

The I. W. W.

Reply

To

The Red Trade Union

International

(MOSCOW)

by the

General Executive Board

of the

Industrial Workers of the World

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

1922



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 management of the 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.

Chicago, Ill., November 15, 1922.

Executive Committee, R. I. L. U.,
Moscow, Russia.

Fellow Workers:—

We are in receipt of a communication from Fellow Worker Krebe, in Berlin, Germany, with which was enclosed an "Appeal to the Rank and File of the I. W. W." This "appeal," which we have been requested to publish in our official organs, is signed by Lozovsky, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the R. I. L. U.

The reasons advanced why this statement ought to be given space in the official publications of the I. W. W. do not coincide with our knowledge of facts in connection with events and happenings relative to the intercourse between the I. W. W. and the R. I. L. U. If, as is alleged in the appeal, you desire to "state our views clearly and honestly," much that is only innuendo would be so "clearly and honestly" advanced and supported that sufficient evidence would be furnished, upon which the rank and file of the I. W. W. could base a clear and honest judgment.

We Want Proof, Not Assertions.

The appeal to the rank and file of the I. W. W., to be really informative upon matters in controversy between Williams' report, as our delegate to the R. I. L. U. Congress, and you, cannot be covered clearly or satisfactorily by asserting, as you do, that "we have searched in vain for one correct statement in the report of Joe (George) Williams on the Red International of

Labor Congress"; and "It is so full of lies that a complete reply to it would be useless."

This latter statement seems to us to be significant of a peculiar state of mind, for, if a "complete reply to it would be useless," anything less than a complete reply is not only useless but extremely foolish as well. You offer the rank and file of the I. W. W. an alternative of selection between Williams' report and your statement, which, in the absence of full and complete knowledge, must be made entirely on faith. We, of the I. W. W., are much more thorough than you appear to regard us.

Then, again, when you undertake to disprove one statement by Williams, the result is not a happy one for your side of the contention. For instance, your "appeal" charges that "Williams asserts that we intend to force our theories and methods upon the American masses. Nothing of the kind." In this connection it is not out of place to quote from an article by Lozovsky, published in the Internationalist Communist No. 21, in which he states the R. I. L. U. position upon the relationship of the international to its national affiliations. Considering his position—secretary of the R. I. L. U.—and the medium through which his views are expressed, the International Communist, official organ of the R. I. L. U., it is logical to assume that this pronouncement is authoritative:

Real R. I. L. U. Intention

"The Federalist International, of which these comrades (the French syndicalists) are dreaming, must not direct the activities of the individual

organizations. It may only register whatever they may find to do. This dream reminds us of the past, for we have seen such internationals at work at the beginning of the war. The social revolution will not be advanced, even one step nearer to victory, if we put up one more letter box and paste upon it the label 'Federalist International.' The revolution will be successful, only when the International shall become a real, active force; when it shall unite all the growing movements of the masses, coordinate their actions; when it shall be able to set in motion the international movement; when the workers of one and the same calling shall be able to act simultaneously, in accord with one slogan. He who sets up a Federalist International, as opposed to such a real international, in fact rejects every kind of international, throws the labor movement back and closes his eyes to the real aims and problems of the labor movement."

We do not quote this to take issue with this conception of an international. We do so only to show that the policy of non-interference, as proclaimed in the appeal to the I. W. W. rank and file is not the real attitude of the R. I. L. U., as put forth by one of its foremost and most capable spokesmen, Lozovsky. Is it by accident or design that he assumes one attitude toward the European syndicalists and another, directly opposite, in the appeal to the I. W. W.? Why vote "Yes" in Europe and "No" in America upon the same proposition?

Our conception is also an international of action, proletarian action, and our concern is not about coordin-

ation of national movements for international objectives, but about the domination of the proletarian (economic) forces by non-proletarian (political) ideology. Williams, in his report, points out the intention of the Communist politicians to dominate the economic movement. That Williams' report did not overstate is proven when, in the course of the same article which we have previously quoted from, we find Lozovsky saying, "But when they speak about independence from Communism our disagreement begins."

Unintentional Support of Williams.

