

The
ONE BIG UNION
Monthly



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JUNE, 1938

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

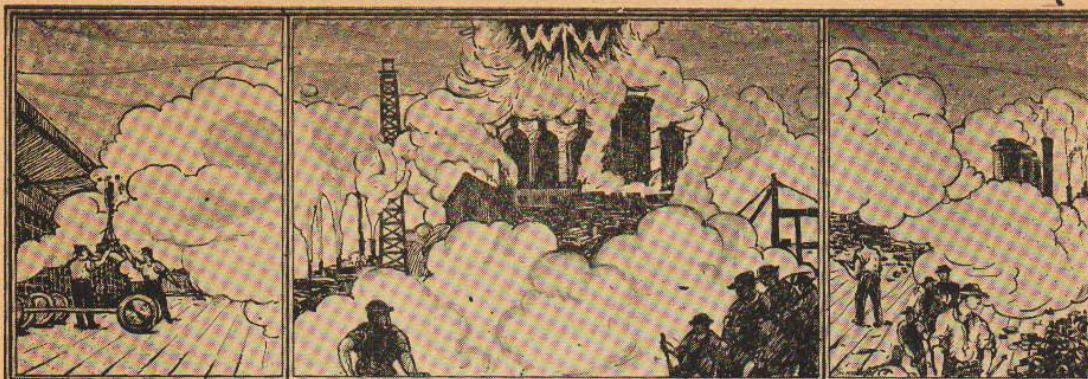
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the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

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

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

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





The ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

For World-Wide Solidarity of Labor

VOL. 2

JUNE, 1938

No. 6

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ON THE RIGHT TRACK

The I.W.W., in its Preamble, as well as in other literature, has constantly pointed out during these past 33 years that real, enduring social and economic power can be obtained only through the control of industries, for those who control the industries also control society and all its functions.

Today there are fewer people who question this proposition than there were in the early days of our organization's existence. The growing concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people and their corresponding increase of power has become too obvious to admit of an intelligent opposition argument.

On the other hand, most workers (the workers are the only people that count as far as we are concerned) still cling tenaciously to the notion that the control of industries from which power is derived must be based on private ownership and that the only way to get a redistribution of power is to go back to the conditions of by-gone days when ownership of the means of production was more widely distributed among individuals.

Of all the changes the future may hold such a reversion to a past condition is the most unlikely. Every development points in the opposite direction. For society as a whole there would be no practical advantage in having the meat packing industry, for instance, under a thousand managements instead of under three. There certainly would be no gain for the workers in such a change. A wider distribution of wealth will not help wage slaves who are not included among the beneficiaries. Workers employed by an unlimited number of little employers can be just as poor as when employed by a few big ones.

The only forward steps labor can take lead toward control of industry by a working class organized in one big union. Can labor build such an organization? Having built such an organization, can labor prevent its being taken over by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and perverted by them to an instrument of oppression?

Labor can do both. Moreover, labor will continue to strive, unconsciously in part, for that goal until capitalism has been overcome; for until then there will be no end to the struggle of labor for more of the better things of life.

Industries have been controlled by private individuals, by corporations and to some extent by municipal, state, and national governments. What's wrong with industries being controlled by a union of the workers who operate these industries? There's nothing wrong with that proposition except that bondholders, stockholders, politicians, and other parasitic elements don't like it.

But, after all, it is the workers and their welfare that counts and the I.W.W. calls upon these to unite in one mighty union so that they may make full use of their economic power for the further advancement of civilization.

The only thing that delays the fulfillment of this program is the sidetracking of working class discontent into sterile activities and compromises. If you are an I.W.W. you are on the right track. Tell others about it.



Homes wrecked by fascist bombers

Victory for Spain

CNT-FAI BULLETIN

A message to the proletarian and anti-fascist world from the union men and women of Spain.

Republican and proletarian Spain has reorganized its strength. All sectors which have fought from the beginning of the war to achieve peace and victory are now represented in the new national union government. Those who were never dismayed in the fight to secure victory and a return to legality and prosperity in Spanish territory have joined forces in strength and harmony through a government whose fundamental objective is to win the war.

We know what this means for the proletariat of Europe and of the whole world, for the democratic countries which will be the future victims of totalitarian governments and for civilization itself. Contrary to the expectations of Franco and his fellow traitors, who on July 19th, 1936, rose in arms against the constituted authority, representative of the popular will as manifested at the

polls on the 16th of February; contrary to the calculations of the reactionary generals who tried to trample on the Republic, longing for the times of the classic "pronunciamientos"; in face of the shameless attacks of the Italo-German High Commands who are directing elements in this war, we the Spanish people, guided by our faith in our right to be masters of our own destinies, have united, forgetting all our political differences, and through our united war government stand ready to fight and die in this struggle for independence and freedom.

The anti-fascist Spanish people have united as never before, and have made a pact for action through their two powerful Syndical Organizations.

We have forgotten what separates us and take into consideration only that which must unite us,

and this is a great deal in face of our common enemy, bloody fascism, oppressor and adversary of progress and culture.

We are disposed to fight and win, not only because of our convictions and national interest, but because we feel sure of the repercussion which the war will have in the whole world, and we offer our uniting example to the proletarian and anti-fascist world so that they may adopt it without hesitation.

Who will dare to maintain discrepancies deriving from political or other creeds while the cannon thunders and the machine gun is directed against the proletariat, the anti-fascist world? The unity of the anti-fascist powers must take place quickly in all the corners of the world. Not a single anti-fascist should remain disunited. Not a single worker should be against his fellow-worker. The hour is critical, the enemy powerful and the battle extremely hard. We are obliged for these reasons to gather up all our strength in a solid bloc of anti-fascist unity to put up the unbreakable barrier of liberty, progress and well-being in front of the oppression and degrading slavery of fascism.



Where are the passengers?

Six

Proletarians Awake!

It would be unpardonable that while Spain sheds its blood in defense of the rights that are sacred for all free men of noble and high thinking, that while we fight in order that peace may be free from the weight of Prussian heels and the Florentine dagger of the "blackshirts," the proletariat of Europe and of the world and the great democracies who are able to prevent it by their energetic and quick action, should observe a platonic and passive attitude in the name of rights and principles destroyed by the mercenary air force at the service of Franco, by the bombardments of open cities and the massacre of peaceful citizens, women and children.

It is high time to oppose the criminal fascist power with energy and action. Spain, we proclaim, will not follow the path of either Abyssinia or Austria. The repulsive boot of fascism will not succeed in crushing us, and if we are not crushed, neither Czechoslovakia nor any other of the small Balkan states will be enslaved, not even France itself, which is threatened more effectively every day. Or is it that France has not become aware of the fact that Germany is fortifying intensely along the Pyrenees with modern and powerful cannon to weaken even the famous "Maginot line"? Or is it perhaps that she does not know of the intention of Italy on the Mediterranean to cut all communication between France and her African possessions and protectorates? Or is it that both France and England are awaiting more promises such as those which were ridiculed by the bully "Duce" in Stressa and Nyon?

The cowardice of the democracies is leading the world to an abyss, to the abyss of a horrible war that will end civilization. The democracies, the anti-fascist peoples, and, finally, the proletariat, can still prevent such a cataclysm.

**"ARMS FOR THE SPANISH REPUBLIC!"
"OPEN FRONTIERS FOR THE SPANISH
GOVERNMENT!" "ANNULMENT OF THE
SINISTER POLICIES OF NON-INTERVEN-
TION, WHICH IS INTERNATIONAL IN-
TERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE FAS-
CIST INVADERS!"**

The proletariat, the anti-fascist people, should turn into a popular clamor those demands for action and help for Republican Spain, and the democracies should proceed to enforce them.

Action—Not Pledges—Needed

This is not time for pledges and excuses. Action is what counts. The spark of Sarajevo has been collectively reproduced in Spain. The baseless amalgam of calumnies raised around our cause by both the home and the invading fascists, must be

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taken as such by all who have visited us and have shared with us a part of the struggle. In loyal Spain exists none of the extremes about which the traitors of Burgos and Salamanca have made so much fuss. The authority of republican order is absolute and it is upheld by all, absolutely all, of the representative authorities of the country.

Determined to conquer our rights and not to be crushed in the holocaust of our fascist aggressors, we will fight until the end, with the conviction that victory will be ours after all. Our decision is made. Our fall would mean the failure of all the possibilities of the proletariat of the world to crush fascism, and for the democratic powers the last opportunity to preserve peace. We are, and

will be, a people who valiantly wave the flag of its liberties, rights and justice.

Proletariat, liberal and democratic peoples of the world! Our call for peace and happiness is your call! Our defense is the defense of your homes and families! He who does not understand our struggle deserves to be crushed by fascism in its advance that destroys towns, wipes out the culture of the people, destroys freedom and paints the world red with blood of innocent victims. Join with us, comrades of the world, in our demand: **Arms and aeroplanes for Spain! Open the frontiers to the Republican Government! Away with the policies of Non-intervention!**

—National Committee of the C. N. T.



JUDAS WAS A PIKER

By A. B. Cobbs

Another "strange circularity" is showing up in the educational system and raising little dust storms in various parts of the country. Some leaders claim that as only about five per cent of the students will ever go to a university, the school should pay more attention to mechanical and vocational training. Other equally prominent educators, with equally reliable statistics, show that not more than five per cent of the students will ever be able to get jobs if they do have vocational training. It is truly astonishing how square headed educators turn out so many insoluble (for them) circularities.

Until recently, long drill in authoritarian methods was found sufficient to keep the population docile and trusting. But, says a great philosopher, "Principles have no force unless people are well fed." The training of years vanishes when a man discovers that the ideas and institutions he has been taught to venerate are all of them phoney: that they are not helps but hindrances to human progress; that they protect a selfish few against the needs of many.

The scientific method of thinking should be introduced in the early years of schooling: it should be studied as a science and practiced as an art. Every educator worthy of the name must know this. But he also knows that he had better say nothing about it. Otherwise he will be an ex-educator, former professor, a red or an agent of Moscow to be hounded around the country like

a criminal. So all of them keep quiet and help perpetuate the illusion.

But the end of this hypocrisy is at hand. The old ideas and institutions are seen to be unstable and incompetent to solve the problems forced upon us by the monopoly of resources, and the application of science to the various industries. The totalitarian states that were erected to protect ancient rights, ideas and institutions, turn into ravenous wolves, eating up the property and laughing at its owners, insulting the Church, and turning schools into military academies.

In the face of new and world-wide calamities our American educators have no program for saving their own institutions, much less for helping humanity. A few, no doubt, are praying in secret, others are preparing to become drill sergeants for some future dictator. As for productive thinking in such an emergency, they are as helpless as the students they turn out. They are a product as well as a source of ignorance, prejudice and stupidity. One thing they will save out of the wreck, they will be respectable and reactionary if they starve. A group of animal trainers would have more initiative and far more "guts."

Our educators take sides and write long articles about the relative importance of vocational training and general culture courses for some ten per cent of the students. So far they have expressed no concern for the other ninety: if they ever think of them at all it is likely to hope they starve quietly. Judas Iscariot was a piker.

UNSKILLED WORKERS DOOMED?

By
Covington Hall

It would seem that the unskilled workers are doomed, that is they are if that profound commentator on economic and political questions and human affairs in general, Heywood Broun, is correct. And he must be, for, while Heywood is selfconfessedly not a member of the Communist party, he is a Stalinist. And who ever heard of a Stalinist who didn't have the Almighty backed off the map when it came to omniscience in regard to the ordering of the affairs, not only of this miserable planet, but of the Universe?

But that is too well known to talk about and, besides, is not what I wish to have my say-so on. What stirred me to attempt to shoot Heywood's works was this: Commenting on Gov. Phil LaFollette's recent calling the Progressives again to Armageddon, Broun quotes, "in part," that part of the platform adopted by the Progressives which reads:

"We flatly oppose every form of coddling or spoon-feeding the American people, whether it be those on relief, whether it be farmers or workers, whether it be business or industry. No government on earth can successfully manage, regulate and direct the numerous details that make for healthy families or successful business . . . Whatever it may cost—so help us God—we shall use the power of these United States to restore to every American the opportunity to help himself. After that, he can sink or swim."

