socialization of women, and making it appear that this plan was given out by an Anarchist society there. Enemies of the Soviets knew they couldn't make people believe that the Soviets would authorize the socialization of women, so evidently their idea was to imply that the Anarchists would soon overthrow the Bolsheviks and put such practices into effect, so that on the whole it would be better to go back to Czarism. The Anarchists came out with a vigorous denial, of course. I have a copy of the posters of denial they put up, reading something like this:

"'From the Samara Federated Anarchists: Enemies, you are defeated and you show that you are getting desperate when you employ such methods. Anarchists all over the world have fought and are fighting for freedom. Is it likely that we would now use our freedom to enslave women?"

"And I heard friends and enemies of the Bolsheviki express their opinion frankly enough. An American in Moscow said when he heard the Germans had opened a bank at Riga, 'Better German banks than banks managed by them damn Bolsheviki!' And an American who was in Russia as a representative of the International Harvester Company and later was made an American consul, said to me, 'Yes, I hope the end of the war is near so that Germany and the Allies can come in here together and put down the Bolsheviki.'"

Upward and Onward
A CALL TO SERVILITY
By WM. ROBERTS

In these stirring days of freedom and democracy, there are many golden trails leading to peace and fame; but, to him who has sufficient elasticity of conscience to travel it, there is no easier and surer path to purity of reputation and wide renown than an attack on the I. W. W. Among the many forlorners to eminence, there is no other like unto it; it is paved with velvet and so easy to travel that any four-flusher may journey therein and feel no disquieting uncertainties of his ultimate reward.

All the days of your life may have been spent in the most vicious and degraded practices of vice and crime; join the righteous in their attack on the I. W. W., and all the scars of your sins fade away, your degraded past is forgotten, your shame is obliterated, and henceforth you walk among men as one of the perfect products of Jehovah's most painstaking efforts.

This enchanted way to glory is open to all,—thief, scoundrel, pimp—all degenerate humanity, from pick-pockets to real-estate men, may find absolution and restitution between its flower lined borders. And now is the accepted time—he who hesitates shall mourn forevermore his loss of this golden opportunity.

Are you seeking the highway to equality? Here in this magical path you may find the guerdon of your quest. Among the wayfarers who went its winding way, a free and joyous comradeship prevails; social caste is forgotten and moral decencies are unknown.

In this brotherly and sisterly condescension of attuned souls, the marauder and the prostitute, the drug-parveyer and the procurers, hail the clergyman as pal, and he in his turn salutes them as the most cherished of his beloved.

The petrman and the banker—each finds much to admire in the other; thus their comradely devotion in this path of high endeavor, each has discerned in the mental and moral inclinations of the other a striking resemblance to his own. Because of the sympathetic understanding engendered by their common passion for pure Americanism, they have come to realize that with an exchange of environments the banker would be a petrman and the petrman would be a banker.

These who venture with these safe and sane crusaders, will journey thru most pleasant lands, across which the bracing breezes from the mountains of boundless profits are forever wafting, and where the air is constantly perfumed with the essence of never failing springs of hooch and dope. Truly a joyous pilgrimage, with a gallant and carefree company among whom honesty and truthfulness are the markings of a rude, and subornation and perjury are admirable.

In this great enterprise for the preservation of democracy, men who govern famous universities find their moral affinities in the persons of illiterate barrel-house bums; and boot-leggers, sand-baggers, and porch-climbers, hold jovial discourse with officers of the law, to their mutual edification and profit.

Are your aspirations those of a free and untrammelled soul—do the restrictions of common decency irk you? Come, join our better element in this unleshed fraternity where everything goes and naught but an I. W. W. is vile. Fear not that your saffron streaks debars you; the you are hued like unto a canary, yet fourteen thousand city-editors will acclaim you as of the mighty and valorous. The in old Gomorrah you leechery would have made of you a pauper, but the godly will take you to their bosom, their spiritual shepherds will proclaim you of the blessed, and a Jeweled harp will await you in their paradise beyond.

Eventually, as an appreciation of your loyalty, you undoubtedly will be decorated with "The order of the Swiftly Swung Boot," and thenceforth, as your reward, you will have the consolation of duty nobly done, and the proud distinction of having marched in the ranks under Macey, Gompers, Schwab, and other great warriors in the army of Upward and Onward.
Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

BY ROBERTA BRUNER

PART III. TOMORROW.

YESTERDAY I constantly asked myself and to-day I am being asked these questions: "What of tomorrow?" How will the revolutionized tomorrow be achieved? Granting that hunger and want may be eradicated among the millions of working people and that the class composed of the few employers shall have been eliminated, what course can be followed to prevent reversion back to the present order?" The questions are pertinent and deserve consideration.

What of tomorrow? What of that ideal state when there will be no unemployed, no child labor, no hunger, no want, no class distinctions, no social isolation, no strife for heards of money or for control of resources, no wars, no incentive for crime, in short none of those grievous defects so apparent today? What is expected of the ideal tomorrow? Just this: a chance for all of us to breathe, to live, to grow, to enjoy the abundance of the beautiful and useful about us—a chance for us, the workers, to have leisure and to learn how to spend it. The tomorrow of society will be a direct antithesis to the hateful conditions existent today.

Quickly following the admission that all this is ideal and most desirable comes the query, "How will it be brought about?" The dogmatic skeptic says, "impossible" and is content with his egotistical disposition of the matter. The fearful, while most ardently desiring a change, cringe back from thoughts of action and wait for a better opportunity, while the courageous minority are left to formulate plans and to act upon them.

Realizing the utter lack of common ground between the exploited laborer and the exploiting employer as well as the impossibility of establishing any such ground, these few thinkers (and doers) have set out to break up and destroy all classes except the working class. This does not mean that the individuals in the employing class are to be executed as the capitalistic press says. The modern working class revolutionists seek to make impossible the employment of workers for profit, knowing that thereby the employing class will be destroyed. No individual's life or existence is aimed at, nor will a single individual's life be lost unless he prefers to enter into a mortal amalgamation for the preservation of his class and, in consequence of his offensive action, forfeits his life.

It is true that many employers openly say that they will stop at no means to exterminate the belligerent workers, adding that "the mailed fist," lynching, and other murderous tactics should be adopted to accomplish their purpose. Inasmuch as they are the judges, these proposed plans are not "violent." On the other hand, when a group of wage-slaves reach the inevitable conclusion that the working class must enter upon an industrial warfare and seize the machinery of production, without force or violence, but rather by making demands upon employers in such rapid succession that those employers' businesses will become unprofitable, then those workingmen are "violent" and treasonable according to the same judges.

The howls of violence we ignore. How can we, the workers, advocate violence when the whole mass of violence is completely under the masters' control? Do they not call out the army when workmen emphasize their unheeded demands by the strike? Do they wait for necessity to parade mounted machine guns in front of peaceful wage-slaves on strike? Have they not been known repeatedly to destroy property in order to make it appear that strikers had done violence? In spite of insinuations to the contrary, the capitalists control the arms, the munition factories, and all other aids to violent warfare. They sedulously seek to preserve this control because they believe they can maintain their present power and their worm-eaten social structure by means of violence. They little reckon that by such means they hasten the downfall of the already tottering edifices of capitalism.

The revolutionary industrialists take as little time to lament the masters' control of arms and the like, as they do to refute their defensive and offensive prevarications in regard to violence. Our concern is more vital and further reaching. We are concerned with the useful in life, and we fail to see anything useful in wholesale violent butcheries, such as occurred in the recent world war in which the United States participated, according to the notorious American press, for the purpose of gaining domination of the world's commerce. We fail to see such potency in arms, therefore, as do our masters, the financiers; but we see in the loss of each human life in that great capitalist war, the loss of that which is most useful, for each of those killed possessed a labor power capable of producing the useful for society. Our concern, therefore, is an industrial concern, not a martial one,—our belligerency, not a martial one—and we aim to exercise dominion on the industrial field. We know that when we shall have gained industrial supremacy, there will be no battlefields covered with the slaughtered bodies of our men.

We strive to gain industrial supremacy by operating in the plants of production. Our first offensive is education. We believe the working class should realize that they produce everything and are therefore entitled to everything. We are not willing to consider any wage "fair" for we know that, under the wage-system, when wages are raised, prices of commodities are also raised. We believe that until such time as the wage-system is abolished, the working class must raise the standard of living on every hand; that they should not be content to live in poor, ill-ventilated quarters.
in unsanitary districts; that they should not be content to wear shoddy clothes and shoes; that they should not be content with a scant variety of food, poor in quality; but that they should demand the best homes, the best clothes, and the best food obtainable. We believe and teach that the workers should not be willing to work on a job twelve hours, ten, eight, or even six or four, if there is a single man in the world unemployed at useful labor. Instead we hold that workers should demand the shorter and shorter day until everybody who is willing to work has a chance to do so, and everybody who is unwilling to work at productive labor, like Rockefeller and Morgan, are compelled to work.

That is the ideal the I. W. W. has set out to achieve,—that everyone should do useful labor. That is why a lazy, exploiting element who love idleness and are opposed to work, knowing that we have them cornered, secure every available assistance including the prostituted free(?) press to startle the public with tales of the bogey man. Those tales succeed in frightening only the timid who could be of small help to either side in case of a conflict or crisis.

Further we believe in educating workers everywhere in regard to “the good things of life” that they and theirs do not enjoy and we treat with bitter contempt the doctrine that anything is too good for a working man. There is nothing too good for the workers and we look upon those who contend otherwise as enemies to our class and as aids and abettors to our oppressors.

To teach workers to demand higher standards of living is but the beginning of our educational program. We seek to teach the members of our class that all industries are interlocked, and, in order to control the industries we operate, we must have one big interlocked union. Owing to the fact that our very existence depends upon industry, we know we cannot control our lives—ourselves—unless we control industry. We know that since there is nothing useful to man except products of industry, that nothing except industrial action is necessary in the management of social affairs. We attempt to include in our educational program, therefore, the means of managing industries. We see the effects in Russia of the omission of this phase of education.

We have in America a highly developed industrial system and knowing that the time is near when the workers must manage for collective society, rather than permit a few thieving vandals to manage for profit, we aim to gain complete mastery of industrial technique. We maintain that we who do the work know best how to manage that work and our self-education brings resentment that legislative or capitalistic bunglers should be empowered to enforce upon us conditions detrimental to our best interests. We rebel that the treatment accorded us is shortening the working man’s life, and making that short part he is permitted to live an unbearable slavery. And we, who know these things, teach those other more sodden fellow-workers who are not fully aware of the monstrosity of our wrongs—and we teach with a vengeance and shall continue to do so by every available means till a complete revolution of our condition shall have been wrought. We shall teach by word of mouth, through the workers’ press, by means of books, pamphlets, educational meetings, technical training in school and shop, job agitation and by every and all other means offered. No power of violence, no intimidation measures, no threats and executions of long prison sentences on members of our class can stop us in our educational work. It must and shall go on. Though another thousand of the more outspoken should suffer the persecution accorded our honored pioneers, there will be ten thousand to replace them, for the time has come when the corruption which comes only from power has reached its zenith.