But, without quoting from Lozovsky's article in the International Communist, the "appeal," within itself, carries not one, but several propositions which support Williams' statement. With strange shortsightedness and incomprehensible inconsistency you corroborate the charge you would refute, or Lozovsky in his appeal does so in your name, by declaring "(1) We only ask that the I. W. W. avoid the splitting of other organizations where they are well established, by starting a parallel organization of its own; (2) that it confine itself to industries where it is already dominant and (3) that it cooperate with other revolutionary bodies towards the building of a united front against one of its most bloodthirsty opponents—American Capitalism."

The Devil In Cowl and Cassock.

With an assumption of frankness you are here imputing to us a purely destructive intention and purpose — the splitting of unions — when you

cannot help but be aware that our effects are constructive in aim and character. In these proposals, ingeniously intertwined, you submit to us the liquidation of the I. W. W. by asking it to forego every principle upon which it is founded and every policy to which its experience has taught it to commit itself.

Again, you assert that (4) "If the I. W. W. is to be a real factor in the Labor Movement, it **'must change its attitude'** towards other Labor Unions." This is equivalent to saying that the I. W. W. must cease to be the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. With And For Labor.

Evidently you have been misinformed about the I. W. W.'s "attitude" toward other organized workers, which is winning for it the respect of the rank and file of American Labor.

For your enlightenment we are enclosing clippings from our official English-language paper, Industrial Solidarity, on the recent miners' strike (A) and the railroad shopmen's strike (B). We are likewise enclosing circular letter addressed by the Agricultural Workers' Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. to the striking railroad shopmen (C); and a copy of the resolution adopted by the Spring Conference of the A. W. I. U. No. 110, held in Omaha, Neb., May 1, 1922, which makes provision for preferential treatment for striking coal miners in the grain harvest.

Budding Dictatorship.

If there is no truth in Williams' report, and if the R. I. L. U., as it professes, has no intention to dominate the I. W. W., why command that (5) "it (the I. W. W.) must agree upon

uniting with the Lumber Workers' Union of Canada."?

Frankly this mandatory suggestion savors of American rather than Russian origin; it sounds more like Fosterian propaganda than an unbiased and uninfluenced statement by an international body, which "understand(s) that methods and measures are determined by social and economic circumstances obtaining in each separate country"; and which has no ambition to dominate the affairs of workers in America—"Nothing of the kind."

Would it be regarded as impertinent to inquire, whether the repudiation of Cascadden by the Canadian O. B. U. Lumber Workers; the affiliation of what remains of that body with the R. I. L. U. and its known inclination toward the Fosterian policy had any influence in the issuance of this ultimatum to the I. W. W.?

Still further along you admonish the I. W. W. with an imperative "must" that (6) "you (the I. W. W.) must come in contact with other independent unions, and the various revolutionary minorities in the American Federation of Labor."

Why Whip Only One Horse?

Why not advise these independent labor unions and militant minorities in the A. F. of L., if they are amenable to suasion by the R. I. L. U., to come in contact with the I. W. W.?

As a statement of fact, and for your information, the contacts of the I. W. W. within the old, yellow unions of the craft system are far more numerous than you are aware, and much more effective than you have been

permitted to learn. The militant minorities in the A. F. of L. consist, to a greater degree than is generally believed, of capable and active I. W. W. members. They are not so concerned about advertising as they are about results.

The Political "Negro In the Wood-pile".

When you offer such advice to the I. W. W. membership as is diplomatically and very adroitly given, where you say, (7) "this is why we, too, want a **united political and economical front** with the workers' political party, the Workers' Party of America," you certainly and effectively disprove Williams' assertion that you "leave nothing to imagination," for, in this instance, everything is left to imagination. Even outside of the I. W. W., where American workers take political action with some seriousness, the "workers'" party is not known sufficiently well to be mentioned without explanation; and in those circles where people are aware of its existence it is regarded more or less as political light comedy—the Holy Rollers of American "labor politics."

Moreover, upon the question of political action, and affiliation with political parties, or with anti-political bodies, the I. W. W. is definitely and unequivocally recorded as refusing alliance with one or the other. So important has this matter been deemed that the resolution which committed the I. W. W. to this decision is inscribed in the written Constitution and By-Laws of the organization as a continual reminder to the membership. You will find it on page 59 of that document, which reads as follows:

“Political Parties and Discipline.