Then Broun "shoots the works" with this:

"The keynote speech of Little Phil is sloppy in its composition and vague in thought. Accordingly, it is probably unfair to point out certain grim implications of his words no matter how logical those implications may seem. For instance, it is a fact beyond debate that in every nation there are many who are incapable of making any useful contribution whatsoever to the economic well-being of the country. There are always the sick and aged and maimed, but in addition we are accumulating many millions of unskilled workers whose services simply are not needed under a machine age and a capitalist system. I hardly think that the Governor of Wisconsin actually means that nothing should be furnished for their needs and that they should be rewarded only on the basis on their contribution."

(See New Republic, 5-12-38.)

Stalinist Ramblings

Agreeing for the sake of the argument that "the keynote speech of Little Phil is sloppy in composition and vague in thought," (although in both respects I cannot see where it "has anything on" the crap the Stalinists are shooting these days) it still strikes me that Heywood attempts to read an unfair meaning into the plank quoted; for the whole sense of it is that no nation can prosper in which millions of grownup men and women are willing to be "spoon-fed" by any government whatsoever, and that whether it masquerades as the "New Deal" or the "Proletarian Dictatorship." In saying this, I make no defense of the Progressive platform: for, if that is all they have to offer in this hour of crisis, they may as well strike their tents and quit the field.

Armageddon is no place for those who propose to use popguns on an enemy armed with poison gas, airplanes, tanks and heavy artillery and which has shown its intention in Spain and elsewhere to use them ruthlessly and without mercy. That much is certain. But when the Great Communist goes on to say, "It is a fact beyond debate that in every nation there are many who are incapable of making any useful contribution whatsoever to the economic well-being of the country," and lists along with the "sick and aged and maimed," "unskilled workers whose services simply are not needed under a machine age and capitalist system"; and closes this unfactual assertion regarding the social uselessness of the unskilled by charging by innuendo Gov. La Follette with not caring whether or not the disemployed should be aided in their need,—well, then, it strikes me that Heywood is simply trying to make a political point or else is trying to head off a split-off from the "Popular Front."

Probably it is both, for certainly there is not an iota of truth in his innuendo that Gov. LaFollette just doesn't care a damn whether the disemployed starve or not: for the record of the LaFollette brothers, whatever else may be said of them, is all against Broun's assertion. Not even Roosevelt has made a more desperate effort to "spoon-feed" the disemployed and disinherited than have Bob and Phil LaFollette; and I say this who have never agreed with the policy of "spoon-feeding," but have ever demanded that "We shall

use the power of these United States to restore to every American the opportunity to help himself."

If I have opposed the "New Deal," as I have from the beginning, it was simply because not a single one of its proposals tended in any way whatsoever to "restore" this lost right of "equal rights and opportunities to all." And I still oppose it and criticize the aid rendered it by the Progressives, and for the same reason. But, enough of that.

The Unneeded Unskillful

Let's talk about the "accumulating unskilled workers whose services are simply not needed under a machine age and capitalist system," a little.

In the first place: What is an "unskilled worker"? "Under a machine age," there is no such thing, only varying degrees of skill. For instance: Heywood Broun may be a very skillful manipulator of words, and is. But take Heywood Broun's typewriter away from him (and more than one member of the "intelligentsia" has lost his typewriter since October, 1929) and, instead, give him a shovel and a job on a railroad construction crew. Who will then be the "unskilled worker," Heywood Broun, or Bill Jones the Gandy Dancer? Verily, verily, I say unto you that Bill would put it all over Heywood in that case.

Further, "under a machine age," Bill Jones is, in my humble opinion, of far more service to society than, say, Heywood Broun and Harry Bridges, who, attending a conference of CIO "leaders" last year gagged at but finally swallowed whole Phil Murray's proposal that all "contracts must be rigidly adhered to," though it involved one "industrial" union scabbing on another. I know quite a few humble and "useless unskilled workers" who would see themselves in hell before agreeing to organized scabbery.

That, however, is beside the question, I suppose. So, what is an "unskilled worker"? Not only do I say there is no such thing, but so does Sir Money Chiozza and others who have had anything to do with superintending labor on the job.

It was during the World War that Chiozza discovered this truth. He was in charge of labor on the London wharves. Labor-power was then scarce and, says Chiozza, "we decided that the men working in the warehouses handling different goods, being nothing but unskilled workers, could be shifted here and there as we pleased; but, within a few weeks, the wharves of London were so congested with freight that a blockade was threatened." So, in their desperation, the skilled workers in charge of operations sifted out the crews, sending the men composing them back to their old jobs and, in less than "no time," the conges-

tion was ended and everything again "running like goose grease."

This led Sir Money Chiozza in a book he wrote shortly after the war ended, to say: "There is no such thing as unskilled labor." And there is not, for, as George Bernard Shaw, dealing with the same subject, says: "When it comes to music, then I am the expert; but when it comes to an automobile, then the chauffeur is the expert." And that's the true truth—"under the machine age," especially.

Skilled Today; Unskilled Tomorrow

Furthermore, the skilled worker of today is often the unskilled worker of tomorrow, as many craftsmen have learned too late and at terrible cost to themselves and families. Ever since the machine age began this has been going on. Technological unemployment is not a phenomenon only of our times. It began to plague mankind when the hour in which the first "labor-saving" machine was put into use and has grown steadily worse from the day steam first turned an engine. It is not the machine, but the private ownership thereof, that causes unemployment and doleful misery to millions of men, women and children. If Broun is not aware of this, I advise him to read a small pamphlet titled: "Unemployment and the Machine." He can get it from the General Offices of the I.W.W., 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, for only 5 cents, or one nickel.

Lastly, I note that Broun qualifies "under a machine age" with "and a capitalist system"; but since the Stalinists today are moving heaven, hell and earth to maintain the status quo here as in Eurasia, his qualification, if it is one, has more the smell of bait thrown out to catch that part of the working class that is at heart and by instinct drawn to revolutionary industrial unionism, the only kind of unionism that is today worth a continental to these who must sell the labor-power of their hands and brains in order to live.

That is my hunch of what is back of Broun's qualification, as it is my hunch that back of Phil LaFollette's "sloppy composition" is the motive to keep the "Great Liberal" in the White House from double crossing the LaFollettes, as he double crossed Upton Sinclair, Bill Lemke and Senator Cutting of New Mexico.

Finally, I'll give Heywood this tip free gratis: The Stalinists are not fooling the thinking workers of this country as they once did. Neither is the "New Deal." And the hour is not far distant when the "Great Labor State's men" of the C.I.O. will quit trying to save capitalism or will be bumped off the map along with it.

Farm Workers

And Farm Jobs

By CARD NO. 372561



Child beet field worker

Agricultural districts have been regarded by the employers of labor as the reservoir from which labor for city industries, lumbering, construction work, and mining is drawn when needed; and as havens to which such labor should return when slack time or depression knocks the props out from under business prosperity. "There's always room for another pair of feet under some farmer's table," is an assumption that even today is considered by some to be an appropriate answer to jobless workers' pleas for the price of a meal in cities not too far removed from farming sections.

There is work in the country, lots of it. At this season of the year, north, south, east and west, industrious farmers and their hired hands are working early and late planting, cultivating, and otherwise attending the crops upon which the nation depends for its food. But also, in the country towns and along highways there are hundreds of thousands of workers who have no jobs and no tables under which to put their feet. There are men in the "jungles" and whole families in tourist camps waiting now—as they have been waiting since last fall—for something to open up.

No doubt, as the season advances, many of them will be absorbed for short periods in the rush of cultivation and harvesting—a few days of hard labor now and then to interrupt the hungry wandering and waiting which has come to be the normal, regular state of existence for these people. A recent survey places their number at not less than 2,000,000.

These are the wanderers, the "surplus army of production" ready to jump in and fill any available job, whether it be a week's work at corn cultivating or a two-hour job cleaning up somebody's back yard for a meal. They are recruited forcibly into this sort of existence by pressure of the utmost necessity. Hardly one out of a thousand but would prefer reasonably steady work and the poorest sort of home to even the best that may be had on the "road."

It doesn't make much difference where they come from; all of them belong to the ever-growing class of dispossessed producers whom a ruthless capitalism has condemned to the misery of slow starvation. Some of them are new recruits who have but recently been kicked out of what is somewhat fancifully known as the "independent life of the farmer." Among these are dried-out and blown-out farmers from the arid districts and ex-farmers (share croppers and renters), forcibly evicted by landowners who are discarding the old "bull-tongue and heel-sweep" method of cultivation with the gas tractor method, which automatically sets out one-third or more of the workers needed for farm work.

Others are old-timers who long ago entered the labor stream that flows from country to city and then back to the country again when city industry (or other non-farming work) becomes slack.

The important question is not where they come from; it is, rather, where are they going?

A glance at conditions as they exist now even in places where a considerable amount of agricultural work is obtainable indicates that merely to get a job is not a satisfactory answer to the migratory worker's problem because the job he can or may get will not provide him with the barest minimum required for civilized existence. We take a glance at what a settled farm worker gets for his labor.

Consider the Beet Worker

Not all agricultural workers are migratory, of course, the majority of them are more or less settled in communities in or near which they do most of their slaving for the master class. Conditions of life and employment vary for them in different sections of the country but they are all alike in this: poverty is their common lot.

Among the beet growing states Colorado ranks first. California and Michigan are next in importance. The nature of the work in beet fields and the need for a large amount of hand labor for brief periods at different intervals during the entire season have made it necessary for even small growers of sugar beets to hire extra labor to do the hard work required in the fields. Hand labor is used first for thinning the young plants that come up very thickly from seed planted in rows, then for hoeing and weeding the plants after thinning, and finally for pulling and topping at the harvest time. Hoeing and weeding are done once or several times during the growing season.

The thinning must be done before the plants become too large or crowded. Topping is concentrated into a few weeks in order that the beets may remain in the ground as long as possible and yet be harvested before they are frozen.

Beet laborers are drawn in large part from Spanish-speaking people, either American or Mexican born. Another important racial group is that of Russian-German extraction. In better years it has been rare for other Americans to contract hand work in the beet fields because of the low wages paid for the work, most of which is done in a stooping position and is very fatiguing. However, when jobs are scarce, and this is now a chronic condition, few workers of any nationality or previous condition of prosperity draw the line on this or any other sort of "stooping" job, not even potato picking which probably ranks as the most fatiguing of all agricultural work.

Contract Labor

Though floating labor is employed in the beet fields the outstanding characteristic of the sugar beet industry, in the farming end, is contract labor. Labor is usually hired on a seasonal contract basis.

The contract specifies the acreage on which the hand work is to be performed, the manner in which the work shall be done, whether housing is to be provided, and the rate of wages per acre which is to be paid the laborers. It also usually specifies the time of payment, conditions under



After a hard day's work in the beet field. This is home at its best for the beet field worker. At least there is food on the table

which store credit is to be obtained while waiting for wages, and the amount to be withheld until the harvest is over.

The labor contract is made between the farm owner or grower and the worker but the sugar companies are involved in determining labor conditions and wages. Sugar companies recruit the workers in most cases. How they do it was well stated by a witness in the sugar hearings before a House of Representatives sub-committee. He said:

"The way it worked was that the Great Western Sugar company (biggest beet sugar concern) boys, or their agents, would go to the relief offices several weeks before the beet season began and go over the lists to see what beet worker families were on them. The relief officials would be requested to throw those families off the rolls so that, as Mr. Mahony puts it, they would be good and hungry when the sugar boys came around wanting to sign them up on a labor contract."

The Whole Family Works

According to labor surveys made in 1920 the majority of even the eight and nine-year-old children in the beet workers' families went into the fields to add their share to the family income. They went there to work, not to play, and they were kept at it often over nine hours a day.

Since 1920 conditions in this respect are supposed to have improved. In 1935, while the Jones-Costigan Act was in force, the number of children under 14 in beet fields was reported to have decreased about 62 per cent.

But despite the prohibition of law, the Children's Bureau found, in the latter part of 1935, that in the beet workers' families interviewed, 9 per cent of the 12 and 13 year olds and 91 per cent of the 14 and 15 year olds had worked in the fields. "Half of the children of 14 and 15 years of age were reported by their parents to be working usually 10 or more hours a day . . . Among the children workers under 14 . . . a fifth were usually working 12 or more hours a day, and only a ninth . . . had usual working hours of less than six a day." Children's Bureau report.)

This was in 1935. Next year was worse, as bad as it ever had been, and there is no improvement to this day.