We believe in “forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old” and the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World tend to minimize the probabilities of exposure to inclement weather changes. The stressed phases of our work are those of construction rather than those of expropriation. We know that by building within, the old hull will be left like the outgrown shell of the chambered nautilus by “life’s unresting sea.” Capitalism, realizing that the crawling caterpillar is about to emerge a butterfly, cries out that wreck and ruin are intended. What really is intended, is a shelter to safeguard us when the inevitable storm comes. The siren ever abhor change but nevertheless the onward march of progress is unabated.

The end of this class education is the organization of the workers into one powerful union, with such departments and industrial branches as may be needed to administer the affairs of industry. (The details and structural analysis of such a union is tersely outlined in W. E. Truitman’s “One Big Union of All the Workers.”) When the workers are educated sufficiently to stand in solidarity they will take possession of the resources of the earth and of the machinery of production and naturally there will be no need felt for silk-hatted law-makers whose interest in labor is ever to exploit it and to keep it beaten down into submissive servility. This is the direct action that we place in opposition to political action of the powers of today. It is a more economical and saner means of administering the only affairs that need to be administered—industrial affairs. Direct action is the action of workers through the organized union at the seat of activity rather than in a far removed palace as in the political government of today. And this more efficient action is the form of social control of tomorrow. All that workers have ever obtained has come through direct action and all they ever will get will come that way. Think and see if the politicians ever did get anything for the workers. They cannot get the workers anything. The workers get
everything for the politicians and if that fraud cheats the working man into a feeling of having been rendered a service, the worker adds the fault of gullibility to that of folly. Judging by the past we conclude that we can best meet our everyday struggles with capitalists by the most direct attack, and that by working on the same principle we can accomplish our historic mission of doing away with capitalism.

Then comes the statement: “Capitalism may be destroyed, and ought to be destroyed, but there would be people ready to collect and hoard again and we should soon be back in the same state as we are today.” No matter how stupid the contention sounds in the light of the fact that historical evolution never goes backward, it must be met. With no buying and selling allowed as we have today,—that is for profit,—the greatest incentive would be gone. How prevent buying and selling? Is not buying and selling an indestructible institution? By no means. Let us see just what takes place when a worker buys and sells. First he sells all that he has to sell, his labor, and receives in payment a certain amount of the medium of exchange,—money,—which has no real value. His employer admits that he does not pay him all his labor is worth, “For,” says that employer, “I must have a profit for the money I have invested in this enterprise.” Thus the laborer sells his work at a discount. Work is the only thing habitually sold at a discount and yet work supports the world! The discounted price received is exchanged by the worker for food, clothes, shelter and fuel on all of which he pays profit. Again the investment of intrinsically worthless money is claimed in justification of the profit demanded. Now observe that the worker sells at discount, while everybody but the worker sells for profit. Everybody but the workingman buys goods with the idea of selling again at a profit, while the worker buys in order to keep himself alive. He is cheated in both parts of the deal of buying and selling. He is “robbed at the point of production” and “looted” at the point of consumption. His class constitutes the greatest exploited majority, and does it seem at all likely that the working-class would tolerate any attempt on the part of the few who would be willing enough to do so—to bring about a renewal of the present system? Naturally they would not, and equally naturally the exploiters will seek to preserve the present system at all costs. If instead of buying and selling for profit, is instituted an exchange of commodities on the basis of the labor involved in their production, there will be no robbery possible and workers will get the full value for their labor. To establish such a system of exchange, the wage-slaves have had to take the initiative.

We do not consider any wage fair, and we demand an industrial democracy where, in lieu of work, we will receive a labor checking account. Non-negotiable checks drawn on labor pass books will be the sole medium of exchange and it is obvious that only those who work can check out for the necessities of life.

Where will that employing class be? They simply will not exist. They will be extinct. As individuals they may be alive if their madness has not killed them, but they will not be employers. They, like us who have been their slaves, will carry their labor pass books into the markets and obtain value received for work rendered. There is no reason to suppose that they will not have as good food and clothes as they have today to use, but not to hoard. What could be fairer? Yet those individuals constituting the employing class raise their voices with one accord to acclaim that the I. W. W. seeks to do them violence. They call being sent to work, violence. They must know some of the wrongs we suffer today, since they fear so to become part of our class, and they surely have scant vision of the new tomorrow else they would not so stubbornly resist. The great mass of people work. Why exempt any? Yet to obtain exemption those oppressors of ours would slay us by slow tortures, or by more speedy measures, by millions in order to keep under their feet the carpet of our trampled bodies. Still they cannot stop the coming of the new society even though they call out all their armies to butcher us. Down the pathway of industrial unionism we have caught a reassuring glimpse of the dawn of the new society.

In that society instead of many shops competing with each other in a community, there will be displayed all articles of a kind in one place. The price tags on those articles will be in terms of hours and minutes of labor instead of in dollars and cents. The article needed will be selected, price deducted from pass books and the transaction closed. Not having the incentive of today to put shoddy goods on the market, producers will tend toward the maximum standard of value in the product.

In the new society of tomorrow, useless labor, such as, for example, that done in our banks and in the advertising and sales departments of our manufactories, will be eliminated. Those engaged in present day useless occupations together with the unemployed and the exploiters, will be recruited into the army of productive laborers. The working day will naturally be shortened to perhaps less than one third of its present length. Into even this short day young people will not be thrust suddenly by reversal of fortune, but a part time service will be given which will gradually come to the maximum day’s work. As old age approaches the hours will be diminished according to a similar scale. Statistics will then show that Father Time approaches his children much more reluctantly than he does under the present plan.

Of course, the greater leisure not only made possible but also made compulsory for all, will increase the need for educational institutions and means of recreation. The number of productive laborers in these fields will be much increased.

Our schools will not then be dominated from above as they are today by universities dictating to high schools which in turn dictate to elementary schools. In an industrial democracy it would be as difficult to conceive of children being promoted
from grade to grade in order to prepare for the high school or university, as it would be to conceive of piece work in a factory. Then students will not be learning the "required for entrance" facts dictated by the university they seldom reach, but instead they will be dictating what shall be taught by the university which all shall have leisure to attend. The folly of trying to compel a person to complete a course of study for which he has no natural inclination or ability will be so apparent that to try to force him to do so will be as impossible as to try to hatch a colt from a hen's egg. The schools will train those musicians, painters, and entertaining writers we shall so greatly need, at the same expense as it will train the bricklayer, and the dignity of one shall be as great as that of the other. Why not? Is not a brick house as useful a strain of sweet music, and vice versa?

In addition to music, art, and literature the recreation of travel will be possible for all who wish it. A man could arrange to work extra time for a period equal in length to time he desired to spend in travel, for which he would pay his pro rata share of labor expense involved in the process of transportation. With profiteering railroad and Pullman companies removed there would be a notable reduction in travel expense. For shorter trips, the community garage will provide the means. Payment will be made in the usual manner. The community garage will not preclude the possibility of a man's privately owning his own machine, but will be instituted for the benefit of those who may prefer to use their labor checks for other commodities.

In such a social state parents will find time to love their children without being beset by feverish anxieties for their future, and children may love their parents without being constantly confronted with unsatisfied desires. Then parents will not have to sell children prematurely into wage-slavery nor will children have to stint in order to care for their aged loved ones.

This new society is not an idle dream for those who understand are acting. Such is our ideal that we strive to realize it by using "any and all tactics." Our woes are so poignant that we hasten the day of their assuagement. The increase of our own misery brings on the moment when we can endure no longer. On our banner are the unwritten words: "No quarter to them who would perpetuate our degradation." We are in the flight to the finish. We hail the new democracy that is being born! Long may it live! But not longer than there is something better to replace it.

Hogging the Propaganda

By R. A. COCHRAN

AFTER reading the articles of L. E. Ferguson in the April issue of the O. B. U. Magazine, I could not resist the temptation to well on one or two remarks made by the writer in question. He states that there is a tendency on the part of the I. W. W. to hog the propaganda in the U. S. A. which arose from the Russian Bolshevik triumph. The I. W. W. naturally will use and employ all methods in its general propaganda that is in harmony with its program of education and organization; nothing strange about that, a logical and natural procedure.

I do not question for a moment Fellow Worker Ferguson's sincerity in the cause of the proletariat, but I am rather inclined to think that his grasp of the real significance of the Industrial Union movement is yet a bit cloudy. Such is the case with a large per cent of "ballot box Socialists." Speaking for myself, I know what a long time it took before I could be indifferent to the breaking of the idols that ballot box Socialism erects for its devotees. It is almost as hard a job for the average Socialist party member to see in the Industrial Union movement the only hope of the American proletariat, as it is for the average Catholic to see the futility of supplication to the Virgin Mary. I want to remind our Fellow Worker that, the I. W. W. in its historical and evolutionary work of welding the workers into One Big Union, cannot consider for a moment the effects its onward march may have on other bodies in capitalist society, whether they call themselves revolutionary or not. What would be the Russian situation today had the Bolshevik representatives compromised with the Kerensky crowd? I venture to say that instead of having a Soviet form of government, which is as near to Industrial Democracy as was possible in Russia at present, the proletariat would now be chafing in a new form of harness with a powerful kicking strap attached, in other words, the workers there would be crippled and tied again for a long time, and most likely be given some of the treatment that was meted out to the German workers who revolted against Comrades Ebert, Nieske, et al. Just a few more remarks concerning the fellow workers who faced those jackals and hyenas in Sacramento. I cannot restrain a feeling of pride that I am a member of an organization that attracts and produces such men; their calmness and philosophic composure after receiving heavy sentences was grand. By the Gods, it thrills me to write of it, if those puppets and hirelings connected with the trial of our boys had ordinary common sense or intelligence they would see in the attitude of their victims an inkling of something that is about to happen, i.e., the beginning of the end to their arbitrary and brutal rule. None but those who are blinded by a wolfish greed and degenerated by a rotten system of education could fail to realize that an organization whose principles could steal men of the proletariat to such ordeals without a whimper or expression of regret must finally triumph, and if there is such a thing as hogging the propaganda let such men do it.
Hogging the Eats
The Law of Increasing Dependence

By ABNER WOODRUFF

I.

The terms we use in expressing the Materialist (Economic) interpretation of History are applied by Frederick Engels. Karl Marx always intimated the theory, but in only two places in his works do we find it in any manner expressed. First in a note on page 367 of volume II. of the English translation of Capital and then on page 324 and 325 of volume III. of Das Kapital (in German).

