workers, spending the lumber workers' hard earned money for \$6.00 per day organizers and renting big halls where the loggers never go?

How about the many Federal Labor Unions the A. F. of L. has organized, collected dues, and then, in spite of their Central Labor Councils and their great American Federation of Labor with its big treasuries, allowed them to go under?

The International Brotherhood of Woodmen and Saw Mill Workers is no more in Eureka, Cal., and Missoula, Mont., but the blood-red banner of the I. W. W. still waves there. None of these A. F. of L. organizations attempted to educate the lumber workers; none of them issued any literature, with the exception of their printed constitution. All the A. F. of L. officers ever attempted to teach the rank and file, was to crawl on their knees to the boss.

How are we going to bore from within in this barrel of swill? We are not maggots!

The position of the I. W. W. is correct. We want to build up a clean and powerful industrial organization, an organization free from the rotten diseases of the conservative A. F. of L. We are not only trying to organize the lumber industry, but the workers in all industries. When the I. W. W. lumber workers go out on strike, the I. W. W. railroad men, seamen and longshoremen would go out if need be. The I. W. W. carpenters would refuse to use scab shingles as is often done by the "strong" A. F. of L. Carpenters' Union.

What has the I. W. W. ever done? shout the conservatives. The I. W. W. got the nine hour day in Montana; the eight hour day for the cooks and waiters in Butte, Mont.; in Goldfield and other Nevada towns we got \$8.00 per eight hours for the bakers, \$3.00 and board, eight hours, for dishwashers and \$4.00 per eight hours for common labor.

Who won the big strikes in Lawrence, Mass., and McKees Rocks, Pa.? The I. W. W.

Who suffered in Grays Harbor and helped the mill workers to gain a two bit raise? The I. W. W.

Join with us, workers of the lumber industry, into the One Big Union for shorter hours, more wages better conditions, and, finally, all the industries for all the workers, with social and industrial freedom for the whole human race. Arouse, you militants of the mixed locals! If there is a lumber mill or camp near your town, then organize into the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, I. W. W. Write to Frank R. Schels, 211 Occidental Ave., rear, Seattle, Wash., for information.

DOESN'T ANSWER HIS OWN QUESTIONS

The editor of the Seattle Union Record asks the following questions but does not answer them: "If we can secure the ballot by direct action, what is the real necessity for the use of the ballot at all? Why not secure the conditions which we demand by the same simple method? Why exert ourselves to such an extent to get something which will tend to make it harder for us to get what we want?"

Echo answers: "Why?"

"Wait not to be backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from the crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of truth, the more distinct and strong must be your own."—Channing.

Persistence, System and Revolutionary Energy

(By H. Baar, El Centro, Cal.)
 The I. W. W. in the West lacks three fundamental qualities—Persistence, System and Revolutionary Energy. The lack of these qualities is caused by the floating character of the western membership. While his environment makes the floater the most revolutionary element in society so far as his mental status is concerned, his crude methods of fighting the boss by leaving a bum job, blowing his scanty earnings for cheap grub, cheap amusements and rotten booze, and then hiking out on the bum in quest of another job as bad or worse than the one he left, living by his wits meanwhile, make a sorry showing so far as actual economic fighting power is concerned. As a result, we find the "hobo on the average a shiftless, unreliable character, where persistence, system and revolutionary energy are required. As a consequence of his lack of these qualities, he encounters among his many enemies his pet aversion, the "Scissorsbill. He repays the slurs of this gentry of the borrowed brains upon his hobo character, with deep cutting sarcasm and withering satire. Net result: Hostility between two classes of workers who should be united, for their common struggle against their mutual enemy.

Now sarcasm and ridicule are very powerful, but it requires powerful characters, backed by a sufficient number of persistent, systematic fighters to wield them effectively, and they should be sparingly used. Constant indiscriminate use cheapens them and even under otherwise favorable conditions runs them into the ground. And, where such use is not backed by character, it reacts back on the users, exposing them to the counter-shafts of the enemy. The development of our fundamental shortcomings is much the shorter and effective method of bringing the scissorsbill to his own senses. Let us therefore investigate the value of persistence, system and revolutionary energy.

Persistence is a great character builder. Study the greatest characters of history in all fields of thought and action; strip them of their glamour and you will find the basic principles of their greatness to have been persistence of effort, tenacity of purpose and concentration of all their faculties upon the one main purpose. Persistence of force is the first principle of the universe, the "first uncaused cause," the "supreme power." Even though nothing else is accomplished by persistence, character is bound to result, and character is the main thing, whether the object be highway robbery, statecraft, priestcraft, or, as in our case, industrial freedom. The character of the individuals must harmonize with the character of the objects they seek to accomplish. The thug must be able to keep his mind unhampered by humanitarian scruples. This he cannot do except he have a thoroughly bad character. We, on the other hand, must develop splendid characters to harmonize with our splendid ideals if we wish to realize them. It is only on this basis that we can hope to inspire others with our ideals and induce them to join with us and battle for their realization.

Another value of persistence is thorough experience. Nothing can be learned by any experiment unless it is thoroughly tried out. Persistent effort to accomplish a certain object, thoroughly tries out one method after another, and at each step the number of probable methods decreases, the field becomes narrowed, the powers develop and the object is accomplished. The individual, in addition to achieving his purpose, has increased his abilities and is henceforth able to effect similar objects with comparative ease and assurance.

Another value of persistence is that subsequent experience yields knowledge more readily by means of the light of previous experience and this knowledge is more thoroughly assimilated. Thus the accumulation of facts through persistent action and continuity of experience revolutionizes and energizes our growing stock of knowledge.

Out of the accumulation of facts and development of functions system evolves. It is the function of system to classify facts and functions, establish the proper relations between the classes of each category, and coordinate and intensify their operations in the working out of the purpose for which they were developed. But the greatest value of system is that it eliminates efforts which were previously required to effect a given purpose and develops surplus energy. A stupendous proof of this is the development of the capitalist system of production from the handicrafts to the Taylor system, resulting in surplus labor of over four-fifths of the total labor performed in society. In developing our powers, in acquiring knowledge, and in accomplishing results, be the process ever so slow at first, tenacity of purpose and persistence of action will just as inevitably develop our system and our system will just as inexorably develop our surplus energy, as the development of modern industry developed the present colossal mass of surplus labor. We see that the revolutionizing principle of capitalist production is surplus labor. So of our energy. Our surplus energy is revolutionary energy.