The apathetic submissiveness of parents toward this ruthless robbery of children—it might well be termed the murder of childhood—is a reflection of the despair which makes every consideration secondary to the urgent need of just keeping alive. How big sugar men profess to look at the question of child labor is expressed by one of their representatives, B. F. Falzgraf, chairman of the Labor Committee of the Mountain States Beet Growers Association, who told the House Committee on Agriculture the "greatest crime society has imposed upon youth is taking away from the boys and girls the privilege of earning a little

spending money." Their real reason for favoring child labor is another matter.

According to capitalist wage philosophy if the head of the family alone works he must earn enough to feed his dependents, if he is joined by his wife at the point of production the two together need still be paid only enough to feed the family, and when the whole family, including the infants, marches off to work, there is even then, in the opinion of the bosses, no reason why the total family wage should be higher.

What the Beet Workers Get

A study of Weld county, Colorado, beet workers' income revealed that for every 100 families 30 earned less than \$200 for beet work, 25 earned more than \$200 but less than \$400, 20 earned \$400 but less than \$600, and 22 earned more than \$600. Since variations in family earnings are due largely to differences in the size of families it is necessary to get an approximation of individual earnings in order to comprehend conditions thoroughly.

Figures furnished by the same study (made by WPA workers) show the total income of Weld county beet workers, from all sources including relief, amounts to \$78 per year per person. Excluding relief, earnings averaged \$47. A Children's Bureau study revealed the amount of cash income per family member, excluding relief, was \$75 or less for half of the families reporting. This was in 1935. During the winter just past destitution was, if possible, even worse than three years ago.

The very low standard of living of these workers is apparent in the overcrowding of their small houses which are sometimes not even weather proof, in their meager diet and in their frequent lack of proper clothing. According to the standard of the Bureau of Home Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture the cost of food for an adequate diet was \$110 for each member of the family in 1935.

Organization

So much for the beet workers. Their poverty stricken condition is repeated, with variations, in every agricultural district where seasonal work is of a nature that permits the employment of men, women, and children. Most notorious among these are the fruit and hops, cotton, and vegetable producing districts.

In the wheat and corn belt only men, as a rule, find employment in the busy season. At such times the migratory slaves are still welcome in spite of changes in production methods which have greatly reduced the labor power required in cultivation and harvesting. Tens of thousands of men still rush into the wheat producing states to "make the harvest." They are lucky if, after a season's work, they can leave the Dakotas in the fall of the year with clothing on their backs suited to the

weather in that bleak section of the country, to say nothing of a few dollars for their season's work.

An outstanding difficulty that the seasonal worker in the grain belt has to face is that it is seldom indeed that he can settle down to stay in the neighborhood of the place where he finds brief periods of employment. His job, in fact, travels and he is compelled to move along with it. Whether he wants to move or not he must, for his welcome ends just as soon as his job.

The chances of improving conditions for the casual, migratory workers through organization are good. Most of the work they are called upon to do cannot be postponed. Demands for increased wages that result in strikes have to be taken seriously by employers. If the workers have not won in many of these contests lately it is because organization among them has been pitifully inadequate or of the wrong kind.

C.I.O. and A. F. of L. organizers are not at home in the temporary "jungle" homes of migrating workers. They prefer to make "deals" with employers' associations and politicians, deals which leave the workers holding the bag and the organizers with a dues-collecting franchise.

Permanent "locals" are impossible in most sections where the migratory does his work. He must carry his union with him wherever he goes and together with his fellow workers set it in operation as soon as he lands on a job.

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I.W.W. has worked out a technique for

handling the peculiar difficulties that confront the migratory worker bent on maintaining an efficient union. This organization has in the past had notable success in improving general working conditions and raising wages wherever its members have carried on intensive campaigns.

Its failure to make greater headway, especially in the past few years, is due to a great extent to its very efficiency as a fighting weapon for the workers. This efficiency has served to stir up an enormous amount of the most bitter opposition from the employers. These are often willing to deal with other unions merely in order to forestall growth of the I.W.W. which they know from experience cannot be induced to compromise workers' interests for the sake of employer-worker harmony or for any other consideration.

The changing of production methods and the vast influx of new workers looking for jobs have also contributed to bringing about a temporary halting in the forward march of this organization.

There have, however, been no changes either in the organization or outside of it that lend color to the idea that the I.W.W. is not competent to organize the agricultural workers. Many keen observers are of the opinion that the day is not distant when new nation-wide drives and new "thousand-mile picket lines" will infuse the homeless and now almost helpless agricultural workers, both migratory and stationary, with the spirit to resist the almost unbelievably bad conditions under which they are now compelled to produce the food that others consume.



The bunk car. Some migratory workers find seasonal jobs on railroad extra gangs

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOMORROW

By Art Hopkins

The will to power has been a powerful factor in the history of mankind. There have always existed men who have spoken to their electorate: "Give me the power and I will change things." And the masses of people have fallen for this philosophy. The last innovation of power politics, where the control of a people is placed in the hands of an individual, is the rise of fascism throughout the world.

Fascism is a resultant of many conditions, but it also is the result of a people becoming so thoroughly disgusted with individual initiative and the utter lack of confidence in the masses of people that it gives itself over to a "more fit" egotist.

In the world turmoil, where chaos and disorder play an important part, where politics has become the favorite game of ruling men (it never administers the needs of the people), the willingness of the masses to place their destinies in the hands of individuals becomes paramount.

The granting of power to any individual has always had a degrading effect. Political power has never been interested in the welfare of the people. For once a person descends into the abyss of politics his interest lies in the holding of that power.

History is filled with countless records of individuals who, in their desire to help humanity rise from its utter lack of security and freedom, have entered the field of political activity and have, as soon as they are elected to office, forgotten their promises of yestereve—their desire to institute a freer, a more wholesome world.

Consequence of Power

These people are not bad, nor wicked, nor scoundrels; their actions are but the consequences of the very nature of political power that degrades and demoralizes the individual.

A Chinese sage, Lao-tse, once wrote:

"Experience teaches that none can guide the community;

The community is collaboration of forces;
As such, thought shows it cannot be led
By the strength of one man.

To order it is to set it in disorder;

To fix it is to unsettle it.

For the conduct of the individual changes:

Here goes forward, there draws back;

Here shows warmth, there reveals cold;

Here exerts strength, there weakness;

Here stirs passion, there brings peace.

And so:

The perfected one shuns the desire for power,

shuns the lure of power,
shuns the glamour of power."

But, you object, in this complex world in which we live, power plays an important part. If you will not delegate political power to individuals, how will society be run?

Your questions are to the point. Who is to have the power?

Our original premise is that no man is more fit than the individual to govern himself. From here we continue.

Political representation, as we know it today, is not true representation of the masses of people, particularly that vast class of wage workers. Political representation cannot represent the interest of the majority of the people. For there are many diverse interests in a certain territorial division. Here may live a lawyer, next to an accountant, next to a doctor, next to a clothing worker, next to a real estate agent, next to a steel worker, next to a mechanic! No one man can realistically represent all these interests.

Union Is the Representative Body

But the labor union of the steel worker, the union of the clothing worker, the union of the mechanic, the health workers' union,—these can effectively represent the interests of these various and diverse trades and professions. If there is to be a representative body, that body is to be the representatives of the various unions, coordinated in an administrative body, with a functional One Big Union of all the workers.

Most important in the reorganization of society and the delegation of power is that no official of any union shall be elected for a life term of office; he must, after a certain length of time return to the industry from which he came, and no official is to receive a larger salary than the highest paid worker in the trade from which he comes.

Such a plan was tried out in Loyalist Spain during the early days of the fascist revolt. In fact the Spanish labor unions have been so organized that there is no bureaucracy in them.

There are no sell-outs by Spanish labor officials, as we know them in American labor history.

The power of the future will not be concentrated in individual hands seeking political satisfaction, but will be concentrated in the hands of the workers, through their labor unions.

Power of the future will be economic power. The functional unit in society will be the labor union and its purpose will not be the governing of men, but the administering of industries.

FELLOW WORKERS, HEAR ME!

By Covington Hall

Shall we the challenge made decline,
Forever bow before these swine
Who hold not e'en the truth divine;
Who justice burke and labor scorn,
And science as a whore adorn?
Who claim all rights and yet deny
All duties? Who crucify
Earth's noblest, and acclaim
The basest in their "Halls of Fame"?
Whose governments lay waste the Earth,
And starve our children from their birth?
Whose insane Congresses declare
That plenty is a curse and snare;
That scarcity and famine are,
Together with the woe of war,
The only way men can save
The Nations from a common grave?
Who Jefferson and Lincoln spurn
Who hold democracy a creed,
An ideal sprung from "putrid" seed?
Who Christus hang and Judas crown,
And Freedom in pollution drown?
Who worship Gold, who Truth defame,
And make us serve them to our shame?

Answer!

Shall we, the Race, the Mighty Mass,
Forever bow unto this class;
Forever fear the puny fist
Of Banker, Landlord, Capitalist?
Forever fight, forever vote
to keep their hands upon our throat?
Forever to them serviles be,
Rightless, homeless, and unfree?
Selling our bodies, brains and souls
For their circuses and doles?
"Forbid it, O Almighty God!"
Call thy people out of Nod!
Let it once more defiant ring,
The song that Freedom's children sing
When New Worlds are about to be:
"Give us death or liberty!"
Onward! Upward! Waken! Rise!
In One Great Union organize!—
Take our comrades from their cells!—
Cleanse the good Earth of their hells!—
Up, ye men of shop and soil!
Up, ye Militants of Toil!
"Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number!—
Shake your chains to Earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few."



JOBITES

—JANE STREET

How lousy the world is with them!—
Mean-souled people who think
They work to live
While in reality
They live to work!
They know nothing about living—
They do nothing remotely prejudicial to
their jobs.
They don't love work—
They know nothing of the joy of creation.
Their minds are on their money,
And the money goes for food—
Un-epicurean food
That makes for brawn
That makes for jobs.

How they hurry on their jobs!
Not with the thrill of getting somewhere
Or having something,
But like speeding electrons
In unchangeable orbits.

How they scurry, off their jobs,
Knifing blindly at each other,
For fear some other work pattern
Might be made by different vacancies.

All the deep purple of hidden murder
In the soul of man
For possession, for love for power—
Leaks out in degenerate gray streaks
From the jealous eyes of jobites
Fearing for their jobs.

—Oh, life is nothing
Unless something is worth
More than life!

The Growth of Fascism In America

By
CHAS. J. MILLER

Communist demonstrations at New York wharves to keep out fascists, Socialists looking for fascism, watch with apprehension the antics of some Republican politicians in Washington for fear they may get control and bring fascism to our country; liberals and brain-trusters in Washington work feverishly on the New Deal to save the Democracy from fascism—and all of them, Communists, Socialists, and liberals cannot see that fascism is right here, growing day by day.

You see, all of them are political minded, they think and reason only in political terms. Politics is always nationalistic. Even economic or industrial problems are reasoned out in national terms: protect our industries from foreign competition, protect our high standard of living, protect our interests in China, find foreign markets for our surplus goods so our workers will have jobs. To them the class struggle is but a phrase to explain things that they themselves do not understand.

If you reason out your problems in terms of "our nation," "our government," "our congress," "our supreme court," "our laws," "democratic nations and fascist nations," etc. you will necessarily come to the conclusion that Mussolini made Italy a fascist nation and Hitler made Germany a Nazi nation and, therefore, if fascism ever comes in United States some one will have to bring it in or make it.

Nobody made fascism. Fascism is a growth. Just as man was not made, but evolved from a simpler form of life; just as society evolved from a simple relationship of sex and the economic relationship imposed in getting food, clothing, and shelter to the complex society of today, so fascism has evolved from the economic relationship of man producing something useful for exchange.

Basically, fascism is a growth, present in every capitalist nation. Every so-called democratic nation has this development of fascism, according to the extent of the development of its capitalistic system. Italy and Germany are fascist nations, but they are different from democratic nations only in degree and not in kind.

What is fascism? Fascism is a Corporate State. A Corporate State is the pooling or combination of corporations under the control of one head, the State.

In different countries the social superstructure varies according to the geographic, political and historical differences, but the base is the same. Capitalism is in various stages of development in different countries and consequently there are different political governments, but all are based on the profit system, the exploitation of the wage worker for the benefit of the controlling class.