Whereas, The primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield; and

Whereas, Organization in any sense implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole, and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct and indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed.”

Political action, to which the I. W. W. originally was committed, as one function of a working class union, was disposed of in the Fourth Annual Convention (1908), when it was decided to confine the activities of the organization to economic functions—put it upon a strictly proletarian basis.

Since that time it has found its most unscrupulous slanderers and relentless enemies in the socialist parties, and amongst the socialist politicians.

Why Not Consult “Bill” Haywood?

William D. Haywood is in a position to inform you about the virulence and vindictiveness with which the Socialist and Social Labor parties pursued the I. W. W. as an organization, and its members as revolutionists and workmates. He will recount for your

information the tactics and propagan-
da which culminated in the adoption
of Article 2, ~~Section 6~~, of the Socialist
Party Constitution, that expelled him
and the entire industrial socialist ele-
ment from the party.

A cardinal tenet of I. W. W. policy
is that politics be kept entirely out of
the deliberations of the unions, and
out of the columns of the official pub-
lications as well. This provision, of
itself, would prevent our publishing
your appeal, if there were no other
reasons. But there are other reasons.

The circular which you request us
to publish bears all the earmarks of
a joint production by the Workers'
Party and Trade Union Educational
League, written in New York or Chi-
cago, and mailed to the I. W. W. via
Moscow and Berlin. The arguments
and charges are those to which we
have grown accustomed—without de-
viation, diminution or addition.

Official Responsibility

As officials of the I. W. W., we
would, indeed, be blind to the inter-
ests of the membership, and careless
about our own responsibilities, if we
were to assist the "borers from with-
in" to "liquidate the I. W. W.", or per-
mit them to create dissention in its
ranks, and thus to distract it from the
task upon which it is making gratify-
ing headway.

Permit us to express the opinion of
your request (to publish this appeal)
that it is, outside of every other con-
sideration, not only presumptuous, but
inconsistent, coming, as it does, from
Russia, where the government exer-
cises its power to prevent open and
free discussion, by those whom it re-

gards as counter-revolutionists, as ~~right~~ and requisite to the dictatorship. Why should the I. W. W., any more than the government of Russia, be expected to open its columns for the propagation of ideas that would imperil it, or impair its usefulness as an instrument of the revolutionary proletariat? Might we inquire, as seems to us pertinent, why you did not elect to use the organs of that party—the Workers' Party, through which you expect "to rebuke President Harding"—to carry your message to the rank and file of the I. W. W., and other American workers?

Haywood, and others now in Russia, will inform you that not even the prestige of the R. I. L. U. would suffice to excuse us for opening up the columns of our publications to Foster's boring and the W. P.'s. political propaganda. This attempt to furnish Foster's auger with a Russian handle will deceive no one in the I. W. W.

Face The Facts.

The differences of opinion among the American schools of Labor thought are the logical fruit of American industrial development. Social, racial and various other factors, as well as industrial influences, have played a part in shaping these opinions. These differences should not be regretted, though we are all prone to be dissatisfied with and about them. We may as well face the fact that they are deep-rooted and stubborn. They cannot be wished away,—they must be fought out. They involve principles of philosophy, methods and strategy, and the merits and demerits of the various schools will only be pro-

ven by economic tests. But for us to deprive ourselves of the advantage that organization confers, and this is, in effect, what your communication suggests, would be to render ourselves helpless, and, as we see it, to betray the working class of the United States and the world.

We Are Open To Reason.

It is not impossible to convince the I. W. W., if it can be proven, that its position is unsound economically, philosophically, tactically or otherwise. We are wide open for constructive criticism, helpful suggestions and education, but we cannot regard the repetition of old, wornout and refuted fallacies as having educational value.

As labor organizations go, the I. W. W. has survived over a longer-than-usual period and has won for itself a definite place in the labor movement of America. It would seem to have passed, or at least to be approaching the end of its experimental period. It is getting itself accepted. A fact that is being demonstrated to the regret of its enemies and the discomfiture of those who have slandered it and are, even now, vilifying and misrepresenting it at home and abroad.