It has been our experience as an organization that where a sufficient amount of enthusiasm is aroused (and it usually doesn't require much effort to arouse it), great organization activity takes place—for a while. A boom, we call it. But the boom is followed by a depression as low as the enthusiasm was high, and the result is sore so far as progress in that locality is concerned, the only good resulting being that perhaps a few new members who came in on the wave develop into good material. That kind of enthusiasm is merely intoxication and should

*Hobo is a much misunderstood word. It should not be confused with tramp or vagrant. It means a casual, migratory worker, either unskilled or a jack-of-all-trades. One who works at reasonable occupations of an construction projects.
 *Scissorsbill is a localized slang term. In this article it refers to the "home-guard" worker who is filled with bourgeois ideas and ethics. It ordinarily describes a worker who has some source of income other than wages—a patch of land or money from parents—and is thus enabled to work for less than the "wages" or to refuse to make common cause with the genuine proletarian.

be avoided as we do a pest. It is here that special vigilance should be exercised to the end that the enthusiasm be profitably spent, or curbed within normal limits so that the chain of action is not broken but develops continuously.

This vigilant quality should in fact accompany action at all times to insure its continuity. The early stages of persistence require the concentration by each individual of all his faculties upon the tasks he assigns himself day after day, week after week, month after month. This constant concentration is bound in time to react favorably upon the individual by developing in him the desire to continue. What at first required the constant exercise of will power, now becomes a habit. He develops system, i. e., he organizes his faculties and his work, thereby developing surplus energy, and becomes a wide awake revolutionist. This consciousness of power crowds out his hatred for the scissorsbill, thereby dissipating the diffidence of the latter and encouraging his growing desire to join hands with the former, by reason of the attraction which this growing power exerts.

From persistence of action and tenacity of purpose will result more energetic efforts to stay in a given community, as it will be found that persistent action directed toward the accomplishment of a definite purpose is productive of far greater results if confined permanently to a certain district. Not all of the floating around now in vogue is necessary by any means. When a number of active revolutionists confine themselves to one locality the year around, permanent results are effected and there is no limit to their magnitude as there is no limit to what few may accomplish through systematic and persistent effort.

The working class will never acquire industrial freedom until they learn what freedom means and fully appreciate its value. Only then will they be able to put forth efforts to achieve it, corresponding in quality and force to the splendor of their ideals. The working class as a mass is not capable of rising to these great heights, and from the nature of the problem never will be. The mass is absolutely incapable of sustained effort, their minds not being adapted for retaining high ideals for a sufficient length of time to realize them through proper efforts. Thus it is that the workers as a whole are in the hands of their masters. But it is precisely sustained action of high quality and revolutionary force that is necessary for the attainment of our goal.

Since it is only a comparatively few individuals out of the total mass, that at any given time can grasp and retain these high ideals, it rests upon these to take the lead and through persistent, systematic action and education gradually stimulate the sluggish mass to proper action. The mass can only be educated by layers. The thinnest layer at the top is the militant minority comprising the most advanced section of the workers, the leaders, if you like. The next, and thicker layer, is a larger minority closely following the first. The stratification continues, the layers gaining in thickness until the bottom layer is reached, which exceeds in thickness all the upper layers combined. The top layer influences the bottom layer by influencing the intermediate layers, the influence being greatest upon the layer adjacent, and diminishing in force as it percolates down. As the struggle goes on and experience is gained, and power developed, the members of each layer invade the next higher layer. The upper layers become thicker as the lower layers become thinner. The communication between the upper and lower layers becomes more rapid and the influence more powerful. The thick bottom layer stratifies as the upper layers merge, and the working class becomes organized through and through, thus settling wage slavery forever.

The above process is possible only on the basis of persistent, systematic revolutionary action. Otherwise the thin top layer could be skinned off by the ever watchful masters with their hired brains; the next layer could be demoralized, and thus the whole working class driven back to their wallow. But on the basis of persistent, systematic revolutionary action, permeating the layers from the top down, this could not be done; the cohesion between the layers being so powerful, thanks to the growing class consciousness of the workers through the medium of sustained action, that the top layer could not be lifted without lifting the entire mass. And our masters, with all their mercenaries, are not such Samsons as to be capable of this titanic feat.

Judging from the carnival of cold blooded, calculated, murderous violence now directed against us by the capitalists' hirelings from all sides, it is evident that they are trying their dirtiest to aggravate us to resort to desperate measures, so they can magnify them into a plausible pretext for skinning the top layer by means of jails, electric chairs and telegraph poles, and disintegrating the next one with steel and lead, so they can stampede the workers back to the shambles. It behooves us to be alertly on our guard against these designs of the enemy, by keeping our heads cool and our minds clear, as these manifestations are but the birth pangs ushering in the new society; evidence showing that our masters have reached the zenith of their power, which is now rapidly on the wane, thanks to our terrific onslaughts. It is such trials as the present ones that thoroughly test our characters, and we shall find, when we shall have passed the crisis, that we shall have accomplished more for our cause during that period than we could have accomplished during a much longer period of time under normal conditions. And, if we promptly avail ourselves to the fullest extent of the enormous prestige which the successful weathering of such a crisis must inevitably yield, by following it up with thorough constructive work, and forging on and on, a recurrence of similar crises will be forever impossible.

The present reign of capitalist violence requires passive resistance on our part to checkmate it. Not that we are to keep on forever offering the other cheek; no, but to gain time for the mass of workers to form a correct judgment

of the merits of the great struggle; to find out where we stand, and what their stand is in the matter. If, after this stage is reached, the capitalists and their willing tools still persist with their violence, there is nothing left to do but meet them and the issue will not be in doubt.

Pending the arrival of that stage, our trump play is to exert all our energies toward spreading our propaganda, developing our press and expanding its circulation. Many valuable lives broken heads and mangled bodies will be saved if we have the good sense to act upon this matter ere it is too late. Persistence, system and revolutionary energy will carry us through. Faces to the enemy. On, and on, and on!

It Will Pay to Play Fair

"The Labor News, Eureka, Cal., says of the new lumber workers organization of the A. F. of L.: 'It is in line with the efforts made here eight years ago when the International Brotherhood of Woodmen and Sawmill Workers was launched in Humboldt county.' This does not speak well for the proposed union, for the old Brotherhood was one of the rawest fakes ever engineered by the lumber barons, through the medium of their organization, the American Federation of Labor."—Industrial Worker, Spokane, Wash.

Now, Bro. Smith do you think that statement is fair? Do you really believe the great American Federation of Labor or any of its permanent officers would permit that organization to be used as the tool of the trusts and big corporations for one instance? Can you point to one single case in the history of the organization that will bear out your statement?