In this connection be it noted that no matter what political structure the different nations have the symptoms of economic ills are all nearly identical, showing the international character of economics.

Let us now examine briefly the evolution of the present economic system, capitalism.

The Economic Basis.

The economic history of the United States gives a fine example of the development of capitalism because the birth of the nation and the birth of capitalism were almost synchronous. The Revolutionary War started the United States as a nation and a series of inventions started the nation off on the industrial revolution and capitalism. Second, it had no long previous history or older social orders to confuse the issue, it started from scratch.

We can give only the high spots of this history. But on these high spots rests the entire social history of this country.

The economic life of the colonies was primarily agricultural, nine-tenths of the people living directly by agriculture. Industry was carried on by the household. The factory system was unknown. Then came a series of inventions:

Fly shuttle	1739
Spinning jenny	1769
Steam engine	1769
Power loom	1785

At about the same time the War of Independence (1776) and later the War of 1812 released the Colonies from the control and checks placed upon the development of the new industries by the British Crown.

In 1791, the first U. S. Bank was established.

The necessity of better transportation and communication resulted in the invention of the steam



boat (1817), railroads (1830), telegraph (1843).

Here you have the basis of economic history of a hundred years in a hundred words, the greatest period in the history of society. The inventive genius of man applied to nature gave conception to a new society. Accumulated capital, raw materials, and plenty of labor applied to these new inventions ushered in the capitalist system.

The development of the factory system was

rapid. First they erected cotton and woolen spinning mills producing thread. Then weaving factories. Next, they combined the spinning and weaving in a mill.

The development of the factory system gave tremendous momentum to all branches of agriculture, commerce, and industry. Here is just one item: Consumption of cotton, 1820, 10,000,000 lbs.; 1860, 500,000,000 lbs.

With new inventions in other industries, they too, were on their way.

Another result of the industrial revolution—the cotton gin and chattel slavery brought into being an economic power, the Cotton Kingdom of the south; bringing on the conflicting economic interests of two systems of slavery ending in a Civil War, with the new wage slave system victorious.

As late as 1850 the bulk of general manufacturing was carried on by family or individual proprietors. In the span of fifty years the factory was universal.

Starting out as an agricultural nation, by 1900 the United States was rated the first manufacturing nation in the world. The invested capital grew from \$1,011,000,000 in 1859 to \$44,688,000,000 in 1919.

Now we come to the fundamental question: What is the form of the basic economic organization by which the capitalist class, a minority class in society, controlled this capitalist system?

The Political State

Starting with household production and individual proprietor, then partnership, then companies, then, after the start of the industrial revolution, they combined into larger units with bitter competition among them—stock companies, pools, trusts, corporation (U. S. Steel and Standard Oil, first trusts in the world, about 1890), and then holding corporations.

With this grew the New Imperialism, spreading capitalist civilization to the far corners of the world.

The results of this Industrial Revolution in the U. S. have been vividly summed up in a recent speech by Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, over a national hook-up. We can quote but a few excerpts here; he said in part:

"America stands at the crossroads, with men of wealth eager to push the country along the road to fascism . . .

"About one-half of the wealth of the country is in corporate form, and over one-half of it is under the domination of 200 corporations, which in turn are controlled by what Ferdinand Lundberg in his recent book referred to as America's 60 families.

"The fact is that under a democratic form of government we have fostered and permitted to grow up economic autocracies which are stronger than government."

Here you have the brief outline of the economic history of the United States. And the evolution of the controlling capitalist organization which made this possible is:

First you have household or individual proprietors; next these combine into partnership or company; then they combine into stock companies

or pools; they then form trusts and corporations.

The next logical step is the combining of the corporations into the corporate or fascist state.

But now you may ask, if the corporations combine under a corporate state what becomes of the political state?

Read your history. The function of the political state has been to protect the rights of private property, to be the wet-nurse to the growing capitalist system.

The capitalist system has developed to the point where it needs the cloak of a political state to protect it. Corporations are now strong enough to make their own laws and enforce them direct without the help or hindrance of a clumsy, slow-moving, behind-time, worn-out, ox-cart political state. The further development of the corporations in a corporate state spells social degeneracy and is anti-social. They can develop further only at the expense of society.

The molders of public opinion are working overtime to keep the workers political minded. Every organization that we know of, with the exception of the I.W.W. fosters the notion that politics is the principal weapon of labor.

Elect honest politicians and "pass a law" are the remedies heard on every side. It seems to be the general conception that the government is of, for, and by, the people and the function of the relief and other federal agencies are the automatic result of "passing a law."

But let us look behind the scenery of the political act put on in Washington for public consumption. There we find a new species of gigantic control octopus, a mighty infant with unlimited arms reaching into every state, every city, town, village in the United States.

This octopus was not created by the people, they had no say in the matter. It is being evolved to save the economic "Royalist" of the United States.

The Corporate State

After plundering the nation of the natural resources, causing floods and dirt storms, laying waste to great sections of the country and mercilessly exploiting the workers, these rugged individuals are now using their government to save them from the results of their own past acts.

In the years before the war it was common to refer to Wall Street as the Invisible Government. It was there that the important decisions pertaining to the industrial life of the nation were made. And it was there that the policy of the government originated. Wall Street was the real power.

With the United States' entry into the World War the government took over control of production. And Wall Street moved down to Washington. This was America's first test of planned economy on a national scale.

After the end of the war to unscramble the industries back to the old rugged individual basis was impossible.

The great increase in efficiency, mass production and over-built and over-capitalized machinery of production; with a sudden loss of greatly diminished market for agricultural and manufactured products, came the beginning of the end of the rugged individuals, as such.

From 1914 to 1928 at least eighteen new federal agencies, bureaus, commissions, boards and corporations were set up. The economic setup was on the road to government control.

Under President Hoover this trend rapidly increased. He spent vast sums to keep up the prices of wheat and cotton and on public works, in trying to inflate credit by buying and selling government securities in the open market, and on unemployment relief on a federal basis.

He organized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which poured billions of dollars into the tottering financial structure of banks, railroads, insurance companies.

With the coming of President Roosevelt and the Bank Holidays this trend became a landslide with the federal agencies and corporations multiplying so fast that there is now a duplication of alphabetical abbreviations and they may have to adopt a numeral system like that used for auto registration to keep track of them.

There are seventeen government corporations covering many fields of activities and some fifty controlling, planning and advisory bodies.

The oldest and largest of the corporations is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a carry-over from the Hoover administration. In three years it spent or allotted nearly nine billion dollars. Three and one-half billion dollars went out to bankers and over two billion more to farmers, the greater part of this going to the bankers, indirectly. Then there were the unemployment allotments, railroads, mortgage companies, home owners' loans, etc. This is the largest financial corporation known.

Then there is the Agriculture Adjustment Administration which is in the process of controlling some six million farms which have failed at self-sustenance.

Next, you have the building up of industrial controlling machinery to take the place of the unconstitutional National Recovery Administration which was formulated by the United States Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the Manufacturers' Associations.

The Wagner Act and the government inspired C.I.O. are moves in this direction. The N.R.A. is being revived as the Supreme Court is now considered safe. There is also a proposed system of control of corporations by federal licensing.

Then there are the W.P.A., F.E.R.A. and C.C.C.

and other agencies to care for the surplus slaves and the Social Security Act to have the slaves finance their own unemployment and old age. Every slave now has a number.

Another type of activity is the Tennessee Valley Authority, an experiment in government development.

And this Federal Government that is daily increasing its control over the economic activities of the nation, is the largest owner of securities in the world, its holdings totaling \$16,955,000,000.

We have shown how the Industrial Revolution, with the concentration of wealth and power through the large corporation has brought us to the threshold of fascism.

And further, we have shown that government agencies, not elected or controlled by the "people" are being organized to take over the control of the economic life of the nation.

Secretary Ickes of the Democrat administration warns us against the Republican "Big Business" fascist.

Fascist Program

And the new head of the Republican brain-trusters, Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican national policy committee warns us against the "fascist program of the New Deal."

They are both right, no matter whether the government be Republican or Democrat, the program will be fascist. "The economic royalists of America are stronger than government." The government is but a Charlie McCarthy to "big business."

You need only to read the reports coming from Washington to realize the collaboration between the economic royalist and the government. Here is a sample:

Washington, D. C.—Edsel Ford, president of the Ford Motor Co., William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation; K. T. Keller, president, and B. E. Hutchinson, vice-president of the Chrysler Corporation; and Alvan Macanley, president of the Packard Motor Car Co. and president of the Automobile Manufacturers Association were the manufacturers invited to a conference. Also the heads of affiliated finance companies.

Governor Murphy of Michigan was an overnight White House guest.

At another conference John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O. (fascist labor corporation) sat at the same table with Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan partner, Owen D. Young of the General Electric Co. to consider plans for attacking the recession.

This group of conferences were to clear up many false impressions, mostly political; farm curtailment, business price regulation, attitude toward holding companies, anti-trust action, are some of the questions discussed.

This was on Jan. 21, 1938. The following day, Jan. 22, the papers reported as follows:

U. S. Steel plans \$80,000,000 plant project for 1938. The U. S. Steel Corporation intends to spend this sum on plant modernization before Sept. 1, 1938. Roosevelt's Naval program expected to startle world. May ask for 90 new warships costing ultimately between 700 million and one billion dollars, and will call for a 20 per cent increase in all categories of American combat ships, including three more battle ships.

There is but one more step necessary to establish fascism here and that is a serious national crisis, which is brewing now, to give an excuse to close the show and send the politicians home as per Hitler and Mussolini.

The Alternative

What is the solution of this trend to fascism? Politically there is none. This is an economic problem. Fascism is the logical next step in the evolution of capitalism. But there is an economic solution. The Industrial Workers of the World is the only organization in the United States that has the answer. The I.W.W. is the answer.

In our examination of the evolution of capitalism from household production to corporation mass production we found that an industrial revolution had taken place in production.

The most important fundamental result of this

industrial revolution was the dividing of society into two opposing economic classes.

With the introduction of the factory system the workers were drawn from their homes into the factories. It separated society into two classes, capitalist and workers, those who own and those who work.

With the further development of production there evolved the corporation where the owners are completely divorced from any useful connection with industry. It degraded the capitalist class to a life of living without working, a parasitic class; and degraded the workers to industrial slavery.

The remedy for this condition is to bring about the relationship of the people to that prevailing before the industrial revolution, i. e., the owner and the worker in one person.

But not individually. It is now on a higher plane. You now have social production. You must have social ownership. Not one man, one industry, but all workers, all industries.

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



INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

By George Speed

(Reprinted by Request)

An editorial from the Industrial Worker of June 26, 1926, by the late George Speed.

Millions of workers have accepted the teachings of those whose interest it is to keep them dosed with mental chloroform in order that they may be used by the nickel snatching profiteers.

We have been taught that there is no class struggle; that the interests of labor and capital were identical; that we have equality before the law; that we all have equal opportunities in this land of the free and the home of the brave, and a thousand other pet phrases to gull the gullible. And the AFL, with years of experience behind it, still accepts this doctrine, virtually accepting cap-

italism as a finality, with the slogan of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

The writer would ask what is a fair day's work and a fair day's pay, and how and who is to determine it? Labor being the creator of all wealth recognized the right of the employer to a portion of the wealth the worker creates. We would like to know how this wealth can be divided equally and each receive his due portion? Is there any possibility of adjusting a problem of this kind so peace may reign between the exploited and the exploiter? And if capital and labor are broth-

ers as we are told, having common interests, why bosses' organizations and labor organizations—and the conflict ever going on between the two forces? Is this not evidence of a class struggle—a war between capital and labor?

What Is Americanism?

What is capital but unpaid wages; that portion of wealth used for the production of more wealth, the surplus over and above what we as workers receive in wages? All this above a bare living we give to an idle class for the right to exist and not to live.

And to you One Hundred Percenter, if you are an American, tell me what you mean by Americanism. Does it mean to accept everything without question from our afore-mentioned teachers? Is it not true that in every capitalist governed country, you will find the same system of exploitation, only different by one degree, that you as a wage slave are dependent upon another for the right to live, that your boss determines the price he will pay for your labor power and that you must accept his dictum or go hungry? Can't you realize that you are in economic bondage? Have you ever heard of a slave class as a law making body? Is it not true that in every civilized country, the ruling class has always been the property owning class and the worker the subject class? Is it not true that political power is but a reflex of economic power, and that those who hold it shape the political policy of the nation and that the workers can have political power only in proportion as they can demonstrate economic power?