Compare The I. W. W. With Its Defamers.

There is not in the history of labor organizations another union that has encountered and withstood a tithe of the persecution that has been visited upon the I. W. W. Its dead are numbered by hundreds—fallen in the front rank of the class war fighting; its ranks are generously sprinkled with maimed and bruised and battered vic-

refused to die and establish reputations for the dilettante labor generals who have the progress of the revolution mapped and charted, and who alone are "competent" to lead the proletariat to victory. They are especially endowed and (self) selected to thrust salvation upon the working class. They will tell you that themselves. We have listened to them for, lo, these many years. However, we seem to have an inherent preference for organizing and depending upon ourselves. The I. W. W., for seventeen bitter and bloody years, has struggled to teach organization to us. It has made mistakes, and it has learned from its mistakes. Perhaps it is still making mistakes, but it can be depended upon to remedy them. If not today, then tomorrow, or when experience qualifies it.

Two Questions.

Now, fellow workers, we ask these questions in all seriousness: Do you believe that the R. I. L. U. has so great an experience, more particularly an American experience, as has the I. W. W.? Do you consider yourselves better qualified to deal with, or less liable to be fallable in your judgment about American labor affairs than the I. W. W.?

You see the American labor movement from afar off, and you base your opinions about the I. W. W.'s part in it from information furnished by observers whose partisanship disqualifies them for reporting impartially. Upon such information, and superinduced perhaps by resentment over Williams' report, you justify your "ap-

peal to the rank and file of the I. W. W."

We do not question your sincerity at all. However, we are satisfied that this appeal, based upon misinformation, would not serve the end at which you aim; nor would it be of assistance in mollifying the antagonism that exists between the element whose doctrine it carries, and the I. W. W.

General Defense Committee, An Achievement.

Your reference to the sphere and activities of the General Defense Committee as "political" can only be founded upon a conception that anything which is intended to influence opinion about a governmental act is political in character. Our conception of the G. D. C. and its work is that both are devoted to publicity and propaganda, in an effort to surround the I. W. W. and its membership with such protection as a general opinion will provide.

Through the G. D. C. the membership of many labor organizations, outside of the I. W. W., has been aroused to the danger of a growing evil which selects militant and talented labor personalities for its victims. Besides arousing the working people, this agency has been instrumental in enlisting liberals of all kinds, even including church organizations. It is thus functioning to bring to new and hitherto hostile or indifferent elements a knowledge of the I. W. W., its membership, program and methods; and interest in the problem of the workers is thus created. With whether this committee and its work, or the results of that work are designated political, or oth-

erwise, we are not in the least concerned. To us the General Defense Committee is an extra-functioning body, designed for a particular work and operating in a sphere—outside of the work places—where the I. W. W., by its very nature, is not qualified to function.

To others than those who are hostile to the I. W. W. the General Defense Committee is an achievement, typical of the resourcefulness of this organization. It is not evidence of wrong principle, but of a weak condition. Its function is not politics, but publicity as one means of defense.

Of those portions of the "appeal" which dealt with the officials and the press, you will appreciate that these are matters to be dealt with by the general convention, which is scheduled to convene in Chicago, November 13, 1922. Until then, we, very naturally, shall refrain from commenting upon the things you avow and intimate about us and the papers.

I.W.W Not A Syndicalist Organization

There is evident, in your comment upon European syndicalism, a failure to appreciate that the I. W. W. is not a syndicalist organization. It is an **economic working-class organization**, in which the unit is the industrial union; and in which jurisdiction is industrially determined instead of territorially. It teaches that the power of the working class lies in its ability to control its labor power. This, in turn, depends upon such an organization as the I. W. W. proposes to the workers, and is teaching and assisting them to build up. It places reliance upon economic action and waits only upon op-

portunity to demonstrate the correctness of its contention. It is an economically militant organization, which acts upon the theory that the workers learn to fight by fighting. It places no reliance upon political action, nor does it teach reliance upon physical force. It organizes the wage-earners as workers—the social element upon which, and whose productive efforts, society depends.

Why I. W. W. Is Not Political.