No doubt many of the present methods of the A. F. of L. may seem antiquated and out-of-date to you, as they do to many who are affiliated with that body through their international unions, but don't lose sight of the fact that the American Federation of Labor, during its thirty years of existence as the central body of the great American labor movement, has accomplished more for the general uplift of humanity and the benefit of the toiling masses who have sought refuge within its fold than any other agency in the world.

When you attack an organization of that kind and attribute its mistakes or failures to preconcerted treachery, whatever YOU may have to offer to the wage earners in the way of new theories or methods fails of the results which might be accomplished if you dispensed with invectives and incriminations and used the smooth and convincing argument some of your writings show you capable of.

Especially is this true with the man who for many years has reaped the benefits of organization under the A. F. of L.

You can appeal to the better judgment of a man through reason, but only by his prejudice and passion by calling him names.—Tri-City Labor Review, Oakland, Cal.

Yes, Brother Clark, I think the statement is fair, because the statement is true. It is one of the things that no one denies in the Northwest. These are the facts:

The I. W. W. was well organized in Western Montana in 1907. The lumberjacks won a strike for a nine hour day and an increase in pay. The A. F. of L. did not have a man organized in a single lumber camp in the entire state. While the strike was on Alex Fairgrieve, president of the Montana State Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) offered to supply scabs, but as the logs were getting away by the millions he couldn't make good fast enough to suit the masters. They were forced to settle with the I. W. W.

The following spring the Big Blackfoot Lumber Company took hold of the International Brotherhood of Woodmen and Sawmill Workers of the A. F. of L. and sent its superintendent out with the organizer and a bodyguard of gun men. This aggregation went from camp to camp forcing men to join or roll their blankets. At Seely Lake the superintendent ordered the men to join and 400 of them rolled their blankets rather than enter a scab organization at the employer's demand.

In the present instance some of our organizers have been offered police protection if they would agree to organize for the A. F. of L. in Gray's Harbor district. We are certainly justified in being suspicious.

Nor are the lumber workers the only ones to suffer from such scabbery. The cigarmakers of Tampa had a similar siege. A. F. of L. officials swung police clubs against the "Resistance" of Tampa, Fla. At Tonopah and Goldfield, Nev., the A. F. of L. signed a contract for a 12-hour day for cooks and waiters when the I. W. W. had won an 8-hour day. Grant Hamilton is the scabby international official who was responsible for this treachery. He is still holding office, I believe. John Golden is still a permanent officer in the A. F. of L., although he is known to have tendered his services to the textile barons in the Lawrence strike. James Lynch is still president of the International Typographical Union although undisputed proof has been offered that he is a member of a secret organization known as the "Wabnetas" which control the I. T. U., and is also an able assistant to the Publishers' Association.

With all due respect to the rank and file and also to a considerable body of minor officials who are doing their level best under adverse circumstances I must still maintain that the A. F. of L. is essentially an organization which serves to perpetuate a corrupt and illogical system of production and exchange.

The Tri-City Labor Review stands out from most of the A. F. of L. papers in its stand in the Electrical Workers controversy that is agitating craft unionism on the Pacific Coast and also in its handling of the matter of the Pressmen's controversy. So it is to be hoped that the paper will not blind itself to the fact that the A. F. of L. is being used in a great number of places as a tool to keep labor from forming a more radical line up against its enemy, the employing class.

Government by Commission

(By Walker C. Smith)

So intensely partisan have the most of us become that we refuse to recognize good in any save the faction to which we belong. All admit, however, the good each of the other groups has done "in its early days."

This attitude is carried into our views on capitalism and while all are agreed that the wage system "in the past" has brought forth many things of value to the next social order, there are but few who will admit that it is still capable of bringing about other changes of a like nature.

For this reason we find great condemnation of two new principles in capitalist society—the commission form of government and scientific management of industry. The writer is convinced that both are of value to the wage workers when the fact that we are building a new society within the shell of the old is taken into consideration. They are as yet the vague outlines of future social forms and actions.

Commission government and scientific management are closely allied but in this article we will deal only with the former, leaving the latter to be treated in a future issue.

To the propertyless workers it makes but small difference, so far as immediate interests are concerned, what may be the form of government in that portion of the globe in which they are forced to eke out an existence. They are robbed, not by monarchies, limited monarchies, democracies or republics, but by the employing class. They are robbed, not through government but by reason of the fact that another class owns the tools and raw materials to which they must have access in order to produce those things necessary for life. The things of immediate importance are the demand and supply of labor, the standard of living and the strength of labor organizations, and with these things government has practically nothing to do.

The form of government then, and the closeness with which the apparent form is followed, are matters of vital importance only when the goal toward which labor is tending is taken into consideration. To those who look toward a time when society will be managed through the industries by the producers, the fluctuations of government are but as straws to show which way the wind is blowing.

With our goal in mind we can examine the government of the United States and note, with not a little pleasure, that it is diverging widely from its supposed political character. Our pleasurable springs from the fact that the tendency is away from the political or territorial form and toward industrial management. This is, we believe, a foretaste of a kind of management necessary to an order of society where production is for use instead of for profit.

We see today, seated at Washington, D. C., senators and representatives claiming to represent the needs of certain artificial and arbitrarily set sections of the country, such as states and congressional districts. This, upon its face, means a political government, but examination shows a divergency from the political form and throws light upon the fact that these individuals are, in reality, acting in the interests of some industrial or financial group. This tendency is becoming more marked each day.

The majority of the senators and representatives are merely the mouthpieces of the industrial lords, but in some cases, as that of Guggenheim of the Smelter trust, the actual owners and controllers act without intermediaries. Guggenheim represents the smelting interests wherever they extend, irrespective of state or even national boundary lines. The persons are rare who will claim that Guggenheim represents the State of Colorado, with all its varied industries and its diametrically opposed interests of tollers and takers. Incidentally it might be remarked that Guggenheim is in the senate because he owns the smelters and not vice versa.

The different senators and representatives could be taken separately and the affiliations of each proven, from the railroad senator from California to the lumber senator from Washington, but these facts are so well known that such minute proof is unnecessary.

In the state legislatures we find practically the same thing has happened, with the exception that some of the smaller interests have

representation. The basis is industrial just the same.