The note says “A critical history of Technology would show how little any of the inventions of the 18th century are the work of a single individual. Hitherto there has been no such book. Darwin has interested us in the history of Nature's Technology, that is, in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organization, deserve equal attention? And, would not such a history be easier to compile, since, as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this, that we have the former, but not the latter. Technology discloses the mode of man's dealing with nature—the process of production by which he sustains his life—and thereby, also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations and of the mental conceptions that flow from them. Every history, of religion even, that fails to take account of this material basis is uncritical. It is, in reality, much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the mystic creations of religion, than it is, conversely, to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestialized form of those relations. The latter is the only materialistic and therefore the only scientific method. The weak points in the abstract materialism of natural science—a materialism that excludes History and its process—are at once evident from the abstract and ideological conceptions of its spokesmen whenever they venture beyond the bounds of their own specialty.”

Here Marx declares Technology to be the key to our social relations and tentatively links it up with Darwinian theory. The theory of the law of Evolution suggests that man's differentiation from the ancient tree-dwellers, began with the development of the thumb upon his hand. This made him a tool and weapon using animal, capable of having a myriad of experiences that could never effect the other animals. They were physically—structurally—limited; he was unlimited except by the borders of the Earth, itself. Dietzgen, the father of modern psychology, teaches that ideas arise from experiences—are a product of the environment.

If now we agree that Darwin and Dietzgen are true teachers, we may readily perceive that Marx, in his note, has suggested the mechanism by which the whole structure of human society has been initiated and developed. Man, as a social creature, may be fully explained and all his institutions along with him.

A careful study of Technology leads to the conclusion that an ability to use tools and thereby produce artificial things from the raw materials of nature is not enough to explain fully the development of civilization. There must have been an incentive—something that made a technical advance worth while. The wording of the Materialist (Economic) Conception of History by Engels, gives us a clue to this incentive. He says that, all the social institutions found in any epoch of the world may by reasonably and fully explained upon the basis of the method of wealth productions and exchange existing at that time.

Now exchange can only occur among those who are associated in some manner. The opportunity for exchange only arises thru association, so it is quite evident that association of some sort must have been the incentive to technical progress and the development of a system of exchange.

We may readily disagree with Ward, who considers man, primarily, an unsocial creature. The principle of Mutual Aid is too firmly established in the animal world, to fail to apply to the arboreal ancestors of man. The gregarious characteristics of the anthropoids are well known and man, descended from a somewhat similar creature, must in his earlier days have possessed a distinctly social instinct. Association was the immediate result of the gregarious quality of the primal man—the principle of mutual aid without doubt assembled and held together the ancient hairy hordes.

With the discovery of the uses of fire man ceased to be a mere beast. It made the waters as much a source of food as was the land, gave a wider range to the habitat, established the family, prescribed certain separate economic functions for the sexes, broadened the scope of mutual services possible in so primitive a time and thus strengthened the bond of association by the addition of obligation or duty.

Due to natural causes woman became the priestess of the fire, the home-keeper, while the man continued on as the hunter and marauder. Woman was probably the first pottery maker, and doubtless she instituted herding and agriculture: all of which complicated life and compelled a great amount of mutual service. Indeed, the ancient communal tribes developed on the dual basis of a common property and a common necessity of large mutual service, which gradually displaced the self-sufficiency of the individual with a feeling of dependence on his fellows and thus materially strengthened the bonds of association.

During the time of the tribes, tools and processes developed to a great extent and the social life was quite complex; in fact, so great was the development that it became possible to separate the handicrafts by which the necessities of the tribes were produced and definitely assign them to individuals.
It was possible for the entire time of a man skilled in some particular craft to be given to the production of a certain class of articles and, also, quite advantageous to the community that his time should be so assigned. Hence it was quite natural that mutual production ceased in very many lines and individual production took its place. At first this individual production went into the common store or fund of the tribe, but later it came to be looked upon as the individual property of the craftsman and the producers exchanged their various productions among themselves.

Due to the improvement of tools and processes the method of common or mutual wealth production, use and ownership ceased and the communal tribal relationships were no longer possible. All the old institutions were thrust into a process of change in order to conform to this new private property idea. The improved processes of wealth production and the method of exchange which sprang up in conformity with the demands of the private property notion, became the basis of a new form of Association, with transformed institutions which finally became translated into National social life.

Now it is evident that there have been stages in man's development when the individual has been quite able to care for himself and successfully meet every natural exigency by means of his own unaided efforts. Men were by no means dependent during the greater portion of the tribal era. The tribe was a complexity of social customs of a very beneficial nature, but not absolutely necessary. They co-operated to a great extent and rendered many mutual services, but the mode of living was really quite simple, and the average tribesman could have become isolated and yet could have continued to live in comparative comfort. He would have been able to reproduce the most of the simple tools of the time and, thus equipped, would have got along very handsomely. But the outstanding feature of the individual's progress under National civilization has been his decadence from the "self-sufficing" to the "dependent," and this is due to the method of wealth production and exchange on which the "private property" or National system is based. In the earlier stages of that system, the individual produced but one commodity of the group of commodities on which the community life depended, as iron ore, food stuffs, or tools and weapons, etc., and must exchange that commodity for the other necessary commodities in order to satisfy his commodity needs. The others were equally dependent on him for the satisfaction of their needs in his line. The methods of production were not intricate, the raw materials were abundant and convenient and it was possible to change from one form of commodity production to another with very little expense if necessity required it. However, the individual was limited to one commodity at a time and, in that respect, he was no longer a self-sufficing individual—there were some commodities, which he regarded as necessary, that he could only obtain thru the medium of an exchange.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the development of industry thru its various forms. It is enough to mention the breaking up of the "guilds" by the subdivision of labor in the shops in Feudal times. The ancient journeymen produced a completed commodity, as, for instance, a shoe, but the guildsmasters separated the process of manufacture into a number of operations, such as cutting, lasting, pulling over, heel building, etc., etc. and specialized the workmen in these operations for the purpose of an increased production and an enhanced profit. Thus that portion of production which the individual workman performed was further reduced and his dependence upon the cooperation of his fellows in the productive process correspondingly increased.

About 200 years ago, horse, wind and water driven machinery began to be introduced and less than 150 years ago came the invention of the steam engine. Following this came a flood of machine inventions designed to take advantage of these powers and substitute an automatic process for the skill of the craftsman's hands. Modern specialization in machine industry not only reduces the individual to the performance of a single operation but that operation is simplified to the mere pulling of a lever and the shifting of material. The highly skilled craftsman of Feudal times who practically produced an entire commodity might have found it very difficult to change to some other form of commodity production but the modern machine worker may change his occupation quite readily—the operations are comparatively simple wherever he may go. However, it is an utter impossibility that he should meet his requirements by a resort to his own unaided strength and skill. He has become entirely dependent upon the whole industrial process, and for that reason entirely dependent upon his fellows, who function in productive life with him—he is an associated and co-operating creature in spite of himself. No matter what the vocation of the individual may be, the machine method of wealth production and exchange decides and regulates his status for him.

Kropotkin points out to us the principle of mutual aid in animated nature, and his followers urge the adoption of that principle in our human affairs through our voluntary recognition of its beneficial nature, but the development of Industrial Society has set up an economic law that transcends in force the principle of mutual aid. And that law is the Law of Socio-Economic Interdependence, or (abbreviated), the Law of Dependence, which may be expressed as follows: "The more the industrial processes are subdivided—the more artificial society becomes—the more the individual must depend upon the industrial process and, therefore, the more he must depend upon his fellows." This law—this dictum of economic development—absolutely negates and sweeps aside every Anarchist contention that a man can be free, in the sense of being independent of his fellows.

We of the Industrial Workers of the World regard all men as indissolubly bound to each other
by this law and we hold that no man, not a parasite, can live unless he functions somewhere in the process of production and exchange. It is not possible for him to remain in Industrial society and meet the exigencies of his life without in large measure contributing to the Industrial process. If he would live to himself, he must remove to the wilderness and subsist on the savage's fare.

II.

In the first part of this article I have shown that the simple economic processes of tribal times—the crude tools of that period—decreed that the earlier method of association should be for the purpose of mutual service and its later form for service and commodity exchange. Out of the necessity for these things and the effort to make them constant and secure, grew all the social customs and institutions of the tribes. But, when the development of industrial processes and the improvement of the hand tools led to a better, a more efficient, method of wealth production, in that it separated the tribal crafts and industries and enabled the individuals to practice specialization, it brought about the system of commodity exchange and, with a relatively complete commodity exchange came the "Private Property idea."

The practical effect of this was that men no longer worked together to produce their common needs, but each produced a separate part of the common need and they exchanged these parts on the basis of the individual labor time necessary to produce them. The old idea of common service fled. Men's ideas became fixed, not in services, but in commodities. They thought in terms of the particular commodity produced and the exchange necessary to be made, rather than in the terms of service and the sum of all production. Each one became independent upon the production of his particular commodity and its successful exchange for the commodities produced among his fellows, and, in order to improve his living, he reached out for a larger production and a wider range of commodity exchange. This led to ever better methods of production and new contracts with other men, thru the ever widening circle of exchange. New associations were set up, new ideas acquired, new ambitions generated, and the necessity to strengthen these associations, to make concrete these ideas and gratify the ambitions brought about the completion of the "National" idea.

Under the influence of Nationalism and driven onward by the gradual perfection of tools and processes and changing methods of production and exchange, civilization has run the gamut through Slave Nationalism, Feudalism, Guildism and Capitalism, and in each succeeding era the chains of dependence have been more securely bound about the body of the individual. We have at least come to recognize the fact that we are associated and cooperating units, (the often against, our wills) and that we are in a completely dependant status thru this Law of Dependence which automatically results from the separation of the Industries and the subdivision of labor in the shops.

The Law of Dependence is not our law—we did not make it—and, tho Professor Ely in his works on Economics has recognized the fact of dependence, it has devolved upon us to state it as a law. It has been left for us to point out that as the processes of industry become more and more subdivided and the individual is limited to a smaller and smaller part in the productive process, he must become more and more dependent upon his fellows who function with him in that process. The whole fabric of civilization, based upon the use of Machinery in production has become inextricably interwoven and we human atoms are completely enmeshed in the wonderful web. For us, there is no such thing as Independence and, therefore, there is no such thing as that ideal Freedom which so many half-baked Anarchists rave about.

The ideas of some of these simiploners may be gathered from the following incident related by Victor Coughan, formerly Secretary of the Chicago Recruiting Union. Coughan says "A young, so-called Anarchist confided to me that a certain married pair had actually achieved emancipation. He dilated upon their ideas, their sparkling conversation and their completely unconventional actions. 'Why,' he exclaimed 'the other evening I called upon them and had a most enjoyable visit, and when it came their bed time they wound the clock and set the alarm and then, discing in my very presence, went to bed like two dear little babes in the woods. Oh! it is wonderful to think that they can be so truly emancipated.' "Yes," dryly concludes Victor, "but they had to get up in the morning when that cussed clock sprung its alarm and rush down town to work ten hours and make a pot of profit for a boss." Emancipation indeed! It is a befogged brain that imagines that the kicking overboard of a few modern conventions constitutes emancipation.