The capitalist, by controlling the industries and resources of a nation necessarily hold in the palm of their hands our welfare and our lives. They know the value of organization, they are class conscious and ever act in accord with their class interests. When you look squarely into this subject, can you conceive of any crime and lie they will not resort to keep you, the workers, in subjection? Yes, my brother worker, you are looked upon as a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the labor market like any other commodity, in competition with your fellow worker. You are a cheap commodity, often paying for the

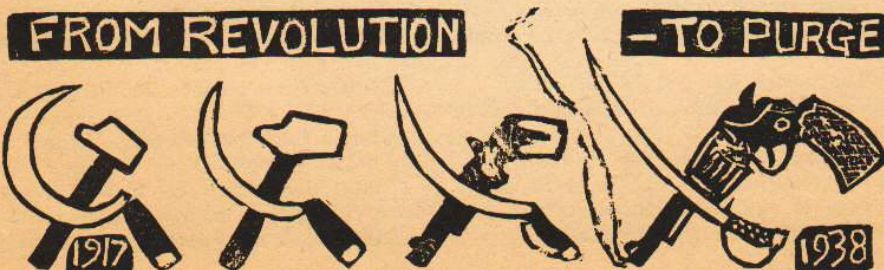
privilege of being bought. Why? Because you are unorganized and dependent upon some saviour to save you. You neglect to study your class interests so that you may learn to act as a class. You are the many; they are the few; yet they rule us with an iron hand through the power of their organized might. And power in the last analysis is the determining factor. The workers have the power; let us crystallize it into a powerful industrial organization so that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will not be an empty phrase.

Direct Action

All institutions rest on a material base. Where the workers are governed is in the shop, mine, mill and factory. And our fight is on the industrial field. There, we must organize to gain control over our own lives, by gaining control over industry. We ourselves shall determine under what conditions we shall work, what wages we shall receive, and that determines our mode of life. Whether we can afford to marry, clothe our children, give them an opportunity to play and a proper education, or force them into a slave pen at a tender age—all these things are determined by conditions in industries where we work, and not at Washington, D. C., nor state capitols. Those institutions are run by the owners of industry.

In our union hall or out on the job we will make our laws and rules where every man and woman shall have full voice and vote as to action and to enforce the same on the job. This is job action—direct action—not delegating our power to another to do something for us that we ought to do for ourselves. This delegating of power by the workers to labor leaders has caused havoc in the labor movement and has made it a laughing stock of those who have placed temptation in the way of the leaders who have betrayed the workers, as was shown in the English general strike. Remember, industrial organization is the tool intelligently used by the workers and is the most potent force to free us from the damnable curse of wage slavery. We have nothing to lose only misery and want and we have a world to gain. Join the I.W.W. and be a man.

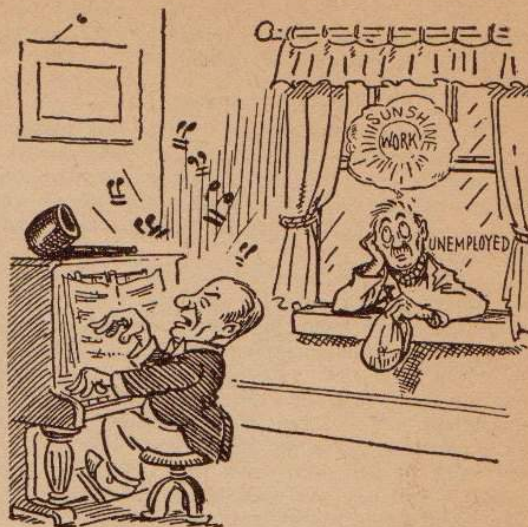
TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY



NUT HOUSE NEWS

A Skit

Prepared by Work Peoples
College Drama Department



Scene: Fence with gate in it. Fence extends across stage; gateway near middle. Arch over gateway reads "NUT HOUSE"; sign suspended from center of it: "No Nuts Allowed Except by Special Permission." The audience gets an eyeful of this before Hobo comes sauntering in, singing: "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum."

Hobo sees butt of cigarette on walk. Picks it up and starts re-rolling it for a smoke as Nut comes along inside fence, slowly wheeling a wheel-barrow upside down. He watches Nut and laughs.

NUT: What are you laughing at?

HOBO: You.

NUT: What's so funny about me?

HOBO: You've got your wheelbarrow upside down.

NUT: What's wrong with that?

HOBO: You can't put anything in it when it's upside down.

NUT: That's why I keep it that way. If I turn it the other way up, people may put something in it.

HOBO: You're not so crazy! What did they put you in for?

NUT: I used to keep my barrow right-side-up like you nuts.

HOBO: How come they put you in for that?

NUT: They used to fill it up that high with bricks.

HOBO: They can't put you in for that.

NUT: Well, I used to take my clothes off when at work.

HOBO: What did you do that for?

NUT: I figured that if I had to work like a horse, I might as well look like one, too.

HOBO: No—not so nutty after all.

NUT: Did you ever run one of these things?
(*Indicating barrow.*)

HOBO: Often—I'm an expert on that thing.

NUT: Which side did you keep up?

HOBO: I kept the other side up.

NUT: I'll bet that made it hard work—but if that was the right way to run it, why didn't you keep on running it?

HOBO: The job blew up.

NUT: An explosion?

HOBO: No—it got finished. We did all the work. There wasn't anything more to do. We worked ourselves out of a job.

NUT: You should have run it like I run mine. Where are you going now?

HOBO: I'm going downtown to see if I can find some breakfast.

NUT: I ate mine a couple of hours ago. Where are you going to get it?

HOBO: I don't know, but I'll get it somewhere likely.

NUT: I think you're crazy. Where are you going to eat dinner?

HOBO: I don't know. If I can't get it in this town, I'll get it in some other town.

NUT: I get mine at sharp noon everyday. You

must be goofy. Where are you going to sleep tonight?

HOBO: I don't know. Last night I found a pretty good reefer.

NUT: What's a reefer?

HOBO: It's a box car with double walls, and an icebox in each end for keeping things frozen.

NUT: And you think that's a pretty good place to sleep? I always sleep in a nice, soft, warm, clean bed.

HOBO: Say, who are you anyway?

NUT: Last week I was Napoleon, but that was by my first marriage; when I got divorced that made me General Lee; but next week I'm going to be Washington crossing the Delaware.

HOBO: You can be Napoleon if you want to, but you insult me when you say you're George Washington. He was the father of our country. Do you mean to tell me he was crazy?

NUT: Haven't you seen a picture of him crossing the Delaware?

HOBO: Sure—every good American has.

NUT: Isn't he standing up in the boat instead of sitting down?

HOBO: Yes.

NUT: Isn't that crazy?—Say, how much of this country do you own?

HOBO: I don't own any of it.

NUT: Then you're crazy to call it your country. *(Starts to trundle away with barrow.)* Say, when you were running a wheel barrow what were you making?

HOBO: We were building a flour mill.

NUT: What are you doing with the flour mill now?

HOBO: I'm not doing anything with it. It isn't mine.

NUT: How did you lose it?

HOBO: It never was mine.

NUT: If you fellows that built it don't own it, who does?

HOBO: Why the owners own it.

NUT: Did they work to build it?

HOBO: That kind of people never work.

NUT: The folks that didn't build it own it, and the fellows who built it don't own it. I think that's crazy.

HOBO: Why that's the way with every job. When we get through making something, we never own it. It always belongs to the people who don't work.

NUT: That's why I want the guard to turn this sign around. The way it hangs now, people

would think the nuts were on this side of the fence, wouldn't they?

HOBO: That's why it's there.

NUT: But it should be turned around, for the nuts are all on the other side. *(Starts to trundle barrow away, but stops.)* Say, when do you think you'll start running a wheel barrow again?

HOBO: I'll get a job soon—I hear we may go to war.

NUT: That's terrible! Who are you going to kill?

HOBO: It may be the Japs and it may be the Chinks, I'm not sure who it will be.

NUT: Where are you going to kill them, in town here?

HOBO: Hell, no—we'll go over to their country and kill them.

NUT: Ever been over there?

HOBO: No.

NUT: Ever seen the fellows you're going to kill?

HOBO: No.

NUT: Did they ever hit you, or hurt you, or do anything to you?

HOBO: No.

NUT: And when you go to kill them, maybe they'll kill you?

HOBO: Sure, we've got to take that chance.

NUT: How far away do these Japs and Chinese live?

HOBO: I guess about three or four thousand miles.

NUT: So you're going three or four thousand miles to kill some poor people you never saw, who never hit you or hurt you or did anything to you, and you may be killed doing it? That is crazy... Or may be they're the fellows who took your flour mill away from you?

HOBO: No—those fellows live in Minneapolis.

Nut: Quick—before the guard comes—give me a hand and we'll turn this sign around.

HOBO: Maybe we ought to.

NUT: No—we can't do it now—I see the guard coming, and he won't let us.

HOBO: Don't those guards ever get afraid of you nuts?

NUT: No—I asked him once and he said that even if there were a thousand of us nuts and only four guards, they still wouldn't be afraid of us.

HOBO: Why?

NUT: He said it was because nuts never organize.

— CURTAIN —

THE END OF LEADERSHIP

By ACMA

Dictatorship, red, black, or brown, is what the future holds for the workers of the world unless they organize to control the world.

In an American university students were advised to study labor history, unionism, etc. in addition to their usual studies. Their instructor in the intricate questions of floods, missing tribes, immaculate conceptions, saviors, and the "Big Apple" deemed that in the event of their not finding a flock to ride herd on from the sanctuary of the pulpit, it was but a short step from Genesis to the Preamble of the A. F. of L. and the work of "savoring" labor was almost identical with that of "savoring souls." Of course, the language is ours but the meaning is not original with us.

In fact it is not original with the professor. It is an old, old story and even Homer Martin adds but a sentence to it. Furthermore, every passing day brings us closer to the time when the final show-down between capitalism and labor will determine whether an intensified degree of class demarcation shall take place under fascism or shall labor come into its own with a classless society.

Leaders and Followers

We have had many a laugh at the expense of the "intellectual liberals" with their inane pronouncements on labor's problems and their predictions on labor's role in the future. And these swarms of ministers, professors, lecturers, leagues of this, that and the other "cause," trade unions, so-called industrial unions, alleged workers' churches, and others too numerous to mention—all belong to the category of "intellectual liberals."

Those without enough bourgeois education to be classified as intellectuals are just run-of-the-mill liberals. The *raison d'être* of these fakes in the labor movement is to be found in a principle which is by no means new—the principle of "leaders and followers." Hitler adopted this soon after becoming dictator and the German "Labor Front" is a classic example of its effect when applied to labor organizations. It can be applied equally as well to the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., the Amsterdam International, Third International, and to the unions and political parties upon which those Internationals are based.

Much of the confusion existing in the labor movement of today is the result of the "predestination" assigned to it by various intellectuals of

past eras. Marx has been one of the foremost offenders because he gave impetus to the politico-economic type of organization which has split on every issue presented to the working class by the ever advancing mechanization of production.

His work is of great value as far as his analysis of capitalism is concerned. No one can reasonably object to his theories of the role of private ownership, wage slavery, materialistic interpretation of history, and of how profits are made. His theories of cost, value, exchange, commodity relations, surplus value, effects of modern machinery on society, gradual elimination of the middle class, all stand the test of analysis.

But in his inflexible, centralized, authoritarian, politics-dominated organization for the correction of society's ills, he failed utterly. Today we have a dozen organizations claiming to have the only true interpretation (revelation) of Marxism. All of them—Socialist, Social Democrat, Socialist Labor, Independent Labor, Communist (which includes Stalinists, Lovetoneites, Trotskyites, P. O. U. M.ites, and several others of still lesser importances, and the Proletarian party are based on the principle of "leaders and followers." Nearly all of these organizations have seen the day when they were classified as "right wing" and another when they were called "left wing."

Marx at one time belonged to the Social-Democrat party because it was then the "left wing" party. Then it veered to the right and the Communist party came into being as the revolutionary left wing. And so it has been throughout the years. This is further illustrated by the recent swing of the same party to a point so far to the right that it is liable to "out-right" the Democratic party of the New Deal. And this the spawning bed for pinks and finks of all stripes.