Coming down to the cities we find a practically planless and haphazard method of transacting the civic work, a certain amount of which is necessary under any form of society. The best results are not obtained by reason of the fact that councilmen are elected from a geographical or territorial division (either through popularity or purchase). By this method there is no way of securing efficient persons to operate the various city departments. Furthermore the responsibility does not fall upon the shoulders of any individual but upon the group, and each seeks to shift the blame for any shortcomings. This wasteful and inefficient method cannot withstand the test that the huge corporations and combinations are applying to all their lines of business, consequently the old system must go. Hence the demand for the commission form of government.

As in every change of the past we find certain sections of the community whose immediate interests are in line with those of the greater capitalist group of which they are not members. The small business man as well as a large portion of the skilled workers have taken up the cry. Commission government is extending into many cities and there are proposals for State and National government by the same process.

The commission form of government is in direct line with scientific management of industry and while both appear as against the immediate interests of the workers they have great possibilities when viewed with the idea of a transformed society.

The commission form in brief means that a city is divided into six or seven economic departments, each under the direction of a commissioner selected by the enfranchised persons in that city, as a whole, and not by precincts and wards as heretofore. Each commissioner is a business manager of his particular department and is expected to run it along the same lines upon which a private business is conducted—that of obtaining the best results with the least expenditure.

Just as the workers in one department of an industry are pitted against another department as to their industrial efficiency, so are these commissioners placed in competition, and there is no chance to shift the blame of one department upon another. The saving of taxes concerns the propertyless tollers not at all as the wage workers as a class pay no taxes, but are robbed at the point of production. The closeness with which the commission form follows out the idea of an industrially managed society is the point of interest.

Now a state, a legislative district, or even a nation, is a created thing, but an industry or a city is a growth, and while, under an industrial republic, if we may term it that, these artificial boundaries will disappear, there must of necessity always remain industries and cities. The management of civic affairs, according to our outlined form of industrial organization as seen in Trautmann's chart of the "One Big Union," is to take place through managers selected from the industries that comprise the entire life of the city.

The main difference springs from the fact that industry will be managed instead of people being governed. And that difference is a very vital thing. The commission form of government might be said to be one of the bridges that connect two opposing economic systems.

America being the nation with the most modern machinery, the keenest business men, and the most ruthless industrial lords, it is quite natural that these manifestations of a new social order make their advent in this country prior to their appearance in Europe.

The commission form of government is not a problem with which the proletariat have to deal: it does not at this time affect their lives. It is an employing class problem, arising through industrial necessity and it shows that capitalism has yet some developments to make in preparation for its downfall.

The commission form of government is as a novel string connecting offspring with parent. It heralds the disappearance of the political state and the approach of an economic system in which social management of industry by producers in each department will replace representative government of individuals by representatives of the industrial owners of capital.

Tips to Railway Construction Workers

Say, fellow workers, as you know we are building a strong organization among the unskilled workers in the logging and railroad construction camps. The bosses well know what such an organization is capable of doing, especially when the men who compose same are properly educated.

In order to educate ourselves to the best advantage it is necessary for every member who really understands the class struggle to do all in his power to induce the workers with whom he comes in contact to buy and study industrial union literature. A great number of workers who have been class conscious to a certain extent, and who have been members of the union for a considerable length of time, seem to have the idea that their education is finished. As a natural consequence, when the time for action comes they realize their mistake and leave it to George. Now, this leaving-it-to-George business has been and will be the means by which the parasites can keep on stealing the produce from the workers.

The most of the workers seem to still favor the idea that walking off the job is the only way to strike. Wherever you see this idea prevailing in any locality, get busy with literature, for, you can bet, education is lacking.

A walk-out strike would be very advantageous if accommodations could be had and if the men were class conscious enough to stay with the strike. In the majority of cases we find that the men who have been on the job

for a long time, come to town all right when any trouble starts, but it would be necessary to chain them up in order to hold them there. Whereas, if they were educated, nothing could drive them away from the locality.

Did you ever ask yourself who is to blame for the rotten conditions which exist in the railroad camps? You have only yourself to blame. When you come to this conclusion, don't get mad and blame the other fellow. Just sit down along side of him and get his opinion. If he is all right, then act together and you will be surprised how easy it is to get the whole camp coming your way. Whenever you have the men ready to join with you in the fight, let the nearest I. W. W. local know and ask for credentials so that you can line up the bunch for the One Big Union.

The only time that a walkout would be in order in this Canadian country would be in case of a general strike, then the weak-kneed would have to stick, as all the mighty jobs would be at a standstill. In a local strike the men should get it into their heads that an I. W. W. strike is on all the time and will be on until we are producing for our own benefit. When the days get warm start a fine system in the camp and whoever gets beyond the union pace, fine him enough to start a camp library. If that doesn't stop him, use other methods. Always bear in mind that the sucker and dampool is your worst enemy. You have the remedy for all such in your own hands.

THE WAYS OF KINGS, CROWNED AND UNCROWNED

(By Covington Hall.)

Ye are prating of your power but the sky of time is grey,
And the fullness of your madness it shall ripen with the day.
Ye shall waken in the moment when the great world shakes and reels,
When the mad brute host of hunger from the slums and darkness steals;
Ye shall waken to the reaping of the fruits your hands have sown,
And the measure ye have meted to the race shall be your own.
Think ye not that fate is idle and your own the Supreme Will,
For the wrecks that strew the aeons tell that right is reigning still.
Dream ye not that mammon conquers, trust ye not too much to gold,
For the shell is not the substance, and the flesh is not the soul.
If ye doubt it, pause and listen; lift aside the veil of time;
Where is Rome and all her splendor? Where is Athens, the sublime?
Where are all the Persian millions? Where the proud Egyptian host?
Tell me, does imperial Carthage still adorn the Afric coast?
Where the empire of the Incas? Where is Montezuma's throne?
What is Spain and Spanish glory in the world once called her own?
Where are India's mighty princes? Where the Babylonian kings?
Tell me, ye who kneel in worship at the shrine of earthly things!
Proud ye are, and will not answer—ye are swelled with folly vast—
Neither will ye heed the lesson that is taught by ages past.
Like the scribes of ancient Judah ye depend on Roman might,
But the buried Christ is risen and the faith still lives tonight.
There be some ye cannot silence; there be some ye cannot kill;
And the blood of martyred spirits is the seed of progress still;
Love and freedom still are powers in the human heart and soul.
And the great, eternal truth is marching onward to the goal!
But all words are worse than useless—Reason's self ye would deride—
Ye are but the sons of folly and the slaves of purse-born pride;
Ye are strangers unto mercy; ye are deaf and dumb and blind;
Ye have never paused to listen to the human heart and mind,
Justice, honor, hope and virtue, ye as evil things disdain.
Lo! I hear the workers coming over hill and dale and plain,
And the Marseillaise is ringing 'round a rebel world again!