Emancipation, independence, freedom are things of Economic significance and are highly relative terms. They must be taken in relation to the prevailing method of wealth production to be properly analyzed and understood.

Independent! When one cannot walk across the street without using something that someone else has provided for you. Free! When you cannot obtain a living for yourself until you have called into active co-operation a countless number of your fellow beings, upon whom you are absolutely dependent. No! The wide freedom these piffer spouters hail, can never be attained in a world of machine production.—"There ain't no such animal." We may in time relieve ourselves of exploitation and the bitter oppression that flows from it, but we can never relieve ourselves of our obligation to labor with our fellows in industry and conform ourselves to such conventions as will make that labor efficient.

The Law of Dependence—our recognition of that law—constitutes one of the corner stones of the Industrial Philosophy and upon it, as well as on
Kropotkin's Principle of Mutual Aid do we predicate the desirability—the necessity—of immediate (conscious, willful) Association. Human Society—civilization, so-called—is, of course, a great association built upon the necessity of the people to exchange goods, services and sacrifices, as Jacques Novicow says, but to the great majority the idea of Association is quite remote, for the reason that they were born into this Association and have had no other experience. They accept it as a matter of course—in fact, are quite unconscious of the associated character of their lives—and to attempt to modify it by means of an immediate, conscious association is entirely beyond their present ability to think. A portion of the minority deny the need or efficacy of immediate association—they even make propaganda against it—because they affirm that such association robs the individual of his individuality and tends towards oppression by becoming authoritarian. To such (as to all others) we point out the dependent state of the individual under the present mode of production and the extreme unlikelihood that man will ever achieve a method that will make the individual independent of his fellows and, therefore, capable of living in a disassociated state.

We maintain that the machine-process—the industrial system—has so vastly increased the productive capacity of the individual that, in its possibilities, it represents the sum of efficiency and economy. Its present wastefulness and destruction of the individuality of the workers is due entirely to the system of exploitation to which it is subjected, and under which all its benefits flow into the lives of the ruling, or master class. We regard the Universe as a mechanism which maintains its stability by means of a system of compensations and balances—its actions and reactions are usually equal—and therefore nature usually strikes a very fair general average. Human society, to be worth while, should correspond to the great trend of nature and should guarantee to the individual an equality of opportunity to achieve the best that is in himself and equally enjoy the benefits that the Industrial system of production can bestow, always provided, that he makes an equality of effort with his fellows. This, we take it, is not an unreasonable demand and is consciously opposed only by those who have been allowed to take to themselves, for their own benefit, the direction of human affairs—the profit takers—the exploiters. But, so firmly entrenched are these in their places of power, thru the ignorance and supineness of the mass of the people, that the individual, already completely dependent on the Industrial process for the right to live, is utterly helpless to materially modify the prevailing condition of social life. His only hope lies in association with his fellows, who are equally as adversely affected as he is and who, therefore, have an equal incentive to strive for those changes that we believe would make civilization beneficial to all.

We contend that, while the great human association known as civilization is remote in the consciousness of the people, it is real nevertheless, and not only renders the individual progressively more dependent upon the Industrial process, but, thru the operation of the wage system of exploitation, destroys both the individuality of the worker and his sense of Social Responsibility as well. Therefore, we propose an association, a civilization, which shall be immediately in the consciousness of the people—which shall recognize the Law of Dependence, and which, thru the abolition of wage-slavery, the adoption of Democracy in Industry, shall develop the sense of social responsibility in all men and restore to the individual his individuality.

Our ultimate goal is an ethical transformation—a transformation in the sense of duty—and, since men's ideas are determined by the way they obtain their living, our way to the ultimate of our purposes lies thru an Economic transformation, the substitution of Industrial Democracy for Capitalism. This Economic transformation can best occur (if at all) thru the association of the workers, the wage slaves, in Industrial Unions. Therein, they may be organized in terms of the machine process of wealth production and along the lines of their interests as a class—such Unions, alone, being capable of coordinating them with present Industrial development, and, what is more important, such Unions, alone being able to marshal, drill and discipline the workers for the duties of production and administration in the new society which we foresee.

I have often said that the word "Harmony" is the greatest word in language, because it means complete adjustment and co-ordination of parts. The Universe is in harmony; terrestrial nature is harmonious. Man alone stands at swords points with his fellows; and occupies this unique position because one portion of the world's population exploits, takes a profit out of the labor of the balance of the people. We live in a condition of inequality and injustice. There is a fundamental antagonism of material interest that produces continuous warfare within the social structure—an absolute inharmony.

Among humans, there can only be harmony when there is mutuality of interest—when the "exchanges of goods, services and sacrifices" are mutually beneficial—and when there is a mutual, conscious recognition of social responsibility. We point to our mutual interdependence under the Law of Dependence and propose that dependence beneficent, rather than oppressive and destructive of manhood. Industrial Democracy, or Industrial Communism (if you will call it such) would mutualize the interests of mankind. It would co-ordinate our productive efforts and completely adjust us to prevailing Industrial process. In fact, industry would then be a completely social process and, being such, would fully develop the sense of social responsibility; Which would mean that our world would be as it should be—in economic, in social, in ethical harmony.
Industrial Democracy then, is the aspiration of the working class and we contend that the way to it leads only thru the organization of that class in Industrial Unions. Only as the workers are Industrially organized can they be made truly conscious of their mutual or class interests, their class will be developed and their forces be properly united to achieve the class aspiration. Functioning at the base of society—in daily use and operation of the tools and machinery of production—they are the only class that can guarantee the well being of society and in One Big Union only can they be truly harmonized and prepared to make good that guaranty.

World events drive on with a vast relentless logic. A great cycle of thought is completing itself. We come back again to the ancient idea of mutual service as the driving force in human affairs, and the practical translation of that idea into fact will be an Industrial Communism—more concretely, The Industrial Democracy.

Workers of the World! Awaken!

BY REBECCA TENROSEN.

There are great events occurring in all parts of the world, happenings which make the hearts of those working to emancipate the wage slave, beat high with hope in all parts of the world, truly, but, alas! least of all in this country of America, for so many years reputed to be the Land of Liberty.

Of course, the reason is apparent to any sane and sober-minded man or woman. Here, the skilled worker has reached a stage where he receives enough money to make almost a decent livelihood, and, perhaps, even to indulge in an occasional luxury, such as taking a day off, or going to the theatre. This slight advance in his miserable state of bondage has had, it appears, quite the opposite effect from that expected. It is often said that, when once the slave begins to lift himself from out of the mire and filth in which he exists, in body and in spirit, he will no longer tolerate the atrocities perpetrated upon him by his master. Unfortunately, this has not been the case,—unfortunately, the worker here, being given a better chance, in many cases, to make his living than in the country that gave him birth, feels greatly pleased with himself and the "glorious" height he has attained, becomes smug and complacent and desirous only of not being annoyed—wants to be left in peace to enjoy the pittance doled out to him by the boss. Indeed, his one great aim and ambition seems to be to ape the masters and become a slave-owner himself.

From the four corners of the globe, we hear of the workers emancipating themselves. In militaristic Germany, monarchal Russia, in Australia, South America, Africa. From these places the news is inspiring; the spirit of revolt and ambition is spreading like wildfire throughout the lands, bringing with it a promise of better days to come, when there shall no longer be such an animal as a boss, nor such a weakling as a slave.

When will that time come for the workers here in America? One hundred, two hundred years hence? How distant is the date when there will be an Industrial Revolution in this country? This complacency of the workers, this weak-minded, ambitionless, spiritless apathy, must be done away with before they will awaken from the depths to which they have sunk. They need to be roused, and roused so thoroughly that never again can they sink back into the slimy bog of stupidity and lack of self-respect in which they are now engulfed.

One could almost wish that the masters would commit some frightful wrong against these helpless creatures, would do that which they, no doubt, long in their hearts to do, so that a shock, quick, sudden, as an earthquake, might shake the workers to the very depths of their being, precipitately overthrowing them, so that their self-satisfaction might turn to fear. Until then, the workers of the United States are hopeless. Hopeless, indeed—unless—hearken, ye workers of the world!—hopeless—unless you become aware of this apathy, take alarm at it, begin to be anxious for your future prosperity, anxious and fearful to the point where you will strive to do away with your masters, and cease to be content with the dull, colorless, drab lives you are now enjoying.

When will you learn, you workers of the world, not to trust your masters? When will you wake to the truth? When will you cease to lick "the hand that's robbing you"?

I. W. W. INVITED TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

General Headquarters of the I. W. W. is in receipt of the following cablegram:

Amsterdam, Holland, May 17, 1919.

Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, Ill.

According to resolution taken at Berne, we have decided, in mutual accord, to convene international conference of all trade union centers, at Amsterdam on July 28 and following days. Each center may send ten delegates at a maximum. Wire to Oudegeest, Amsterdam, names of your delegates. Take immediate necessary steps for their passports. Letter giving full details and agenda are following.

Oudegeest, Jouhaux.

For a more detailed account of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W. see special issues of "New Solidarity" of May 17th and 24th.

Complete stenographic report is being mimeographed and sent out.

Frank Conboy wishes to hear from Mike Morris. "Important."
"Sic’Em"
THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Psychology of Persecution in War Times

By JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS

WHEN this country made war upon the German State the capitalists rejoiced, for two reasons. First, it meant to them an unparalleled opportunity to coin profits, of which they have taken, as history shows, full advantage. Secondly, the war provided the ruling class with a pretext and a camouflage to make war upon the revolutionary labor movements. All intelligent observers know, that our patriotic capitalists conducted the war against the class conscious workers at home, with more appetite and zeal, than they did the one against the Germans.

War has been defined as being the continuation of a political policy of a capitalist state, by military means. Stating it in another way, if the Italian imperialists want the port of Fiume, which is not theirs, and they fail to get it by methods parliamentary, then, all other factors being equal, they declare a war against the Jugo-Slavs, in order to obtain the port. Thus they sustain with arms their political policy in the matter of penetrating the Balkans and the East for blessed trade.

However, a capitalist state has not only foreign enemies, who present themselves as such, by virtue of a clash of economic ambition and interests, but it also has domestic social enemies, namely: the proletariat. Between the foreign capitalist enemy and the social enemy at home, the capitalist class is by far more intransigent against the latter.

When, therefore, the American capitalists declared war on the Germans, not because they cared one damn for democracy, but because, as Senator Harding has stated in the Senate, American commerce (owned by the capitalists, and robbed from the working class) was placed in jeopardy, a golden opportunity arose to crush class-conscious, revolutionary labor. Because a war lets loose the abominable passions of a mob, under the lash of pulpit and press, of which America is cursed with perhaps the most dishonorable and disgraceful in the entire world.