Green Pastures

Why this veering from point to point? Why this paradoxical situation in which "right" becomes "wrong" and vice versa during the passage of a few years? Why have workers' unions been flooded with opportunists from the middle and professional classes—plus an overflow of saviors from their own ranks?

Do you remember the story of how Samuel Gompers and thousands of other cigar makers were thrown out of a skilled trade by a guy who invented a machine that rolled cigars by the thousands per day with the attendance of an unskilled boy? And of the Glass Blowers union members with an initiation fee of \$800.00 being thrown out of work by a machine? Of thousands of sky-pilots who had their celestial wings singed and lost their balance on the cloud of economic security by the introduction of the radio? These are illustrations of the insecurity of life under capitalism.

But the labor movement! That is different! Regardless of inventions of labor displacing machines in industry, no one is going to invent a machine that will emancipate labor.

Here the "intellectuals" from the professional class, bankrupt retailers, tired farmers, graduates from colleges and theological seminaries, outcasts from the ranks of ex-skilled labor groups, and forked-tongue politicians converge on the green fields of labor unions and labor parties.

A large number may be sincere in the beginning—sincere in the sense that labor is a helluva jack-ass if their advice and leadership is not accepted. Ruling cliques are established in control of unions. Union members who become elected or appointed to office either conform to the machine in control or out they go. Voting is juggled by the clique through control of ballot committees or by outright murder of opponents by hired gun-men.

A recent example is the Carpenters and Joiners of America in the vote on the C.I.O. and in their juggle of votes from the S. M. & T. W. U. on representation. In the various political parties the same procedure is carried on. A few years ago the communists in the States split on a question of adherence to Moscow and the Third International. The Stalinist (Browder) faction expelled the Lovestonites, even though the majority of votes cast favored the latter group in their effort to establish national autonomy.

So it is not strange that voting in these organizations means nothing to the rank and file. Followers from both camps have been in and out of the A.F. of L. like a revolving door since 1920. They take their orders from Moscow or other political parties and juggle their previous stands on labor questions accordingly, lest they get left out in the cold when there is some gravy to be lapped up.

Some claim that technological advances in industry, change in the set-up of State apparatus in different countries, and the rapid progress of fascism necessitates corresponding changes within the ranks of labor. They are correct in their first contention. The mechanization that has taken place within the past half century has necessitated a change from the old craft and trade union to the modern industrial union method of organization—but the relationship between master and slave remains unchanged.

Finks, Incorporated

Changes in the State set-up is caused by the need of a more efficient and co-ordinated program to protect private ownership in its struggle to maintain control over the machinery of production and distribution. Again there is no change in the "brotherly love" of capital and labor. Fascism is not an unnatural phenomena. Just as capitalism was born amidst the death pangs of feudalism, fascism is being nurtured within the womb of present day society. To say that the shadow of this bastard system alters the economic positions of employer and employe is nonsensical. Yet this shadow provides the finks and pinks with the best of all opportunities to crash the gate into labor's ranks.

The communists are again in the vanguard with the slogan of "United Front." With whom? With the whole riff-raff from the back-wash of society. Instead of having separate cliques of finks, they desire a One Big Union of these "saviors" so, like pigs at a trough, they can all get their snouts into the pockets of those who sweat for a living. They are artists at blackmailing labor into thinking that nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars donated to Leagues for Peace . . . for Democracy . . . anti-fascism . . . to aid Spain . . . to aid China . . . to aid in boycotts of Japan . . . Italy . . . Germany, etc., etc., will make great changes within the system and will be a barricade against the advance of fascism . . . That the "tremendous power of a united organization of the great A.F. of L., C.I.O., statesmen, humanists, rationalists, socialists, communists, Baptists and Holy Rollers" will sure throw a helluva scare into—well, anyone that wants to take them seriously. Let us elucidate on this "anti-Fascist Front."

Are the "leaders and followers" advocates sincere in their opposition to fascism? Let us take a glance at the "leader of the leader" faction, the Communist party. In Germany they had the impressive number of nearly 7,000,000 followers. Their half-brothers, the social-democrats, had a slight advantage in the numeric strength of their "flock." Between political trading and internecine battles for a "united front" (against fascism) in which both factions wanted to be the "leader," direct action on the part of the large German trade unions in the final show-down was thrust into the background as the term "General Strike" was regarded as general nonsense by both factions. Result, Hitler seized power without the sound of a rifle shot to mar the burial of freedom and the conversion of the trade unions to a fascist "Labor Front."

In Vienna the socialists had held sway at their favorite in-door pastime of controlling municipal councils for some years. Again the Austrian trade unions were given a back seat. When Mussolini deemed that the time had come to bring Austria into the fold of Fascist Italy, the Austrian workers wrote the cost of politico-economic unionism in their own blood. Bauer, head of the Vienna social-

ists, admitted afterward that a General Strike in Austria before the fascist attack took place would have given them an immense advantage . . . IF? . . . IF? . . . IF? . . . Will they not profit by such lessons? Lessons written in blood? Remember the inflexibility of Marxism before answering in the affirmative.

But what about the "Fatherland"! You say it is without doubt, against fascism? Why "without doubt"? There is no doubt about the fact that a vast majority of people believe that such is the whole truth. If it is a fact, then truth is in a hell of a hole. Compare the regime in Russia with that of Germany, or Italy. Is it not a fact that regimentation of all phases of life are similar in those three countries? Is it not a fact that free speech, free press, free association and freedom of movement are denied in all of them? Is it not a fact only a small percentage of the population of any one of these countries belongs to the party that is ruling it? Is it not true that the labor unions of these countries are of a castrated type and devoid of the power or right to function in accordance with the welfare of their members or as a determining factor in the building of society? Do you agree that the elections of representative parliamentary bodies are carried on in Italy as in Germany? You do? Then you must agree that the Russian people are being ruled in the same way, as their "elections" are of the same idiotic type as those of Germany and Italy. Do you agree that the largest representation in proportion to membership in the Russian "gas-house" is that of the police force? Such is a tragic fact . . . and in the "Utopia" of an organization which is always blating about free speech, democracy, workers' rights, etc., etc.!

The Same in Russia

Now what is the record of this country in regard to the boycotts and "aids" which are the pet raves of the communists in North America? Russia did not boycott Hitler Germany when the "leaders" went down with the followers. Russia did not boycott Austria when the Pope and Benito backed Dolfuss in his blood-thirsty purge of working class rank and file fighters. Nor did she boycott Germany when Hitler took Austria. When Italy deliberately provoked a war with Ethiopia in order to ally the discontent of the Italian workers and to add to Roman prestige by grabbing a colony, Russia did not refuse to supply the sinews of war, oil, to the Blackshirts of fascism among other raw materials. By the way, where is Japan getting oil for her invasion of China? Take a look at a map for the Sakhalin Islands. They belong to the U.S.S.R. and oil wells are located on these islands close to Japan. Japan is getting oil from the Sakhalins.

Franco's bombers, in their daily flights over working class districts in the populous cities of Spain, flights that are followed by hundreds of graves being dug, graves which men, women and

children of our class will occupy, burn gasoline manufactured in Italy from crude oil obtained from the Socialist "fatherland." This has been going on from the beginning of Franco's Italo-German invasion of Spain. But a country that will turn anti-fascist fighters over to fascist countries and certain death, as Russia has done in the case of Italian anarchists, would not stop a profitable trade balance nor stop the delivery of battleships that Italy, Fascist Italy, is building for the Russian "peepul" just because a few thousand Spaniards are slaughtered as the result.

You say that Russia has aided the Spanish people with armaments. Quite right . . . but paid for in gold at top prices . . . and included in the price is that the "leaders" have full opportunity to advocate their old theory of getting "followers." They, the leaders, agreed that in return for a cementing of the Franco-Russian military pact, they would do all in their power to prevent an establishment of a workers' Commonwealth in Spain by the anarcho-syndicalists; that they would support other political cliques in an "United Front" for the maintenance of the bourgeois Republic. For this they received the blessing of England and France, the former because of her trade routes on the Mediterranean, the latter for the protection of the Spanish-French frontier.

Anarcho-Syndication

Furthermore, France, governed at the time by a "One Big Union" of the type mentioned previously, was the first to initiate the non-intervention pact to prevent the Spanish workers from purchasing arms in the open market. This was immediately seconded by Russia because an access to arms and materials of war would result in an early victory for the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, and then where would the leaders be?

What is the basis of anarcho-syndicalism? In a few words it is the contention that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers within economic, direct action unions without the interference of political or reformist groups or parties. From the days when Bakunin, as an advocate of anarchism, opposed Marx in the latter's attempt to dominate the International Working Mens' Assn., (First International) this school of thought has been strangled by all organizations who subscribe to the "leadership" theory as well as by the ruling class in society.

This attempted strangulation is particularly directed against the anarcho-syndicalists by those same enemies in Spain today. From the outbreak of Franco's *coup d'etat* in July, 1936, the former group has formed the vanguard in revolutionary achievements; in the reorganization of economic and social life of the nation; in the collectivization of lands left by fascist sympathizers; in the confiscation of factories, transport and raw materials and, at the same time, keeping the war against the insurgents at a high level of efficiency. This was carried out, not by coercion, but by the initiative

of workers and peasants and the results obtained have surprised the world . . . and even the anarchists.

The communists, on the other hand, have boosted their ranks from a few thousands of members (followers) to nearly half a million by opening their ranks to the semi-fascist elements of the middle class . . . people that even the left wing political parties in Spain would not organize. They furthered their policies of dictatorship by openly collaborating with the old line reactionaries in the restoration of private property which had been confiscated by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. By smashing the collectives in the Aragon with the Lister division, one of their army corps, but were forced to call a halt when production began to drop as a result of their action. They have murdered militant anti-fascist fighters and jailed, without trial or evidence, foreign volunteers to the International Brigade because they would not acknowledge communist leadership. Caballero was kicked out of the Cabinet because he refused to play ball with the Moscow saviors. A previous military plan to relieve the pressure against Bilbao by an attack on Franco's forces from the South was shelved by the Moscow dominated Cabinet of Negrin. So the Basques and the Asturians were sacrificed on Stalin's altar, and over all of Loyalist Spain the club decorated with a hammer and sickle was waved over the heads of all who raised their voice against a repetition of the debacle of 1917-20 in Russia—waved with the threat that armaments from Russia would be stopped unless the Popes of the Third International had their way.

It has gone on—and goes on—until when? It has gone on in Spain because the Stalinists know that the defeat of fascism would be the defeat of their own "infallible" theory of "leaders and followers." They know that Spain would not return to the status quo of republican democracy; that their dream of a "Soviet Spain" based on the Moscow plan of a social order ruled by gas-house politicians and police representatives is but a fantasy of deluded minds. As long as they can keep the "unseeing" eyes of labor focused on the Soviet Star, they will not lack followers. Let anarcho-syndicalism prevail in Spain and those "unseeing" eyes will be witness to the building of a social order wherein the unions of workers will be the determining factor; where the "leader" and the politician will be a negative factor; where there will be freedom in the fullest sense of the word for all who direct their efforts towards the work of accomplishing socialism.

Industrial Unionism

It also would swing labor away from the bureaucratic trade unions of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., away from politicians of all stripes and the likes of Green, Lewis, Martin, Hillman, Van Bittner and dozens of other leeches. The real industrial union would be the order of the day. And that union is the **Industrial Workers of the World**.

For 30 years this organization has not changed its principles; it has not veered like a weather vane in a variable wind, because it is based on a solid foundation, the foundation of a clear analysis of capitalism and the need of unions designed to give labor its fullest revolutionary expression, whether it be to bring the Standard Oil or General Motors to its knees or to refuse to handle or produce products to be used against labor abroad; and it provides, in its structure and methods, a means to emancipate labor minus the blessings of labor finks and pinks.

Look back over the pages of history, my fellow slave, study the role of leaders and see if it is to your interests to place your destiny, the destiny of your class, in the hands of proven traitors. You have been doing so—you are still doing so and a continuance of this suicidal policy will inevitably result in fascism. Leaders of all types will always go hand in hand. Look back at the reception tendered by the socialists and social-democrats to Mussolini's Fascisti when they entered Rome on the march from Bologna. Remember the collaboration of the same politicians when Horthy and his White Guards inaugurated a reign of terror against the Hungarian workers in 1919.