May Day, As May Be

(By C. L. Filigino, New Orleans, La.)

The first of May is here and some of us workers haven't given any time or thoughts, as to the meaning of that great day, in relation to the working class of the world.

If you should ask two-thirds of the wealth producers the meaning of International Labor day, they would be at sea for an explanation, as to what it means, what we should do, and what connection it has to the world workers. But you ask the same question to workers who have been in the labor struggles, and they could give many reasons why the first of May is the one day, in three hundred and sixty-five days that's set aside from all the rest, and why it is called International Labor day.

Now the question arises, why we have International Labor day, and what benefit it is to labor? We have International Labor day because it is the day set aside by the workers of the world, and not by the masters. No one is giving it to us, we are taking it whether any other class likes it or not. We know that labor is international, and we as laborers refuse to be exploited on that sacred day, by laying down our tools in the mines; mills, factories, workshops and fields, for the period of twenty-four hours, as a protest against the present society, to prove to them that we don't approve of their management of industries, and that labor is the only useful class in society. By the very act of laying down our tools, we would paralyze all the industries of the world for that length of time, and that we have it in our power to do that very same thing, whenever we wish to do so.

We would prove that labor is the only class who is able to run industries, and that labor and not capital is running them. By withdrawing our labor power from the industries, the world would come to a standstill, and there would be thoughts in many men's minds, as to how long we were going to stand for the present conditions, when we are the only useful class, the only necessary class, and the only all-powerful class in the world.

During the masters' holy days you will see soldiers of the army and navy, militiamen, police and boy scouts. Do you know why they go to all that trouble? If not, just think it over a little. But we know that the masters are saying to the working class, you are my slaves; you can't help yourselves, because here is my power to prove that what I am saying is true.

The benefit we would derive from our display of power, is entirely beyond comprehension. The international solidarity of labor is the key that will open the door to labor emancipation. We, the workers of the world, have our common enemy, and our common cause; we are more determined than ever to close our ranks by forming the unpenetrable phalanx to destroy, now and forever, the system of many forms of slavery.

Workers, this is neither scheme nor dream; it is a fact. Are you ready to celebrate the first of May, are you ready to join the legions of labor, are you ready for International Labor day, and are you ready to do your part in this great cause?

Let us stand together, fellow workers, and the world with all its wealth shall be ours. This is my message to the workers, on the 1913 International Labor Day.

Agrees With Hunter

In a recent interview in the New York Times, Julius Henry Cohen, has this to say:

"Intelligent capitalists are no longer fighting the trade unions and obstinately holding out for the 'open shop,' because the open shop is a shop where Eitor and Haywood may come in at any time and raise trouble. In the preferential union shop the employer has something to say as to which union he will deal with. And if he accepts the more rational union he precludes Eitor and Haywood. Now, why should not sensible business men realize that if they want peace in an industry, it is not a question of union or no union? The real situation is, which union? Shall we do business with a union which is strong enough to make and maintain a treaty of peace or shall we do business with a band of guerrillas who attack us at every point, with whom we cannot reason, and who, if we succeed in beating them in a strike, come into our shops and destroy our product? We must realize that sooner or later we must deal with the recognized representatives of the working people in whom we have confidence, and having convinced them of the reasonableness of our side, secure a working arrangement that will include the discipline of those who violate it. The hotel proprietors were warned four years ago that if they did not deal with the American Federation of Labor they would have to deal with the I. W. W. Now they have them. The mill owners of Lawrence refused to deal with John Golden of the textile workers, but when Eitor and Ciannitti arrived, they were only too glad to ask for John Golden's help."

Here is where lawyers, garment manufacturers and such alleged socialists as Hunter and Hillquit are all agreed. Hillquit especially favors what is known as the "Protocol" or a classless and struggleless class struggle.

TRY A CIVIC FEDERATION

HARMONY PILL

"If the A. F. of L. was one-half as active in compelling affiliation with central labor councils as they are in throwing out some unions already affiliated, perhaps the Carpenters of this city would be forced to affiliate. The whole miserable business makes me sick."—A. W. Swenson in Spokane Labor World.

Knowing what it takes to make Swenson sick we are forced to conclude that the A. F. of L. is even worse than we suspected.

"Art thou a statesman, and canst not be a hypocrite? Impossible! Do not distrust thy virtues."—Dryden.

With Redwood Timber Beasts

Things are doing in Humboldt County, Cal. The I. W. W. is busy. The revolution is gathering force. The bosses see it and are getting desperate.

The latest is from Scotia, some twenty odd miles from Eureka, and a sawmill town. The Pacific Lumber Company there is said to be capitalized at about fourteen million dollars, and it is one of the most notorious labor killing concerns to be found anywhere. The foreman is marshal of the town and claims to be a union man, of the conservative brand. But the I. W. W.—Wow!! Scat!

He mourns over the fact that twenty years ago he could get men at \$1.75 that would do as much work in a day as several men will do now at \$2.00 per day each.

The I. W. W. boys recently held a propaganda meeting at the mill; they talked with the men and scattered literature. The bosses got wind of it and forthwith set their stool pigeons to work. S. M. Peterson, the slimy crum boss, set to work to pump spray poison into all the beds, ostensibly to kill the bugs, but really to hunt through the bunks for I. W. W. literature. He found none. The literature had been removed. The bosses can't kill the I. W. W. bug unless they kill the slaves, too.

One of the fellow workers made a spiel to the workers on the 8-hour day. The bosses

became frantic, crying hysterically to not "start any trouble here," that "this is no place to start trouble," etc. The speaker assured him that it was the very place of all places to start the men thinking.

Well, yesterday, the company fired quite a big crowd of I. W. W. men and sympathizers. They came to Eureka with their fighting clothes on. The Pacific Lumber Company will hear from us again. We have barely begun.

It is very important that more I. W. W. men come to this country and help us put the redwood belt on our map. You should ship to Scotia from San Francisco or Portland and go to work for the union on the quiet and put out literature.

The Pacific Lumber Company has the nerve to claim that it is making no dividends, and to show how fearful it is of agitation, it made the assertion that as soon as it began to pay dividends, it would pay half of said dividends to its faithful, contented slaves at the end of the year. But that falsehood fools no one.

Come on, you agitators! Lots of mills here. Lots of work. Some have already come, but we need more. This is the ripest place in the lumber industry on the coast, and now is the time. Just a few more live wires to help us put things in shape and, lo, the trick is turned.