Before we had entered into the scientific slaughter of the masses our capitalists were very seriously alarmed over the phenomenal growth of the radical labor movement, and, in particular, the I. W. W. There was a movement on foot to destroy it. A campaign of slander and misrepresentation was pursued. There were also cases where the fundamental rights of the workers in the organization were ruthlessly violated. Nevertheless, despite it all, the organization made greater progress (I write of the West) than did its enemies. Had things gone on normally, it is certain the strength of the organization would have leaped over a million.

The persecution of the I. W. W., in the time of capitalistic peace, served only to demonstrate to the working class, how raw the capitalists are toward labor. This tended to draw help and sympathy for the I. W. W. However, the war brought on a new set of conditions.

America has been blighted with strong currents of European labor, who, in this country have been more or less under the domination of nationalists. Let us take, for instance, the Slovaks. These people, who have emigrated here from Hungary, were made the prey of unscrupulous nationalistic agitators. They have lost, or rather been robbed, in the last 25 years, of over 5 million dollars by these Slovak “patriots,” yet there is hardly a half a million of them here. When America entered into the mouth of hell, these people were made raving mad with patriotism, as the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks was made the supreme thing for them. Well and good. But their minds were inflamed, all the time, against the revolutionary elements within the nation and the world. What is true of the Slovaks, is also true of the Poles, the Bohemians and the Slavs in general, who, by the way, are not an inconsiderable factor in the labor world.

Therefore, the capitalist class, in its campaign of vilification against the revolutionary organizations, found plenty of assistance in non-American sources. It was easy indeed to impress large nationalistic bodies of non-American tendencies with the idea, that the I. W. W., an American organization from top to bottom, was pro-German. For these bodies snatched at anything that discredited an organization whose “nationalism” embraced all of humanity regardless of race, creed or color. The war, then, obliterated the potentiality of winning over to the I. W. W., psychologically, large masses of these Slavic workers, and transferred them, for the time being, into the camp of our enemy, where they did sterling service to the cause of black reaction.

When the war broke out the capitalists knew that if they could only convince the people as a whole, that the social-revolutionists were assisting the enemy, then a wholesale onslaught on them would win the sanction of the mixed populace. This they set out to do. It is, of course, clear that to engender the fury of the mob against the I. W. W., there must exist some interest which the mob has in the war, and which the organization is threatening to annihilate. As a matter of fact, the working class had no interest whatsoever in the war. But the capitalists invented one for it.

Democracy was at stake. Shall it perish from the earth? Certainly not! Well, then, we must fight. However, he who asks the nature of the democracy cannot be tolerated, and he who sets about organizing, within the union, the workers to usher in a reign of Industrial Democracy, is a traitor. They did not say so plainly, but that was the substance of their attacks. Furthermore, these I. W. W.’s are endangering your dear ones at the front. They are attacking them in the rear, with the Germans in front. All these things were asserted, a million times over, to work up the pos-
sions of the populace. Once that blind rage is played up, then the case of the victim is lost, for the time being only, however. After the preparation comes the “coup d’état.”

In the work of repression and persecution of the revolutionary elements, the capitalist class was gladly assisted by the traitors of the working class within the labor movements. To this end the “American Alliance for Labor and Democracy” was organized.

Thus the charges of the capitalist class that the social revolutionists were in the pay of the Kaiser, that they were on principle pro-Germans, and desired the defeat of America, were promptly and in parrot-like fashion repeated by the “friends of democracy,” who were, we say unhesitatingly, in the pay of the capitalists. The effect that this traitor organization had on the minds of the mixed populace, was exactly of the nature that the capitalists wanted. They could say and actually did, that so far as the I. W. W. and real Socialists were concerned, the “responsible” and “sober” labor leaders were organized against them, because of their “disloyalty.” Consequently, the masses of people who knew practically nothing of the origin and history of the radical labor movements, were easily fooled and duped by the traitors to the cause of working class emancipation.

The curtain is now being raised; the workers can now see the cause of the persecution of the revolutionary movements. Their eyes are being opened, not so much by the revolutionary textbook as by the role the world-capitalists are playing at Paris. Slowly, the despicable part that the traitorous labor leaders played against our class, is becoming understandable to the rank and file of labor. The war has assisted greatly in the process of clarification, so urgently needed in the labor movement.

“Proclamation” by Ole Hanson

“To All Mayors in the United States

The events of the past few days, the sending of bombs to law-enforcing officials, the rioting and disorder in many cities in this country, has probably convinced the doubters that the menace of Bolshevism and I. W. Wism is imminent and that all teachers of force and violence should be suppressed and punished.

In my sober judgment the “Reds” have a vast organization in every country in the world, and expect to overthrow all governments, including ours.

The Red Flag of anarchy cannot continue to wave on the same planet with our emblem of liberty and freedom. Make no mistake about that. One or the other must fall. Surely the Red Flag has no place in our country.

Then let us suppress it in every part of our land! I note that press dispatches state that an I. W. W. national convention is soon to be held. It seems unbelievable that our government will allow this outlaw organization to assemble en masse and plot its destruction at such a time as this. However, as mayors, we have our sworn duty to perform and we must be true to our American citizenship, therefore.

I request all mayors in this great land of ours to close all I. W. W. halls, throw the teachers of force and violence in jail, demand of the national authorities the deportation and punishment of all anarchists and the suppression of the Red Flag wherever and whenever it is found.

If this brand of Americanism does not suit some people, let them go back to the country from which they came.

We don’t want them in the United States.”

With the I. W. W’s cleaned out, or on the way to that end, Mayor Hanson is now going to turn his attention to the proposal to furnish reclaimed land to returned soldiers and sailors.

As a land speculator Ole Hanson is said to be more of a success than as a guardian of public morals and as a sample of civic virtue. Ole and his fellows are raising a lot of dust about the I. W. W., because there is a great scandal brewing that would come to public attention if there were a let-up in the anti-I. W. W. agitation.

The ignorance of the country papers on social questions is appalling. The subjects of I. W. W. and Bolshevism have now been discussed so long that one would expect at least editors to be acquainted with the A. B. C. of both. But they are not. As a sample of ignorance and viciousness we quote the following from the Sioux Falls, S. D., “Argus” (sic!):

“In Russia where Bolshevism prevails it is a crime to own your own home or your own farm. There the state is everything and the individual is nothing. The result is of course a tragic fizzle. The United States which has reached the climax of its career following the policy of individualism must not permit the I. W. W. to start anything resembling Bolshevism in this country.

Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle has been openly accused by the Central Labor Council in Seattle of being deeply interested in some real estate swindles in Wyoming. Hanson in answer hisses “I. W. W.” and advises just as openly the consigning of I. W. W. agitators to the graveyards. America is a free and democratic country, all right, but the people have been taking a nap and allowed the power to slip into the hands of the cut-throat element, represented by such men as real estate shark Hanson. But mountebanks like him will not last long in public confidence.

The Imperative Need of Industrial Organization

The need of industrial organization among the workers is being brought home to us all with irresistible power these days. This kind of organization has long been conceded to be a superior form of organization to the old craft union system, but it is not mainly for this reason that the industrial union movement has taken hold of peoples' minds as an article of creed. The main reason for the upward swing of industrial unionism is the second one of its functions, namely its adaptability as an organ for taking over production by the people itself, now that capitalism is collapsing.

The I. W. W. has always maintained that it would be necessary to create these organs for taking over production, but political socialists and anarchists as well as workers of the bourgeois frame of mind, have for years done everything in their power to discredit it as an organ of production in the future. The acceptance of this face of it would have meant the giving up of their respective pet theories of social reconstruction.

Experience in Russia and other countries where the old system of production and ownership have been overthrown, and where those in power as well as the workers themselves have been compelled to experiment with new organs of production, has shown that there is no other productive organ can take its place. At least not in a society aiming at industrial democracy.

However, in those countries the need of industrial unionism may not be half as apparent as it is in this country. Having no highly developed industries, the changes in the mode of production at the time of revolution were comparatively small and simple. But the more developed industry is, the more complex its organization, the more difficult it is to create new organs for taking over same.

In Russia the industrial workers, who were never far from the soil, returned to their relatives and friends in the country in large numbers and lived off the soil.

In America no such thing could take place. Any attempt at revolutionary mass action at the present time would of course be stupid; it would end in the most complete disaster for those who would be foolish enough to enter into such an adventure. But times are rapidly changing. The day is perhaps not far distant when the mass of the American people, the natives as well as others, are face to face with the same situation as the Russians and Hungarians. The pressure of poverty and economic insecurity may become so great even here that the mass rises in revolt and seizes political power. There is nothing illegal in discussing such an eventuality.

What will happen then? If we smash the trusts, the stock companies, and raise general havoc with the present owners of production, thereby destroying the present organs of production, who is going to do the work of the organs that we are destroying?

If we put the steel trust out of commission as a productive organ, who is going to make the steel that we must have? "The workers, of course," you will answer. Yes, of course, but the workers cannot run the complex industry of steel making unless they are organized in that industry, so that they can take over the control and the operation of the whole industry, in such a manner that production will not be interrupted. Are the steel workers so organized now? No. You know that they are so far from it, that smashing the steel trust as a productive organ would prove a disaster of great magnitude. The steel workers must hurry to organize industrially, in order to have the new organ of steel production ready when the old one is put out of commission.

Supposing again that the food trust were put out of commission by a revolutionary outbreak, who would take over this most important and intricate branch of production? "The workers," you will again answer.

Your answer is right, but how in the world are they going to take over food production, except they are organized in a union covering the whole industry? Are the workers of the great packing houses in Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha organized in such a manner that a person in his full senses would feel justified in going out and smashing the food trust? Most emphatically NO. If the food trust were to go on strike it would prove the greatest national calamity that America ever witnessed, because the workers of that industry are not organized industrially to carry on production.

But revolution is not the kind of a fellow that stops and waits for people to get ready. When the conditions are ripe for it, it will come in spite of us, as it always has done, and those who are then caught napping will have to suffer for it. We all know it is coming, and it is a sacred duty to prepare for it, so that we may be able to spare mankind the sufferings they are bound to drag over themselves through their ignorance and indifference.

When revolution comes, an industrially unorganized American mob would break the windows of the butchershops and get the steaks, it would break the windows of the bakery and take the bread, it would smash the haberdasher's storefront and get the clothing. When that was done it would proceed to starve and suffer. That would last for a few days, and after that the unorganized mob would be a red-eyed, murderous monster that would keep on slaying, until somebody solved the question of taking up and carrying on production.

There are in this country tens of millions of white and Negro workers to whom the idea of organization is nothing but rank nonsense. These are the terrible elements that will make a revolution without preparation, these are the ones that will form the red-eyed, frantic, crazed monster fighting for its life. Anyone trying to lead this mob into revolutionary action without first provid-
ing for continued production by organizing the workers industrially, is committing nothing short of a crime against mankind.