Another repetition when the "saviors" slaughtered the German workers when they attempted to build a more equitable social order in the same year. But the most important is the slaughter of the garrison of Kronstadt by communists under the command of "our beloved" Trotsky—and with the sanction of the late un-lamented Lenin.

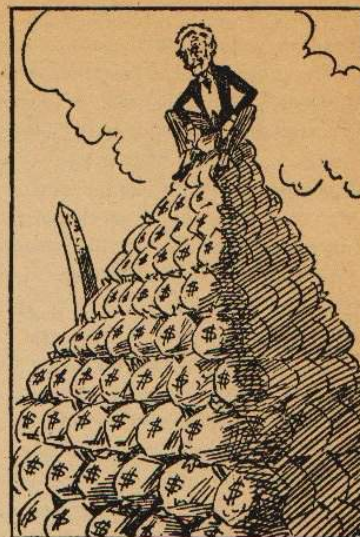
The "cream of the revolution," that is what Trotsky termed those defenders of Kronstadt. Quite right—and it follows that when the Russian Revolution was liquidated it was logical that the "cream" of its fighters had to be killed so that "leadership" would have a clear path to establish a dictatorship of the workers—by the leaders. And dictatorship, either red, black, or brown, is what the future holds for workers who do not organize in rank-and-file controlled unions, industrial unions, unions of the type advocated by the I.W.W. There is no substitute, no alternative and no excuse . . . if you desire to stem the rising tide of fascism and chaos do not place your confidence in a leader dominated organization or you will write down the cost in disillusionment and blood.



MERRY ENGLAND

"Another world war, profit for ammunition makers, misery, starvation at home—death at the front for the youth of the world."

By A. MARTIN



"This is the best country in the world; we have the money and conditions," so stated a longshoreman to me in Avenmouth, England.

Some things have improved a lot in England since the war. Lots of new homes have been built and more are being worked on. It is about 12 miles between Avenmouth and Bristol and all along the highway there are new homes, mostly two story buildings. They are buildings of two or three apartments with small flower gardens in front. In the rear there are quite large spaces for vegetable gardens.

Families are encouraged to raise their own vegetables and a special field is set aside for those who like to cultivate them. But for all these improvements England is far from being the "best country in the world," as the Avenmouth longshoreman was preaching.

Employers Attack Unions

Bristol is a city of half a million people. It is a manufacturing center for light industry—the largest undertaking being the Wills Tobacco company. It is supposed to be one of the most prosperous cities in West England.

It is a fact that the Bristol workers appear quite contented. They are well fed and well dressed. Though food prices are not much below those of New York, rent, I was told, is about \$20 a month for dwellings for which one would have to pay as much as \$30 and \$40 in New York.

For factory workers wages are \$12 to \$18 a week. Skilled workers make more than that. Longshoremen get about \$3.25 for an eight-hour work day and time and a half for overtime for the

handling of general merchandise. For the handling of grain the pay is 18 shillings a day. Very little overtime is worked and Saturday afternoon work is indeed very rare.

Saloons are well patronized but I did not see a drunk while I was there. They close at 10 P.M. and by midnight streets are empty.

But all is not so rosy for the workers. While the longshoreman was talking about the best country in the world—on the very same day—newspapers reported that London workers employed by Messrs. Leslie and Godwin were told to leave the guild or leave their jobs. All these workers are members of the Guild of Insurance Officials. The employer's ultimatum was given when the union presented the following demands:

Recognition of the guild as the negotiating body for the insurance staffs.

Adequate salaries, including a **marrying wage** at marrying age.

Security of employment after probationary period and guaranteed pensions.

Equal opportunity for promotion of women.

The matter was reported to the Ministry of Labor. What the Ministry will do for these workers remains to be seen. But here is what it did for another group of workers.

No Favorable Settlements

This headline appeared in one of the papers: "MINISTRY FAILS TO END STRIKE," and it is typical. The article under this head goes on to say that the Ministry of Labor has failed to settle the strike of 120 warehouse workers at the factory of Falk, Stadlerman and Co., makers of light

accessories. The strike, then in its eighth week, had been called for the full recognition of the union, the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, and for reinstatement of the men who allegedly (newspapers use that smear word over there too) had been victimized. Support to this strike was given by dockers and railway men who refused to handle "hot" goods to and from the factory.

A previous strike, about five months before the present one, ended when the Industrial Court awarded improved wages and conditions and the present dispute arose from friction over the operation of that award, the article explained.

Many other cases that serve to illustrate the prevailing British labor unrest and the failure of official agencies to keep it down may be obtained from newspaper accounts.

A claim of pitchers and shopmen in a Smithfield meat market for a wage increase of five shillings a week is to be referred to the Industrial Court for arbitration.

Mr. L. C. Hansen of the Transport and General Workers union told the **Daily Harold** that apart from the wage claim, the workers had originally asked for a 42½-hour week. But the employers had insisted on the normal 45-hour week and, against that, proposed to improve overtime terms. Men making an early start would be entitled to overtime pay after nine hours of work, instead of ten hours work for straight pay. Claim for a two weeks annual vacation pay was rejected.

A deadlock in the claim for higher wages involving 20,000 public employes has been reached in the London Joint Industrial Council for the "non-trading" services—persons included therein are park employes, scavengers, sewer men, and numerous other trades of essential health protectors. On the employers' side are the London county council and the 28 metropolitan boroughs. Several authorities have increased the minimum wage from 56 shillings to 60 shillings a week, but there is no general agreement. Wage rates in London are today below those paid in many provincial areas.

Workers at the Hawkers Aircraft factory, Brookland, Surrey, are on strike against the employment of non-unionists in what was hitherto a union shop. The strike is now in its third week.

Even the co-operative societies are not free from labor troubles. The **Daily Herald**, April 1, reports that at a mass meeting strikers unanimously rejected proposals for a settlement of the dispute between distributive workers and the United Co-operative. At another co-operative, the Baking Society of Glasgow, about 1,500 are involved in a strike which began following the refusal of the society to grant a ten per cent wage increase.

The suggested basis of settlement was that the workers, most of them girls, should return immediately and that negotiations should be reopened, with the understanding that they should be concluded within a month, and that whatever settle-

ment should be reached was to operate from April 1.

The above reports are picked at random from the **Daily Herald**, the official mouthpiece of the Labor party. They show that all is not well in England for the workers. It's not good for workers though business conditions are considered good and a huge armament program is in effect.

Want More Production

At the same time the Cabinet wants production doubled. The Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, appeals to the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations, to speed up armaments.

The following is what the Government will ask employers to do:

Refuse orders which may interfere with the output of ammunitions and to extend their plants where necessary, the Government providing the money for this undertaking.

Mr. Chamberlain will assure the employers that they will not lose money by assenting to the armament speed up. He will announce that within the next 18 months the Government will place 500,000,000 pounds sterling, roughly 2,500,000,000 dollars, for war preparations.

Many factory owners engaged in light metal production for civil work will be asked to switch a big portion of their plants over to the armament work. Factories engaged on wireless, iron mongery, metal windows, metal furniture and similar iron work, will be involved in this change.

The Prime Minister will ask the employers to engage a quarter of a million semi-skilled workers to supplement the skilled men now engaged in the manufacture of ammunitions, and he will also ask firms not participating in the munitions program to release skilled men needed by the arms firms.

Later this week, the Premier and Sir Thomas Inskip, will meet the Engineering unions and ask them to waive trade union rules which prevent night work and the employment of semi-skilled labor.

He will give them guarantees to the effect that these regulations will be restored to a peace-time basis, when the armament drive is over.

The answer that the trade union officials will give Mr. Chamberlain will no doubt be along the lines already indicated by the leaders of the Labor party. To quote Mr. James Walker, M.P., at the Labor party conference, "The British workers will fight for British institutions and the British Empire." A. V. Alexander, another M.P., in one of his Parliament speeches, said "he would be ready to consider conscription."

When a political labor fakir talks of "collective security" he is really talking for the preservation of the capitalist system, and the politicians and a raw deal to the workers in return—that is, if the workers will be foolish enough to believe them again.

Capitalism can be maintained in England only by reducing wages and through the usual unem-

ployment benefits—in amounts that will insure capitalists a satisfactory increment of profits.

Labor Party Helps Bosses

The last Labor Government cut down the wages of the public workers, introduced the so-called "Anomalies Act," which deprived 30,000 workers of unemployment benefits, and appointed the "May Economy Commission," which recommends the Means Test. In other words, the Labor party performed a deed that the capitalist class did not dare to undertake directly. The Labor Government had become a tool of the capitalist class, to save capitalism by lowering the standard of living of the workers.

While the re-armament program will employ hundreds of thousands of workers directly, many other hundreds of thousands will be put to work, either in the production of the necessary raw material or the necessities of life upon which the wages of the first section of workers will have to be spent. This is bound to bring about an artificially created prosperity in old England.

While the politicians and labor fakirs lull the workers into a false sense of security, the capitalist class foresees the crisis when the armament program will be over.

The Independent Labor party has this to say.

"The possessing class clearly foresees that the crisis will arise and is preparing for it by preliminary steps towards fascism." This is the meaning of the Trades Disputes Act, which limits the power of the workers to strike; of the Sedition Act which seeks to prevent solidarity among the workers of the rank and file of the armed forces; the Public Order Act, under which the right of the workers to mass on the streets and to demonstrate is restricted; and of the militarization of the police force, with the object of maintaining it as a defense of private property. No thinking worker who understands the significance of such legislation can doubt that the possessing class in Great Britain is preparing to use fascist methods in any critical situation threatening its time-established privileges.

"British capitalists who tangled in the Spanish war and have been giving, secretly, unconditional support to Franco, are now beginning to realize that victory for Franco means victory for Germany and Italy, who are threatening British imperial control of Africa and India. Hitler is demanding German colonies as the price of withdrawing troops from Spain; and if such colonies will not be granted he means to colonize Spain with Nazi soldiers and their families to the tune of many thousands."

Threat of War

According to the diplomatic correspondent of the *Sunday Pictorial*, March 27-38, these intentions of Hitler augur trouble. France will not tolerate a fascist state on her southern frontier. Britain is alarmed at the threat to Gibraltar.

While the diplomatic front is still in a bad shape,

the military is still more dangerous for France and Great Britain. This is what "John Bull," April 9, '38, has to say:

"Twenty years ago Germany lay beaten, broken and bankrupt, under the heels of the Allies, today, without the firing of even a gun or the drawing of a sword, she dominates the continent as decisively as Napoleon dominated it at the height of his power.

"During the brief five years that have elapsed since the Nazi conspiracy seized power, the whole complexion of Europe has changed. Austria has been absorbed in a night; Czechoslovakia lies helpless in the vast jaws of a greater Germany. Hitler legionnaires are on the Brenner and Mussolini, having sacrificed Austria of which he had declared himself to be the guardian, for the sake of German consent to his own conquest of Abyssinia, receives them with acclamation.

"All the smaller nations are running for shelter before the storm. The Hungarian soldiery fraternize with the formidable neighbor who is now on their frontier. The King of Rumania finds reason for not paying his visit to London. Switzerland, with its large German-speaking population, sees the shadow darkening over Lake Constance. Poland, once the ally of France, is virtually making terms with the power that matters, and right through the Balkans, to the Sea of Marmora, it is the Nazi star in the ascendant.

"Von Papen, fresh from his successful intrigues in Vienna, has gone as ambassador to Turkey, which has been our friend and is the keystone in the Balkan block, and incidentally, in the Eastern Mediterranean.

"Working swiftly and under close secrecy, Germany has been building on her North Sea coast new and immensely powerful fortifications, which are the greatest menace to Britain's safety.

"The island of Sylt on the west coast of Jutland has been turned into a vast aerial and naval stronghold. The fortifications of the island include a naval harbor and aerodromes.

"The whole northern end of the island has been transformed into a mass of concrete, concealing underground hangers, and this only about 400 miles from London.

"The island fortress of Heligoland guarding the approach to Hamburg on the river Elba and the North Sea end of the Kiel canal has also been strengthened.

"The strongest of the fortifications in all Germany, the *Dagbladet*, in Oslo, states, now extend from Hamburg to the Baltic port of Lubeck and about 100 miles eastward along the Baltic coast to the island of Ruegen.

"Germany's hegemony of Europe is not a dream; it is a fact.

"So John Bull is turning his eyes to the Mediterranean and says we are engaged in what are called, conversations with the Italian dictator, and all must hope for a happy issue to them.