AGITATION COMMITTEE.

Mr. Block

Before and After the Election



Continued Next Week

Wastes of An 'Efficient' System

To our opponents who declare for the efficiency and economy of the Capitalist system we can say in return that a more wasteful method of production could hardly be devised. The Capitalist system is based upon competition; and competition means internal strife, which is a waste of energy. The master capitalists realize this and are striving to conserve this energy (for the sake of bigger profits alone) by organizing and forcing the smaller exploiters out of business and eliminating competition.

As evolution takes its upward course it tends toward the complete elimination of waste. Efficiency is a goal toward which we are being rapidly driven by natural laws which cannot be stopped by arguments, schemes or any human power. A wasteful system works a great hardship upon the useful members of society by taking what they produce from them and throwing it in the sea, as it were.

It would be next to impossible to enumerate all the useless methods used under the present system of production; but a few of the most glaring examples may be cited.

Small Mercantile Establishments.

After a commodity has reached a certain point, for instance a freight depot in the city, only one more transaction is necessary in the production of that commodity, and that is its delivery, as a commodity is not fully produced until it has reached the consumer.

Now in a city of 50,000 inhabitants one large house would be sufficient as a central receiving and distributing point for clothing. Instead what do we find in a city of this size? We find from 25 to 100 clothing stores. Now if all the work necessary for receiving and distributing clothing for 50,000 persons can be done under one roof, why 50 or 100? We at once conclude they are unnecessary because they do not add to the use value of the clothing.

The same may be said of any other commodity. After its manufacture has been completed, it is ready to be delivered to the consumer; and the more hands it passes through, the oftener it is packed and unpacked, the oftener it is piled on shelves and taken down, the higher becomes its exchange value, while its use value is being depreciated.

The small retail grocery and clothing stores are not only useless but are decided detriments; for instead of increasing the use value of a commodity, they deteriorate it. Instead of being of any use to society they are detrimental parasites.

The clerk or other employe who sells his labor power to one of these petty parasites does not add anything to the commodities he handles, but just the exact opposite—he lessens the use value of the commodities. Any one who does not add use value to a commodity in the course of production cannot be said to be a producer.

As the business carried on in a building is useless, the building itself is serving no purpose. The material used in the building has been wasted as has the labor required to get the lumber, and in short everything connected with the building represents so much wasted energy.

Advertising.

The workers in every industry have two distinct functions. Part of them (and the larger part) are concerned only with the production of the finished articles; the others have nothing to do with the production of commodities, but look after the financial end. Their part in industry is to find ways and means of getting more profits for their masters. With these we find the writers of advertisements. Advertising a commodity can by no stretch of the imagination be said to add to its use value. It adds only to the exchange value. The paper upon which advertisements are printed, the labor expended in its making and delivery, the ink and the labor contained in it, the labor of setting up and printing advertisements are all wasted, and form a part of labor's heavy burden. Everything that is wasted helps to keep the workers toiling long hours with but small returns. Every man whose time is spent in useless occupation is a burden to the producers and is no less a parasite than the one who does nothing whatever.

Therefore, a man who writes advertisements cannot be a producer. His labor is wholly unnecessary; the praise he sings does not toughen the leather nor unite the sole and the upper; it does not add sweetness to the sugar nor sew the sack which contains it; it does not add warmth or durability to the clothing—in short, advertising is as much a parasitical profession as dealing in stocks and bonds. Neither of them adds to the use value of any commodity; therefore, they are useless—absolutely unnecessary. Any man or woman who spends his or her time in any branch of the advertising business is part of labor's burden. The actual producers must keep these workers while they waste time, material and energy in useless occupations.

The Small Farm.

Any method of production that does not get all possible returns for the labor power expended is wasteful. Small manufacturers, who are forced to use out-of-date machinery because of lack of money, rush their employes at a terrific pace trying to compete with large manufacturers. The farmer today must be included with manufacturers. He is a manufacturer of food stuffs in a small or large way, depending on the amount of capital he has to invest; and like other manufacturers, his methods are either wasteful or conservative, according to the size of the farm and the kind of machinery used.

Perhaps one of the best examples to illustrate the wastefulness employed on small farms can be seen in the contrasts found in the Dakotas and California. Often we see here a small farm or from forty to three hundred and sixty acres joining one of several sections. On the one we see a man with a plow and two horses plowing two acres a day, while on the

other two men with a machine will plow thirty or forty acres with less expenditure of labor power. In this case the man on the small farm is wasting nine-tenths of his labor power. This waste is caused by the private ownership of the two farms. Two pieces of paper called "deeds" and a line fence cause one man to work a month on a piece of work which might be accomplished by him with the same amount of labor in four days. This is only one example of the wastefulness of production on a small scale. Thousands of others could be cited if it were necessary. Anyone who will compare the methods used by the small dealer or manufacturer with those of larger enterprises will readily see which is the more wasteful; and which the more conservative. All this wastefulness adds to the hours the producers must labor, and detracts from the benefits they receive for this labor.

The armies and navies form the most glaring example of waste we have, and no doubt add many hours to the average work-day, while their existence makes it impossible for the producers to have the product of their toil—the useful members of society must be denied that the useless may receive. We toil and produce everything necessary to humanity, but the idlers who control these products by controlling the machinery with which we produce, surfeit themselves on part of our products and waste the rest, allowing us only enough to keep us in a condition to work the following day. Only our respect for their laws, all of which are in violation of the laws of Nature, keeps them in their usurped position. With their schools, churches and newspapers they keep us believing and respecting their laws and promote our ignorance, which insures the continuance of the slave system, while they consume and waste the things we produce with such great sacrifice.

All wasteful methods are the children of the competitive system. Competition has given birth to the petty trading and advertising professions; and they and the progenitor will have occasion to use the same death bed. There is no possible cure for these diseases, which are fastened upon humanity like cancers, but the ownership of the tools of production by the working class. The present system of production is altogether too wasteful. If it were possible to estimate exactly the amount of labor power wasted by the workers who are tolling their lives away at something which is not only useless to society but a detriment, it would no doubt be astonishing the amount possible for them to produce with the same expenditure of labor power directed along productive channels.

But this waste must go on until the workers see what they are losing through their ignorance of economics, their lack of unity of purpose and their reluctance to study their position as compared with the other elements of society. The producers must realize that they are the foundation upon which the structure of society rests; they must learn to distinguish between producers and non-producers, between those who do all the work and receive nothing and those who do none of the work and receive everything. We, the Workers of the World, must say: "We will talk together; we will think together; and we will act together. We will choose the way whereby we can eliminate the waste from the system of production; we will find some way by which we can expropriate the holders of the tools of production, and we will unitedly strive to take and hold these tools and the full product thereof."