There is no shortcut to the new society or to industrial democracy. Industrial Unionism is the short, straight road that leads direct to it. All other propositions, such as revolts, capturing of political power, etc., are nothing but unnecessary capers that delay our onward march as a class. It may be trying on our patience, but we have to buckle down to the tedious and thankless task of driving the idea of industrial organization into the sluggish heads of our fellow workers. This is a work of education and agitation that will take some time, but it is the only way of putting the working class in possession of the means of production and distribution. It is the only road to industrial democracy, so we will have to grit our teeth and keep it up.

The One Big Union Monthly Has Reached England

British Clergy Would Like to See It Suppressed

C OPIES of The One Big Union Monthly have reached London, England. In a dispatch by Malcolm Lincoln, sent on May 5 to the Chicago Post, we are getting back by cable several fragments of our second issue together with an expression of horror at the rest of the contents, text as well as cartoons.

The despatch says:

London, May 5.—Bolshevist newspapers, that have sprung up in large numbers in many parts of the United States, and particularly in the middle west, are the principal factor in stimulating the anarchist sentiment that inspired the bomb plot against law and order. So think a majority of the British journals.

Accurately or inaccurately, they assume that Chicago is the center of the bolshevik movement in America, believing that the decisions of the Illinois courts last summer have had more to do with arousing the I. W. W. enmity than those of the California tribunals in January or the more recent sentence of Leninites to Atlanta from New York. Hence general applause for Chicago's May day police precautions goes along with frank advice as to the future.

All express the hope that in Chicago, New York, Boston and San Francisco there will be round-ups thorough enough to collar "the whole miserable breed," as the Herald, the labor organ, calls the "self-styled but mis-styled world workers, who work at nothing in particular except crime and sabotage."

Denounce Chicago Reds

They ask, "How long will a community like Chicago tolerate the free-lance anarchism of sheets like the One Big Union Monthly," with "every line and cartoon in them avowedly designed to smash the entire fabric of civilization in North America?"

Religious journals and prominent pastors denounce "the Chicago-born assaults upon religion by the American bolshevists."

Father Bernard Vaughan in an eloquent sermon on the "difference between the 'divine discontent' of the poets and the diabolic discontent of the Trotskyites and Haywoodites," cited the appeal of the chairman of the General Union to the workers to "wake up to the fact that the clergy and the like are leading them astray and are parasites of capitalism and a hindrance to the worker individually as well as to the labor movement."

Neither Voltaire nor Bob Ingersoll could have matched that lie, he said.

Dr. Jewett, referring to the same "infernal diatribe against religion," declared that "the priceless privilege of a free press is being abused beyond all proper human pardon, beyond all adequate earthly penalty, by the pestiferous scoundrels who in Chicago—a city where the pulse of God-fearing Americanism ought always to beat true—are urging the workers to assail not only the state but the church, alleging that 'the main object of the church is to keep them in ignorance of the fact that they are being exploited and robbed by the master class.'"

Anxiety Is Apparent.

Sir Robertson Nicoll wonders how the religious folk of the middle west will deal with "the latest bolshevist development of the United States—the gospel of the Chicago reds that the American clergy are in the exploiting class to crush the workers and the church is the tool of capitalism."

When Fellow Worker Menchen wrote the article "Is Religion a Handicap to the Labor Movement?" we are sure he did not realize he was going to step on the sore corns of the clergy in England. The author is a very young wage worker, and we are inclined to believe that this was the first time he ever had anything printed. If he can make three of the most "eminent divines" of England (and one of them a "sir" at that) jump and holler at a distance of about 5,000 miles, he ought to take it as a hint to keep on writing.

In a typical country editorial, one of these scribbles that are the mental pabulum of the mass of the American people, the "Journal" of Lafayette, Ind., advices a wholesale clean up of I. W. W.'s, the reason being the sending of the 20-30 bombs by mail to prominent men. The Journal commits a crime in trying to instigate persecution against us for a crime which we have not committed, a crime which even the police at a first glance seem to think comes from a different source. If the editor of the O. B. U. Monthly were to accuse the editors of the "Journal" for having sent those bombs he would be doing them no more wrong than they are doing us.

A dispatch from Sioux City, Iowa, states that "the police have begun the rounding up of all suspicious characters and those known to have a leaning towards bolshevism or the I. W. W. organization." By what earthly and legal right are they doing it?

Twenty new charters were issued during the month of March for new branches of the Industrial Unions and the General Recruiting Union of the I. W. W.
The Revolution
ITS WHY

We are facing a revolution. The masters say that it will not come and that it must not come.

Because they do not want a revolution they state that it will not come. But still they are preparing for it.

The world over the living instinct in man foretells the coming of a revolution.

Hoping for it or hoping against it, we are facing a revolution.

If the revolution is denied then also the fundamental facts of modern production are denied.

The modern machine has upset the balance between the masters' commanding, autocratic function in production and the workers' obeying labor.

To a daily increasing extent the machine performs work formerly done by physical labor.

A pressure is created. The worker is so to say pushed out of the humble, menial position originally assigned him by the system of capitalism.

He passes the pressure on to the employer.

The machine has taken the worker's job, and the worker is going to take the master's. The machine is setting a merciless spur in the worker's loin and kicks him bodily upward whether he wants it or not.

The process of production has reached its apex under the system of capitalism. The process of production demands toward itself a new attitude of man. It has prepared a basis for a new relation between producers. It creates in the toiling masses, as an urgent necessity of life, the will to execute work of higher quality than brainless labor. Finally it drives them into demanding a complete surrender and into the taking over of sovereign direction of the process of production.

All human labor will be sovereign directive. The steel, the machine, shall perform the brute, obeying toil.

And every son and daughter of man shall partake of life, of the truth and reality of life on a basis of equal justice.

The masters do not want this, because when this happens there will be no masters. Therefor they deny the possibility of a revolution. But the revolution is urged by the iron necessity of modern production. And the fact of modern production cannot be denied.

All protests drown in the avalanche of the roar of the modern world.

Up against the dykes comes the strong tidal wave of proletarian will to revolt.

In spite of denials, of wails and curses, a creeping terror grips the masters' vitals.

They are preparing in the shadow of a deadly peril, in the mad panic of those who do not understand.

And still they babble on: "I will not come. It must not come."

Their own terror bears testimony of the reality of the cataclysm in preparation.

The anarchy they are howling about is an anarchy of their own terror.

Therefore, at the time when the power is going

They are subject to bloody follies in their inmost be shifted, an attempt to create chaos may be expected from the masters' side.

Capability to grasp why their own narrow desires are blocked by the giant facts of life.

Workers! Upon your shoulders rests the destiny of the future. Mankind looks for an iron pillar to lean against in the crucial times ahead. Get together in the One Big Union built on the rock bottom of modern production. It is up to you to subdue the mad dogs of capitalism and open the gates of freedom.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ENDORSED BY YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The national convention of The Young People's Socialist League, an auxiliary of the Socialist Party, held a convention in Chicago May 1-5. The part of their proceedings that interests us in particular is the league's position on industrial unionism as explained in the following

Resolution

As a weapon to achieve the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, the craft union method of organization has outlived its usefulness. If we are to carry on the class war more effectively than in the past, we must change our present method of organization in conformity with our past experience and the demands of the time.

The industrial union form of economic organization is superior to the craft union because

1. It emphasizes the fundamentals of the class struggle.

2. It tends to draw in a more compact body the forces of the workers and develops a spirit of class solidarity.

3. It accepts each gain in working conditions as a stepping stone to the ultimate abolition of wage slavery.

In view of these facts, we go on record as heartily endorsing the industrial union form of economic organization.

Whether this means that the members of the league are going to rush in to the I. W. W. all at once or whether it is merely a platonic declaration to signify that the Socialist Party is unable any longer to buck against the One Big Union current, that remains to be seen.

I. W. W. DENIED CITIZENSHIP

George Rappel, who admitted he was an I. W. W. member, was denied citizenship by a judge in Fargo, N. Dak., on that ground says the Lincoln Star, Neb.

No use for an I. W. W. man to waste time and money on getting his citizen's papers, by the looks of it.
The Story of the I. W. W.
By Harold Lord Varney

CHAPTER FOUR.
THE FIRST CONVENTION.

The day arrived. On June 27, 1905, the convention at which the I. W. W. was born, was convened at Brand's Hall, in Chicago. Seldom has a union been launched with such promise. Delegates and spectators had poured into Chicago from every section of the United States. All were fired by an enthusiasm and a unanimity born of the occasion.

The tragedy among industrial unionists, in the past, had been a fatal fractionalism. Every coming together had been fraught with subsequenct divisions. As a result, a multitude of industrial union cults were feverishly engaged in a work of mutual annihilation.

The First Convention brought them all together. The personal note was subdued. Each vied with the other to secure the harmony and success of the occasion. Of course, it was only a truce, but under the cover of that truce, the construction of a scientific industrial union movement was at last accomplished.

All the great leaders who had blazed the trail of industrial unionism in the past, lent their presence to the convention. It was rich in persons. First and foremost, there was Big Bill Haywood, just springing into fame as a leader of the W. W., of which he had been one of the delegates, who had been destined to attain industrial fame, as the leader of the new organization. There was Eugene V. Debs, the greatest orator of the labor movement, who had struck an early blow for industrial unionism, back in the strike of the A. R. U. There was Daniel De Leon, the S. L. P. leader, of whom we have already written. An interesting delegate was Thomas J. Hagerby, an ex-Catholic priest, who had thrown into the labor movement the rich endowment of his intellect. There was Clarence Smith, afterwards to become mayor of Butte, Montana; Frank Bohl, doctor of philosophy and labor agitator, who had been driven from the faculty of Columbia University; A. M. Simons, Socialist party advocate, who attended the convention as the editor of the International Socialist Review; Charles H. Mayer, who was afterwards to become the W. W.'s bitterest enemy, and William E. Trumppmann, one of the brightest minds of that early period. Two women, who sat in the convention, added to it, the bizarre picturesque ness of their past. One was Mother Jones, that wonderful old woman, whose eloquence was known and loved wherever miners struggled for freedom. The other was Lucy E. Parsons, whose dark features were a constant reminder of the tragedies of the Haymarket tragedy, which had ended the first great drive for a revolutionary unionism, in this same city of Chicago, nearly a generation before.

In all, there were 293 delegates in attendance. Not all of these represented a constituency. The preliminary conference had provided for the seating of individual sympathizers in the convention, with one vote apiece. These individuals comprised 41 of the total. Of those who came as representatives, there were two divisions. First, there were those who came authorized to install their organizations in the new union. The others came to investigate the organization, as it was formed, and to report back to their unions for later action. Of the first type of delegates, there were 70; of the latter type, 72.

The bodies which definitely committed themselves to a policy of organization in the new union were:

The Western Federation of Miners 27,000 members
The American Labor Union 16,000
United Brotherhood of Railway Employees 2,887
United Metal Workers 3,600
Socialist Trades & Labor Alliance 1,450
Punch Press Operators Union of Schenectady, N. Y. 168
Industrial Workers’ Clubs of Chicago, Cincinnati and Pueblo 162

These were the unions which made up the component parts of the new I. W. W.