"But it would be suicidal to shut our eyes to the

enormous change that has come over the situation there.

"Even in the last war, when there was no effective enemy on the Mediterranean littoral, the passage of the sea was full of perils.

"Now with Lybia on one flank of Egypt and Abyssinia on the other, with the narrow straits between Sicily and the African coast fortified so as to make the channel impassable—and with Spain

and the Balearic islands falling into the hands of the protege of Hitler and Mussolini, the navigation of the Mediterranean might in certain events become unthinkable. These are bare and sinister facts with which we (Britain) are faced. And the only answer to this is armament and more armament; and another world war, profits for ammunition makers, misery, starvation at home—death at the front for the youth of the world."

ADVICE TO BOYS

By UNCLE COVAMY

(Dedicated to my adopted Nephews, Bob and Edgar Hodemaker)

When you're called to war, my son,
You will get a bomb and gun,
A helmet and a mask,
And no question you must ask;
And you must put from the start
Love and mercy from your heart;
For then your duty is to slay,
Ravish, and obey
Your superiors, my boy.
To this end you must destroy
Every ideal mother thought
She, my boy, to you had taught.
On the battlefield you will
Another good boy seek to kill;
And he will do the same to you,
Or to his country be untrue.
This your duty is,—
Likewise also it is his—
To center all your thought and will
Each the other boy to kill.
But hard as this may seem to you,
'Tis not all that you must do.
In addition, you will gas
Mothers, children, 'babes en masse!
You will bomb the peaceful town,
Blast its schools and steeples down;
You will gorge its streets with dead,
Far and wide will ruin spread!
You will slaughter, raze and burn

To an insane beast you turn!
But, if you return alive,
If with honor you survive
"The crusade for democracy,"
You will, son, a hero be!
You will sit down at the feast
With the statesmen and the priest.
If so it be that you return
In a coffin or an urn,
Your very name to them unknown,
They will raise a mighty stone,—
Out of marble they will hew
A memorial for you!
And to it will come thru the years
Presidents and Profiteers,
Mourning o'er your silent dust—
Calling other boys to trust,
Urging them with glowing lies
To a devil's enterprise.

L'envoi

When you are called to serve, my son,
Remember who the last war won.
If so you do, then you will choose
To other ends your strength to use—
To cleanse the homeland of the crew
Who would make a beast of you.
That is all I have to say,
Unto you, my boy, today.

WAGE WORKERS UNITE

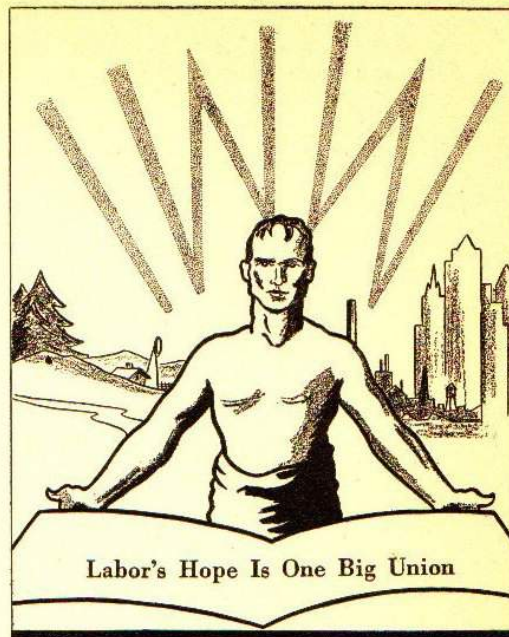
By MORTIMER DOWNING

Wage workers are the children of the ancient serfs. Capitalism claims to have made the present producers of wealth into Freemen. But at the same moment that they made wage workers of serfs, capitalists enacted laws that for two or more to combine to raise wages constituted "restraint of trade and commerce." All their laws to this day are on that basis. What capitalism actually did at its birth was to make every wage worker a merchant—a merchant of the one supreme commodity, Human Labor Power.

Now look at yourself, Mr. Merchant. When you seek to feed, clothe and shelter yourself, you go out into a legally open market, in free competition, to sell the powers of your body to the highest bidder, whose yardstick is the clock. You can not eat, clothe yourself or sleep except you find a buyer of your labor power. Your forefather, the serf, could kick against his lord as inhuman, but you are part and parcel of a system wherein you sign the contract of your own starvation. So long as you permit this system to survive, you are doomed.

What happens? You are hungry—you must find a job. You are ragged—you must find a job. You are sleepy—you must buy a bed. You have tramped long, you are weary and disheartened, then you can "buy" a job from a mancatcher. And for this you must have cash.

There is your problem and this brings the question of your existence to the last stage of the iron law of Production, Distribution, Acquisition and Consumption.



In a world of possible plenty one-half of your class are ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed. You blame the laws, curse the lawmakers and do everything except unite—

**"Unite to break for aye the chains
That fetter fast your brawn and
brains."**

With all this misery you have a remedy for your condition. What is it? Ah! Something so simple that a child of ten years can read and understand it. It has been translated into every language under the sun where wage workers sweat and suffer. All the story of your freedom from your ills is told in three hundred and fifteen simple English words, and relatively briefly in every language. It is called the

**Preamble of the Industrial Workers
of the World.**

Three hundred and fifteen words, six short paragraphs and eleven sentences frame the charter of your welfare as wage workers. Moreover it is not only your freedom but that of every other wage seller in the wide world. Mr. Merchant of human labor power, why not follow the "trusts," which you hate, in so far as organization is concerned? Blot out wars,

throttle greed, exile brutality by the one act expressed in one sentence:

"Workers of the World, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

Then the circle of Production, Distribution, Acquisition and Consumption will close for all mankind.

In January, February and March of

1938, as compared with the same months in 1937, production in the United States dropped 54 percent. (Production fell more in these three months than in three years after 1929. Face this fact and realize that either the workers have to take over production for use or fare along with capitalism to world chaos.

On the inside of the front cover appears the full text of the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

BUTTE AGAIN

A reader criticizes "Butte," a story by Montana Slim which appeared in the April issue of the One Big Union Monthly.

Montana Slim, with the scissorbill's weakness for rushing into print, has acquired for himself the distinction of being the proverbial April fool. His villifying description of the Irish miner is written for the purpose of deluding the average reader that "Mike Finnegan" is typical of his race.

We have seen the stage Irishman in all his grotesqueness and recognized it as British propaganda to divert attention from their merciless exploitation of the Irish. Direct action was the method used to stop this slander, which consisted in wrecking such theatres which exhibited the monstrosities. The owners and managers learned a costly lesson and the scurility ceased.

Now Montana Slim ignorantly enters the already exploited field to exhibit his bigotry. He drags in Mike Finnegan as his straw man, pummels him mercilessly, finally demolishes him and emerges in a blaze of self-conceit.

According to Slim, Mike arrives from Miami, Arizona, and never saw or heard of a drilling machine nicknamed the "widow maker." For Slim's information, the "widow maker" was operated in Jerome, Bisbee and Miami long before its introduction to Butte, and was so named by the Irish miners.

Poor Mike, after his experience in the "hot holes" of Arizona, didn't know enough to get the sweaty stiffness from his "digging clothes" until, Slim relates, the other miners told him to "wash them every night."

Invincible Mike, with the help of the little Slav performs a Herculean task with a machine he had never heard of. Slim says, after several days work (not weeks or months), Mike and his partner had 1,200 feet for breaking, 1,150 for mucking, and 800 feet for timbering—not counting how much the measure-man cheated. A colossal record which only Paul Bunyan and his Blue Ox might have made. Mike evidently smuggled them into Butte in his two suitcases.

Slim says Mike was amazed at the little Slav, who wouldn't stop to get his breath but kept mucking in the terrible heat. In a succeeding paragraph he forgets himself and says, "The Slav was a little wiser because he didn't work so hard."

The story of the employment office is pure bunk. Imagine a wobbly climbing the "hill," looking for and needing a job, confessing to the manager of the "Kangaroo Court." Such a one is either dumb or has the martyr complex.

Slim takes us to the "Rose Garden" with Mike in the clutches of the law, and the wretch is given a prison sentence. Mike is a despicable slave, a drunkard, an adulterer and Slim forgets to crown the worthless character a dope fiend.

The nearest Slim ever got to a Butte mine was the vitiated atmosphere of a Park street pool room. No new arrival gets a contract as these jobs are reserved for company pets since there is a chance to make better than wages and no shift boss bothers them.

Let us remind Slim of a Butte incident.

The Pearse-Connolly club of Butte, composed of Irish revolutionists, many of them wobblies, protected and escorted the funeral of Frank Little when scissorbills hid in pool rooms and saloons, afraid to be on the street.

We also tell you that from the loins of the Molly Maguires sprang the Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers, and the Western Federation of Miners. Incidentally, it was from the Western Federation of Miners that the I.W.W. got the three stars on its symbol.

The I.W.W. constitution particularly stresses—**irrespective of race, color or creed.** This Slim ignores.

We recall the old wobbly song:

**Scissor Bill is down on everybody—
The Irishman, the Dutchman, and the
Man in the moon.**

—Goban Sayer.

I.W.W.--Non-Political Labor Union

A non-political labor union, such as the I.W.W. is particularly well adapted to the situation confronting the WPA workers as well as other unemployed men and women of many political beliefs. Some are Republicans, some Democrats, some Socialists, and some have no particular favorite party. To restrict membership in the I.W.W. to one political faith would be to isolate one group from those of other political beliefs. Working people have not a common political belief.

Working people have common interests in wages, hours, and working conditions; also in the amount of relief they get when unemployed. A republican, a democrat, and a socialist, though unemployed, could never agree on the political questions of tariff, taxes, or who is the best man for President. But they could all agree on the economic questions of higher wages, or shorter hours on WPA jobs, or more relief. Therefore the I.W.W. tells them to leave their political beliefs and differences outside the union hall so that these differences will not disturb the discussion of the union's business of shorter hours and better working conditions.

Being non-political, the I.W.W. does not endorse any political party or individual politician and we ask them not to endorse us. This is the plain common sense way of doing things too. If we endorse one politician for an office the other fellow would naturally say, "Well, if you aren't going to support me there is no use of me paying any further attention to you. I had better use what influence I have to satisfy people who might support me."

And the politician whom we might endorse would say, "Well, now that I am sure you are

going to vote for me and my party there is no use in my paying any further attention to you. I had better use my influence to satisfy those persons I am not so sure will vote for me, to see if I can win them over." They wouldn't say it in so many words but that is the way they look at it. And there you are. One will work against your interests because you won't support him and the other, cock-sure you will support him anyway, will do the same.

Furthermore, unions endorsing politicians because of what they say they are going to do has proved a fruitless procedure. A politicians' platform is like the steps of a train—it is only to get in on.

Not that the members of the I.W.W. don't vote. But the members of the I.W.W. can vote as they please, without telling us or telling them. And when they vote, if they vote, they are influenced in much the same manner that other workers are. They vote for the one that will do the least harm in their estimation. But as the I.W.W. does not allow politicians and their stooges to use the organization for a vote-catching machine and does not endorse any political group, it avoids any risk of the politicians tearing the union wide open in their attempts to control it.

The worker's power lies in his organized strength on the point of production and if we build up the power at that point the politicians will be around, hat in hand, wanting to listen to our slightest desire just as they now listen to the desires of the economically powerful employing class. The I.W.W. says, "Keep politics and politicians out of the union and keep the union out of politics.—A WPA Worker."

AN ODE TO YOUTH

By GUSSIE PERLMAN

Do not spend the fleeting hours of your youth,
Grinding a morsel of some half-baked truth,
Nor create a halo around forgotten themes,

To frustrate the very presence of your dreams.

May the past sleep in the dust of the years,
It is not your want to shed timeless tears.
Yours is the mission to seek and to find
The essence of reason, hope for mankind!



APPLY THE REMEDY!

**WHY
NOT
?**

4


**HOUR DAY
DAY WEEK**

*And no
wage-
cuts!*

Organize

**MAKE
PROSPERITY
FOR ALL**

**IN THE
I.W.W.**



The sixteen-hour week will end unemployment, guarantee economic security and go a long way toward putting the control of industry where it belongs—in the hands of the organized workers of the world.

Profits?—Let the parasites worry about them. Labor's job is to see that everybody eats.