We must have an organization wherein we can meet on common grounds and discuss the problems before us. All the workers of the world are in the same position, and we must use the same methods to better ourselves. Singly we have no power—unitedly we are all-powerful. Everything is ours when we demand as a unit instead of begging as individuals. There is no power that can deny organized labor what it wishes if it is properly organized. To all workers who really want more of the good things which they alone produce, we say: selves by studying economics, and emancipate "Join the union of your class. Educate yourselves with the power you gain from clear understanding, organizing into One Big Union and acting directly against the masters of the tools of production. Clear thinking, extensive propaganda and direct action are the tools with which the modern slaves must free themselves from the bondage of their masters, whose fictitious ownership of the resources by which we must live keeps us in a condition barely apart from actual starvation and in a position of continuous servitude.

Come, fellow workers of all crafts, creeds, kinds, and colors, stand up straight for once and without fear of meeting the boss' fishy eye, attain the attitude of a man, a man who refuses to believe with Pagans that there is a taint on labor, but places it on willing servitude to a master class. Stand up and show the world you will have the full product of your toil, and that you are men and not merely manikins. Join the Industrial Workers of the World and fight for a chance to be human and live as human being should live.

BUTTE LEAGUE IS GROWING

The I. W. W. Propaganda League of Butte, Mont., initiated 14 new members week before last and 21 last week. They are ordering an extra large bundle of this particular issue.

The League has its headquarters at 77 East Park St. Business meetings are held each Wednesday night at 7:30. Discussion meetings are an interesting feature of the League, being held on Sunday at 2 p. m. All communications should be addressed to Secretary Paul Cooney, care City Crematory, Butte, Mont.

BLACKLIST FOR I. W. W.

Fellow worker Henry Collins was fired at the Clear Lake Logging Camp last week and twenty-two men walked out with him. Others have been fired by this outfit for no other reason than the holding of membership in the I. W. W. This is a virtual blacklist. Let the wooden shoe men take notice.

A STORY.

(By W. E. Clark.)

Once upon a time there was a number of lumberjacks working for the Big River Lumber Company, about a hundred miles northwest of Prince Albert, Sask. They were a cosmopolitan crew, composed of all kinds and conditions of transient workers. After they had been working for a week, the cook was transferred to another camp and the student who took over the duties of the kitchen was certainly devoid of culinary skill in any shape or form. The men worked for two days anxiously waiting the time when the cook would learn to give them something eatable. On the morning of the third day everybody in the camp felt like eating the cook. A few of the men who had been out west had been busy in the meantime explaining industrial unionism. It was quite a job, as there were about 100 men in the camp who did not speak or understand English. Some of them were from three weeks below Quebec and others were from Galicia. The Frenchman had three in their number who could understand English and there was only one Galician who understood. Well, on the morning of the third day, when the boss hollered "all out," there was only one who responded to the call,—he was an Englishman and was practically of no account. The walking boss was sent for and when matters were explained he got a cook right away. The student then went helping the corral boss do the juggling.

After seeing what they could do by sticking together, it was decided to make the camp habitable. It was the custom to cut or shed nothing less than 200 logs per day and when the men decided to have blankets in the camps, each man gave the tally of 100 logs. The boss couldn't make out what was the matter so he asked for an explanation. He got it and it only took a few days to get the blankets. The men went to work again at the old rate.

On Sunday they held a meeting and it was decided to have laundries in the camps. The 100 logs a day system was again successful.

After putting the laundries in the camps, the walking boss asked us for Christ's sake to let him know what we wanted as the company couldn't stand the loss of so many logs as they had been doing.

When we had the Big River Company coming our way we hiked for pastures new. We visited nearly all the camps in a radius of 500 miles and found the majority of them easy to make come to time.

If you western stiffys would only stick around the job wherever you may happen to be and use the same tactics, you would be surprised how easy it is to bring the bosses to their knees. I notice that in the majority of cases when a man gets into a bum camp out here, instead of trying to get the bunch together, he packs his bundle and goes down the road talking to himself. Now, don't be greedy with your conversation,—give it to your fellow workers and stay with them until you get results. It is then time to go elsewhere and do the same again.

Quite a number of workers have been and are still using these tactics, but what we want and must have is you to do likewise. Just think for a minute and ask yourself what you have after many years of toil. Every winter you are up against it and wishing it was summer. After summer is over you find yourself in the same old way, broke again.

Now, these conditions can be changed and it rests on you how soon we'll change them. Make up your mind that instead of slaving all summer for that winter's stake (which you never make), that you are going to change conditions and have a good time, not only next winter but forever. Always remember that you have the support of all revolutionary workers in anything you do for your class.

THE MINERS' STRIKE AT CROSBY, MINN.

(By George Fenton)

Under instructions from Local No. 68, I. W. W., Duluth, Minn., I am writing the "Worker" an account of the miners' strike at Crosby, Minn.

I received the following telegram from Chicago, Ill., on the evening of April 10 about 7 p. m.:

"Strikers at Crosby, Minnesota, want organizer. Can you make trip? If so, start."

(Signed) ST. JOHN."

As there was no train to Crosby until the following day at 2:30 p. m., I found Kaplan of Duluth, Socialist Party man, and also Latimer of Minneapolis, state secretary of the Socialist Party, on the ground ahead of me.

Proceeding to the Finnish hall at Crosby I presented my organizing credentials to the strike committee and was escorted by them to the Finnish boarding house for supper where I met Kaplan. While I was eating supper, Kaplan and Secretary Latimer of the S. P. went into Finnish hall and held a closed meeting of the strike committee.

After supper I tried to obtain admittance to the meeting, but found the door locked so that I could not gain an audience. After this meeting was adjourned I was informed that there would be a conference of the strike committee and mine owners and that my propositions could not be considered until afterwards.

Kaplan advised the strike committee to invite the business men of Crosby to the conference, and, like a lot of blockheads, they complied with his advice.

There were four mine owners, twenty-six business men and fourteen of the strike committee. The whole conference was a farcical trial of the strike committee before a jury of business men, with the mine owners as prosecuting attorneys. The strike committee being Finnish, Polish, Italian and Austrian workers were unable to handle the English language as well as their adversaries, and so would sometimes twist matters slightly in stating their grievance. The owners would take advantage of this to crack jokes about the grievances for the benefit of the business men. These parties would laugh at the expense of the strike committee.