The other delegates were, nearly without exception, representatives of local unions which were affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is unnecessary to give their names as practically none of them swung into the I. W. W. after their delegates returned. In this respect, the convention was a bitter disappointment to many of its projectors, as it had been believed that several international unions of the A. F. of L. would take advantage of this occasion to abandon the older organization. Only two general craft organizations were officially represented, the American Flint Glass Workers’ Union and the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers.

At 10 o’clock on that first morning, the delegates were called to order by William D. Haywood. After a few explanatory remarks by Haywood and a reading of the manifesto, the convention adjourned to give the credentials committee a chance to effect a temporary classification of the delegates. The credentials committee consisted of the original members at the January conference. They were to examine the credentials of those delegates who were authorized to install in the new union. These, in turn, were to elect the permanent credentials committee which should pass upon all the remainder.

This method of procedure had been decided upon, in advance, in order that the control of the convention should not pass out of the hands of the original conference. It was feared that some of the delegates were not there in good faith. Suspicion pointed most strongly to the U. M. W. of A. delegates. These delegates represented 50,000 members and, had they been allowed a proportional voting strength, they would have controlled the convention. In that case, it is doubtful if the outcome would have been the creation of a revolutionary union. Many of the U. M. W. of A. delegates were notoriously reactionary. Phil. Veal, a U. M. W. of A. member, who was present in the convention as a representative of the S. T. & L. A., early took the floor and exposed the fact that several of these same individuals had upheld Mitchell and the notorious Civic Federation at the last convention of their own union. The temporary credentials committee obviated the danger by seating them as individuals, with only one vote apiece. The same decision was made in the case of the other delegates who were not empowered to install and of the individual visitors. Each of these had one vote in the convention. Thus, from the very first, the W. F. of M. cast the controlling vote in every division. The W. F. of M. delegates were not bound by the unit rule, however, and the delegation was sometimes found on opposing sides. Aside from the first maneuver, which shut out the U. M. W. of A., they did not use their preponderance arbitrarily.
Upon permanent organization, Haywood was elected chairman and William E. Trautmann, secretary. Permanent committees were then chosen to report on constitution, resolutions, organization, wages and means and literature and press. There was a long discussion of the manner in which these committees should be elected. The discussion was terminated by a decision to choose them by giving one representative to every constituent group on each committee and three members at large to be chosen from the individual delegates. Thus selected, each committee went to work. Naturally, the most important of the committees was the committee on the constitution. After three days of work, they announced their readiness to report, and delegate Hagar! arose and, for the first time, read the preamble of the I. W. W. This preamble has become almost a classic document of industrial unionism. Every member of the I. W. W. knows it by memory and it is the clearest expression of the backgrounds of the movement that has ever been penned.

Original I. W. W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people anywhere in the world, nor can there be a lasting peace without economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take hold of that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things 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. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers."

"These sad conditions can be changed and the interests 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."

In this form, the preamble was first adopted.

It well typifies the divergent viewpoints which were being consolidated. The first paragraph, in which the socialistic conception of the class struggle was unreservedly endorsed, was accepted by all. The second paragraph, covering political action, was a compromise and an evasion. Many had feared that the subject of political action was the rock, upon which the convention would break, but no such element was present.

In this form, the preamble was adopted.

element present, not so strong, perhaps, as in the later conventions, but a factor which could not be ignored, the anarchists. They were naturally opposed to any political clause. The W. F. M. and A. L. U. delegates were more or less divided on this question but the attitude of the average western unionist, was one of indifference. Thus, it was at first, left for the three factions to fight out. To avoid a division, the political endorsement was worded as shown above, with a qualifying clause, "without affiliation with any political party." Not having sufficient strength to defeat the preamble, the anarchist element accepted it temporarily. The pure and simple industrial unionists did not consider it a vital point. Three years later, the remaining minority of this industrial union group reversed themselves and accepted the non-political idea of the anarchists.

Next, the name of the new union was debated. The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the name of Industrial Workers of the World was accepted. The name appropriately expressed the aims of the movement, embodying as it did, the three principles of industrial unionism; proletarian organization and internationalism. An attempt was made to substitute the name, Industrial Union of America, but the original selection was overwhelmingly upheld.

A really serious division occurred however, when the next section came up for discussion. The plan of organization decided upon by the committee classified the entire working class into thirteen industrial departments. These departments should be the units in the I. W. W. and the General Executive Board should consist of a delegate from each department. Delegate David C. Coates sought to amend this so that every industry would form a union on an equality with every other. This would border, dangerously, upon the old craft union system of the A. F. of L. It appeared as if Coates' amendment was seeking to restore trade, rather than industrial autonomy. The most strenuous debate of the convention was drawn out. De Leon, Trautmann and Hagar! led the opposition. Simons and the Socialist party element generally, championed the amendment. A compromise was finally arrived at in the following substitute:

The International and National Industrial Unions shall have complete industrial autonomy in their respective international affairs, provided the executive board shall have power to control these industrial unions in matters concerning the interest of the general welfare.

In the year following this convention, however, the departmentalists and industrialists showed an alarming tendency to line up on other matters much as they had lined up on this original Coates amendment.

With this crucial motion disposed of, the convention settled itself down to acquiescence on all the other recommendations of the constitutional committee. On the 10th day, when the work was completed, the convention had adopted substantially every feature of the constitution as it exists to this day. A structure of unionism had been reared which was unique in the history of the labor movement.

The I. W. W. had a place for every worker in the world. Its structure is best diagrammed as a wheel. Upon its circumference, every worker is represented and the spokes are the boundary lines which classify him in his industry. The fundamental departments are, in turn, subdivided by the finer divisions of industry. For example, the transportation department is made up of five industrial unions, the unions of steam railway workers, of electric railway workers, of marine workers, of shipping workers and of teaming workers respectively. Each of these...
industrial unions in turn, is composed of as many local industrial unions as there are factories or local units in an industry.

Thus, it is a hierarchic form of units. Each unit integrates into a broader one. The basic unit, of course, the individual member. He is directly affiliated with a local industrial union. His local industrial union is affiliated with an international industrial union and is represented in its constitution by one delegate. The international industrial union constitutes one of the thirteen departments in which kindred industries are clustered. Overall, a general executive board of thirteen men sits, one elected from each department. This is the supreme industrial parliament.

The superiority of this group — over all previous forms of unionism — was twofold. From a present day viewpoint, it massed the workers no scientifically in times of strike, as to draw out the maximum of their strength upon all occasions. Such a unity of form strengthened every part. It lent itself to political activity of sympathetic and general strikes which had never before been approximated. It broke down every barrier of race, creed, color, or skill. Every worker had an equal place in a great brotherhood of mutual aid.

But the most striking significance of the I. W. W. arose from its possibilities. The founders of the I. W. W. were not endeavoring to establish merely a higher form of present day unionism. They were also building the organism of a new society. The I. W. W. of today would not end with the overthrow of capitalism. When it accomplishes its first and constructive task, it will be carried over into the new regime as a skeleton around which industry will be regrouped. It will take the place of the present day government. As De Leon expressed it, "Where sits the general executive board of the I. W. W., there will sit the government of the United States."

Socialists had always felt it to be a weakness in their program that they had no definite conception of the industrial form which the new cooperative commonwealth would assume. The fullest reaches of their imaginings extended only to the capture of the present day political government. When this political government had been captured, then they assumed that wiser minds than theirs would take up the task of transforming that political government into the industrial democracy, which is Socialism. It was this interim which would supervise between political and industrial socialism, which threatened the greatest menace. A new political autocracy might arise and bar the way to freedom.

The I. W. W. bridged this chasm of danger. When its membership reached the necessary maximum, it would automatically take over the industries. With the precision of a military machine, it would conscript every member of the army of production, assign him his function in the work of the world and classify him, accordingly. There would be no place in such a scheme of life for a political government to continue to exist. It would be a veritable appendage to our social life. As Engels had said, many years before: on the day of the triumph of the working class, the political government will die off.

This, it was, which differentiated the I. W. W. from every previous labor union. The I. W. W. was more than a labor union. It was a revolution. Its preamble boomed to the world that, "we are building the structure of a new society within the shell of the old." No such dangerous or deadly doctrine had ever been hurled against the ruling class. For such a union to win even a temporary victory, would menace the entire social system. Less dangerous to capitalism were all the A. F. of L. victories of twenty-five years, than one sweeping industrial victory of the I. W. W.

Perhaps all of those who attended that first convention did not foresee the industrial giant they were bringing forth. Certainly, all would not have been united, had this bold program of revolution been frankly avowed. There were many timid souls that that first convention who were long since become frightened and deserted the I. W. W. There were pure and simple union men present who would have been amply satisfied to have won a few more victories for the A. F. of L. But, in theory, at least, the I. W. W. of the first convention was the same I. W. W. which has since become the nightmare of the day. It was born with the full garb of revolution. But it wasted four years before it became conscious of its inherent powers.

This structural industrialism was the only original contribution which the first convention made to the I. W. W. In all respects save form, the I. W. W. became a duplication of the Western Federation of Miners. Its scorn of contracts, its direct action, its sabotage, its intermittent strikes — each of these tactics which the I. W. W. has been credited with creating were a direct inheritance from the W. F. of M. Unfortunately, however, the I. W. W. of the first year was fated to have little opportunity to employ such militant tactics.

After the adoption of this constitution, the convention proceeded to the election of the first officials. The general officers provided for were a president, a secretary-treasurer and five members of the general executive board. Many of the delegates had hoped that Haywood would become the first occupant of the presidency. If he had, probably the whole history of the I. W. W. would have been altered. But upon nomination, he declined, preferring to remain the secretary-treasurer of the W. F. of M. In default of a stronger nominee, the election passed to Charles O. Sherman of the former United Metal Workers and he was unanimously chosen president. Sherman had been one of the very first initiators of the preliminary conference and his election was largely a recognition of the enthusiastic efforts which he had expended to make the new union a success. Likewise unanimous was the choice of William E. Trautmann as secretary-treasurer. Only two members of the new general executive board were chosen from the floor. A conference had agreed to constitute three departments out of the organizations installing themselves. These three first departments were mining, transportation and metal and machinery. An attempt to reach out whereby the presidents of each of these departments would become members of the new G. E. B. In this way, Charles H. Moyer, Frank McCabe and Charles Kirkpatrick were chosen as the representatives of the three departments. To bring the board up to its full temporary quota of five, two additional members were elected from the floor at large, F. W. Croonin and John Riordan. With the same splendid harmony which had characterized the convention, the delegates closed the historic gathering and dispersed.

On the evening of the closing day, a great ratification meeting was held as the fitting conclusion of their labors. With speeches by Hägerty, Haywood, Trautmann, Sherman, Powers and O'Neill, the message was first given public expression. This was the first of the countless succession of I. W. W. rallies which were soon to become one of the colorful institutions of the revolutionary movement.