The demands of the strikers were: \$3.00 a day for eight hours' work in the mines, abolition of the contract system, and discontinuance of the \$1.00 a month hospital fee, the miners to maintain their own hospital benefit. The men also claimed that they were charged 50 cents a month for a benefit club maintained by the company, and for their payments did not receive full benefit, as they were charged \$1.00 per day, or \$30 per month, instead of getting free treatments in case of accidents.

After the first half hour it became apparent to all that there was a deadlock, the owners refusing to grant the strikers their demands. Knowing this Kaplan and Latimer should have advised the strike committee to adjourn as the longer the meeting lasted the more strength the strikers lost. Yet because of the tactics of Kaplan and Latimer the meeting was continued until midnight.

Following this meeting the strike committee held another one to determine what was to be done with me as an I. W. W. organizer. I presented my credentials and was about to proceed when Kaplan and Latimer came in. Kaplan got the floor and used every low down sneaking method he could think of to prejudice the strike committee against the I. W. W., making out that the members of the I. W. W. were all human leeches. He wanted them to organize an independent industrial union, stating for one reason that the 15 cents per capita tax should be kept at home. Kaplan convinced the chairman and as a result I was unable to get the floor again and the meeting broke up in confusion.

On the next morning, April 12, at the strike committee meeting, a resolution was drawn up requesting me to withdraw and leave the field to Latimer, Kaplan having returned to Duluth meanwhile. Inasmuch as my presence would only have caused friction, I withdrew.

The Finnish all wished to join the I. W. W., but the Italians, Polish and Austrians seemed to favor the independent union proposed by the two Socialists, who, according to their party, must be neutral on the economic field. I could even have stayed it out but I realized that if I had done so and the strike were lost, the outside world would say that it was because the I. W. W. cared more about gaining membership than they did about having the workers win their battles.

At the Finnish boarding house on Friday evening I learned that the pumpmen were still working. Upon pointing out the advantage of calling off these workers, I was informed by the strike committee that they thought it best to let them work at present.

Coming back to Duluth I confronted Kaplan in the Socialist Party headquarters with the proposition about the pumpmen working and was indignantly informed that he was ignorant of the fact. As he was there for some time, it seems incredible that he, or anyone with average intelligence, could have overlooked the point and committed the blunder of allowing one section of the workers to scab upon another.

From the latest press reports it appears that the striking miners will return to work in a day or so, so it appears that the English Socialist Party has made a fizzle of this particular strike.

NARAMATA NOTES

(By W. E. Clark)

Another instance of the bosses using direct action occurred here yesterday afternoon, April 16.

A station gang working in Devonports and Grey's camp had in their employ 15 day workers. At noon on the 16th the timekeeper told the men to work no more for the station gang. Then the fellow who was running the gang, asked them to go out on the job again. After they had worked a couple of hours, the walking boss ordered them off the job and told them to get out of the camp. They went back to the camp and, as the timekeeper did not give them their checks until near supper time, they decided to wait in the camp until morning. When they went to supper they were met at the cook's shack door by two of McBride's Provincials, who refused to let them in to eat. Two station men were also refused the necessary supper and were ordered out of the camp. After refusing supper, the bulls tried to terrify the men and make them hike down the mountain. The men flatly refused to move and, as the bulls had no warrants, they stayed until morning.

The company refused to pay the men for the work done by them in the afternoon of the 16th.

The actions of the contractors in this part of the country are doing much more to awaken the slaves than all the talks of the agitators would accomplish, were they to talk from morn till night. The only drawback is that their attempts to rule by terror might, at no distant date, react on them to their detriment. It is often said that the U. S. A. is the home of the grafter, but any one who cares to look into affairs here will easily understand that a grafter is a transient, and that for pure unadulterated boodle this province has them all skinned.

ON THE FIRING LINE

The first edition of "On the Firing Line" is almost exhausted and we will watch the orders for the next few days to see whether it is advisable to issue a second edition. Better place your order at once before the few remaining copies are all sold out.

This pamphlet is 48 pages and is a series of brief articles on the foremost labor events of 1912. It has been pronounced the best value for the money ever offered. Price is 5 cents for a single copy, \$3 per hundred.

Order at once from "Industrial Worker," box 2129, Spokane, Wash.

"The existence of the State and the existence of slavery are inseparable."—Marx.

"Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable, but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both Altruism and Egoism."—Spencer.

HIS EPITAPH.

Here lies William J. Burns,
William J. Burns.

Will R. O. Yoern please communicate with Local 328, I. W. W., Box 1594, Victoria, B. C.

Local Puycallup, Socialist Party of Washington, with 45 members, met on April 18 and passed strong resolutions regarding the false conviction of Filippi Bocchini and the other outrages at Little Falls, N. Y. A copy of the resolutions was forwarded to Governor Sulzer, Albany, N. Y.

Every rebel organization should follow this example.

Local No. 435, Marshfield, Ore., has ordered 500 additional copies of this issue through the kindness of fellow worker C. Carlson, who donated the money. Carlson was also given \$30.00 to the Southern Timber Workers, \$30.00 to the Little Falls Defense and \$10.00 to the Free Speech Fight in Denver.

Local 58, I. W. W., Victoria, B. C., recommends that any fellow workers on their way to London, England, before September, call on headquarters in Chicago, Ill., and secure credentials to attend the International Syndicalist Congress.

"A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than a learned philosopher apologizing for his chains."—Kosuth.

"Capitalist civilization condemns the proletarian to vegetate in conditions of existence inferior to those of the savage."—Lafargue.

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently. The great thing, however, is to change it."—Engels.

"Man has no intelligent superior, no immortal soul. The mortal soul of man is the only intelligent lord of matter."—Richard Carille.

"The State, in order to abolish pauperism, must abolish itself, for the kernel of the evil lies in the very existence of the State."—Marx.

"He who has might has right; if you have not the former, neither have you the latter."—Stirner.

"Violence is the midwife of every old society about to give birth to a new. Violence is an economic factor."—Marx.

POST CARDS

We have the Pyramid of Capitalism post cards at 25 cents per dozen, \$1 per 100. They are lithographed in colors and are just the thing to show the whole wage system in one glance.

The Mr. Block post cards are reproductions of cartoons appearing in the "Industrial Worker." There are two kinds. One represents Mr. Block's attempt to scab and the other shows him trying to get rich by investing his savings. The postals will provoke a laugh and also cause some serious thought. The price is 50 cents per 100, or 5 for a nickel.

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