"Any attempt to upset law and order is bolshevism," says the Nebraska Press. The editorials on bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism in these country town papers are about the most ignorant stuff that is printed in any language. Lack of information and servility to the enemies of Labor are their main characteristics.
THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

“Star” Employees

By COVINGTON AMI.

There was a strike in Seattle.
All the workers went out.
The menace of solidarity was there.
There was nothing doing.
Capital and brains could not turn a wheel,
Build a ship,
Saw a log,
Or run a restaurant;
Only the workers,—
The ignorant workers,—
Could perform such intricate tasks.
Hence, capital and brains,
Which abide in the bosses,
Grew desperate.
They declared a “rebellion” on,—
The “government in danger,”—
From Bolshevism, and “Anarchy,”
And “Revolution,”—
And they “saw red,” and then “some.”
The “Seattle Star” told all about it,—
Everything—that ain’t so.
Disaster threatened “civilization,”—
That is to say, the Pocketbook—
For there was solidarity
In the camp of Labor.
All the workers went out.
No, not ALL the workers.
The Typographical Union was loyal,—
To “The Star”—
The “Allied” Printing Trades were loyal,—
To “The Star”—
The Reporters, “Artists,” and Editors were loyal,—
To “The Star”—
That is to say,—
To the Bosses.
The “Star employees” stuck.—
There was no exception.
Yes, there WAS, God bless them!—
The ragged little newsboys!—
THEY DID NOT S C A B !
But “The Star” came out,
Filled with lies about the workers,—
Lies written by Reporters—
Lies polished by Editors—
Lies illustrated by “Artists”—
Lies linotyped by the Typographical “Union”—
Lies set up by the “Allied” Printing Trades—
Lies that everybody KNEW were lies—
Brazen lies—
Shameless lies—
Strikebreaking lies—
Lies that threatened “No quarter!”
To workingmen, and women, and children.
But the Typographical Union was “loyal.”
And “The Star” came out.
But the newsies stood pat—
THEY WOULD NOT S C A B !
And, so, the Respectables came,—
In their automobiles—
And distributed “The Stars”—
“Free, gratis, for nothing”—
100,000 of them.—
And “civilization” was “saved”—
With lies—
Lies printed by “union men”—
Against union men—
And the strike was lost—
The “rebellion” was “crushed.”—
And the soldiers stood at attention—
And Ole waved the flag—
And the Prophet Samuel
Blessed the loyal union men—
And some more I. W. W.’s were arrested—
And some more foreigners were deported—
And the Class Struggle was no more—
And a proclamation went forth,
Declaring:
“Peace and good will to all mankind”—
Except those who stood true,—
Like the newsies—
To principle,
And would not scab.
Jesus wept. So did Berger.
I don’t blame them.

DECLINE TO TAKE PART IN LABOR PARADE

Reading, Pa.—Asserting that organized labor will hold its own demonstration “when the occasion warrants,” the Federated Trades Council of Reading, by unanimous vote, has declined to participate in the “victory parade,” which is being planned by a citizens’ committee.

Rather than parade with profiteers, the Reading laborites declare that they wish to bend their efforts toward protecting the interests of returning men and combating the efforts of the master class to force soldiers to work for low wages.

WALL STREET SPEAKS ITS MIND.

“Our laws are all too inadequate to deal with that public enemy, the labor agitator. We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we took the labor leader by the scruff of his neck, backed him up against a wall and filled him with lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we are do not hesitate about such matters for a moment.”—Wall Street Journal.

A Finnish edition of the O. B. U. Monthly will be published by our Finnish Fellow Workers of New York, beginning with May 1. The address of the publication is The Vapautteen Publicity Committee, 1927 Madison ave., New York, N. Y.
LOOK about you and see:
How many men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for their families through their own individual efforts?

How many men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their families through their own individual efforts, and with the aid of their children?

How many young men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their wives (let alone children) through their own individual efforts?

How many young men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their wives (let alone children) through their own individual efforts, and with the aid of their wives?

I venture to say that very few, if any, men of your acquaintance may be classified as belonging in the first category, while those of the second are so numerous that you have but to hazard a guess, and the name first mentioned would almost be certain to be one of the second class.

In the third group newly-wedded men may be put; men who have only a wife to support, the stork having as yet failed to pay them a visit. Members of this group, while not quite as scarce as those of the first, are neither as numerous as those of the second.

The fourth group is a peculiar group, and represents an experiment in matrimony. From what I have seen and heard I come to the conclusion that this experiment is a great success. The number of young people who are rising upon this matrimonial adventure is steadily growing larger and larger, especially among the more intellectual members of the lower class.

It would be, I presume, no surprising discovery for you to find that the rate at which the high cost of living has been increasing is greater than the rate at which wages have increased. Therefore, whoever (no matter in which of the four groups he may be classified) has earned a fairly comfortable wage a few years ago finds, to his great consternation, that his supply of money runs dangerously low as pay-day approaches, in spite of the fact that he has received several large increases in pay entirely unheard of before the war. He finds, in short, that the test of the highness of wages is their purchasing power; that “if the wages of A will buy more than the wages of B will, A’s wages are higher than those of B, although they may not contain so many dollars and cents.”

Thus, men classified as being in the first group find that they are unable to provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for their families; and accordingly send their children, one by one, as they reach the legal working age (and sometimes earlier), into shop, factory and office — so that the family may maintain the standard of living they have been accustomed to. The children, on the other hand, are taken away from their studies and pleasures, — rightly theirs, — and put to work. In the course of time, not infrequently, the son displaces his sire altogether, simply because the latter “is getting old.”

Those classified as being in the second group are in an awful predicament. They cannot send their children out to work because they have already done so since the children had reached the age at which the law allows them to go to work. The combined efforts of the father and the children fail to provide adequately for the family, and only one thing remains to be done: to lower the standard of living, to eliminate some only comfort of life. This done, life becomes one steady grind to keep the family fed, clothed and housed. Men of this type are never independent, always submissive to the employer, and provide a great percentage of scabs and strikebreakers.

The members of the third group, again, are in a still different position. With the H. C. of L. constantly mounting and wages not keeping up the pace, they are forced into a difficult situation. Either they must give up some comfort of life — thus lowering the standard of living — or call for the assistance of their wives to help keep up the standard they have been accustomed to. A choice between these two alternatives becoming imperative, the majority of men decide that they would rather live more poorly than send their wives to work. The women, on the other hand, see things differently. Everything about the house is dear to woman’s heart. They would rather go to work than give up anything they have been accustomed to. And the majority of young women when faced by such a problem do choose to go to work, some only temporarily, others — till health forces them to quit. The offspring of such parents can only be physically weak, mentally defective and morally deficient.

The fourth and final group, this group is composed of men of more than ordinary intelligence, who, because of economic conditions are barred from entering the matrimonial state. In the vocabulary of Nature, however, there is no such word as economies. Confident of their love for each other, these young people will not allow such a little thing as unfavorable economic conditions to interfere with their happiness, and the marriage ceremony takes place. Both work and help support each other. Is this life? And yet we have with us a constantly growing army of just such people. It is this class which has provided the labor leaders of the past, and by all indications will probably continue to yield a great number of men who are to lead Labor on to victory. The progeny of such a union are
deprived of a privilege due every newcomer into
the world—the privilege of being born healthy.

As I view the above my heart fears for my
country.

A land of unlimited natural resources; a land
capable of satisfying the physical wants of each
and every one of its inhabitants, and many more
besides; truly God's own country. And yet among
all this plenty, at this very moment, scores of men,
woman's heart. They would rather go to work than
ition, while thousands of others are in a sorry plight
—due to lack of adequate clothing and shelter, so
vital to human life.

With admiration have I viewed your mountains,
O America! With worshipping heart have I waded
your rivers and overlooked your lakes, and with
silent tread have I traversed your plains! I have
passed through your crowded metropolises, and
have ventured into your sparsely-populated coun-
try. I have been driven through your Fifth Aven-
ues, Michigan Boulevards and Sheridan Roads
with all their splendor; and have tramped through
your Hester, Maxwell and Jefferson Streets, with
all their miseries. I have been a witness at dog
and monkey parties, when but a short distance off
man was attacking beast to wrest from him a piece
of meat. And my mind runs back to the poet's
lines, and what he must have thought of when he
wrote them:

"Thus fares the land by luxury betrayed:
In nature's simplest charms at first arrayed,
But verging to decline, its splendors rise;
Its vistas strike, its palaces surprise:
While, scourged by famine from the smiling land,
The mournful peasant leads his humble band,
And while he sinks, without one arm to save,
The country blooms—a garden and a grave."

Sadly hast thou degenerated, America! In the
morning of thy life thy children were wont to sit
in front of their homes and send up thy praises.
And now? Not a voice is lifted nor an instrument
strung to express their thankfulness and apprecia-
tion. For ever anon thy sons (and daughters, too)
spend their time in shop and factory to earn
enough to keep body and soul together; and what
little time they have left is spent in cheap vaude-
ville and burlesque houses, wine and liquor shops—
to keep them from thinking of tomorrow's grind.
Verily, America, thou hast degenerated!

Every cloud has its silver lining, and an eco-
nomical cloud is no exception to the rule. Just
as after the storm the sun comes out to reassure
the world, so the sun of Industrial Democracy is
sending out its rays to enlighten the world's work-
ers. Already some of us have been reached by its
rays, and more and more of us are being reached
constantly.

Let us devote ourselves to the task of spreading
the gospel of Industrial Democracy and to the pro-
mulgation of its teachings so that Liberty and Justi-
tice, Peace and Goodwill toward man may reign on
earth.

The Plutocrat

By COVINGTON AMI

I Am The State, The Church,
Congress, Synod,
Pontiff, President, and King!
Labor is my Servant.
Governament my Policeman.
And Christ my Cupbearer.
My word is Gospel.
My will is Law.
I own the Earth.
I claim the Universe.
I am Property!
Incarnate, Vested and Divine!
The ultimate of Evolution.
The cream of Civilization.
The Fittest of the Fit.
The Alpha and Omega of Society.
I Am IT!

I speak!
And Empires wane.
Kingdoms crumble.
Repúblicas fall.
Unions fade.
I say to the Politician:

"Come!" and he COMETH.
To my Labor Lieutenant:
"Go!" and he GOETH.
To the Press: "Write!" and it WRITETH.
You Bet.
And they are damn quick about it, too!
I Am IT!

Hail to MYSELF!
I Am the Saving Grace!
Without me Hunger would vanish.
And, with it, THRIFT.
And then, goodbye, Incentive!
Industry would cease.
Agriculture would fail,
Capital rot and Democracy demobilize.
Anarchy and everything awful would happen.
And, at that, I'm modest.
Always was.
I'm a self-made man.
Praise God! (That's Me.)
YOU heard what I said.
I Am It, ITT!