The I. W. W. believes that the time devoted to politics is misspent, and that the energy so expended is misdirected and wasted. We believe that the class character of the state will not permit that institution to aid the proletariat in its class struggle. Therefore, we teach the workers that what they really require is not to influence the state favorably toward them, but to put themselves in such position, through an economic class organization, that they will be enabled to protect themselves against the hostility of the capitalist state.

The I. W. W. is cognizant of the fact that it is trying to destroy a social relationship, and that the accomplishment of this aim will involve strikes and demand agitational, educational and organizing efforts with all that this implies in a capitalist state, jealous of its power and fearful of economic action by the workers. We are not unaware, as you seem to infer, that as the organization grows, and the workers—impelled by a growing consciousness of power—become more and more assertive that clashes will occur between the workers and the forces of the state. Our perspective

shows us that such conflicts are inevitable, and we are satisfied that our economic preparation will enable us to deal with these phenomena when we are confronted with them. These probable occurrences are not outside our calculations, we assure you.

The capitalist class relies upon the state as its agency and instrument for holding the workers in subjection, and to preserve its rights to exploit their labor-power. The workers must provide themselves with an instrument more powerful than the repressive forces of the state—an organization for the control of their labor-power. The workers must make use of the every day struggle to provide the material out of which this agency is to be fashioned. Progress is naturally slow and tedious, as is the evolutionary process. As the idea of industrial unionism takes root and is nourished by the workings of the capitalist system existing nuclei in the industries develop, gradually, but surely and significantly.

Keeping Abreast Of The Revolution.

To us the revolution is primarily a process rather than an event. With capitalist development driving the workers every day in a revolutionary direction, and at an ever-increasing pace, our concern is to take step with the revolution and keep abreast of it. The final act of the revolution, to us, means the birth of a new society.

With this viewpoint, our conception of the labor movement is necessarily monistic. To us the workers are producers; and industry is the social function in which the labor-power of the workers is expended. It is in this cap-

acity that the workers are in this capacity that they are qualified to exert the maximum of social influence — as economic factors. Moreover, as this recognition spreads among the workers the industrial unions will become the expression of it, —the workers will construct the organism of the new society within the shell of the old society. We design to organize the consciousness of the workers, as capitalism has arranged them in the industries and, being thus enabled to control their labor-power, the workers will be irresistible, and competent to carry on the social functions.

I. W. W. Born Of American Labor Experience.

This theory, of which the I. W. W. is the only tangible expression in the world, is being accepted by ever-increasing numbers of the consciously revolutionary workers in the American proletariat. The I. W. W., by its tactics, is consciously constructing the revolutionary organism which will overthrow and replace the capitalist system. Such an idea has nothing in common with political socialism or communism. Neither has it anything in common with syndicalism, as we understand the term. The ultimate objective — a society free from the wage slavery—we do share with both of them. Upon the means and methods by which it is to be achieved we are at variance.

The I. W. W. is not a “freak” organization. It is the natural outgrowth of American labor experience with politics, and with the defeatist maneuvering of labor politicians.

The "Black International," of the Eighties, which bore some resemblance to syndicalism, is another influence that directed American workers in the development of a purely economic organization like the I. W. W.

Political labor movements, in America anyhow, can only take root in the labor unions, where they find the machinery ready to hand with which to reach large masses of the people. Union funds are made available for political purposes and the organizing and publicity factors are converted to political functions. Politicians in this country have invariably used the union movement as a stepping stone to influence and power for themselves. It is in the nature of politics that this should be so.

The history of American unionism testifies to the destructive influence of labor politics and labor politicians. Experience has proven that when politics moves into a union economic effectiveness moves out, and hope for the workers moves out with it.

European Labor Politics Short-circuited Russian Revolution.

The political inclination of European labor we believe to be responsible for the unreadiness of your continental movements to rally to the support of the Russian revolution. Without such support the Russian workers were condemned to realize less than they set out to achieve. From the American labor movement, under reactionary leadership and influences, nothing less than the antagonism which was experienced was to be expected.

Revolutionary Russia has always

had a sincere friend in the I. W. W. Unfortunately, those who speak in America for Russia are listed among the most pronounced enemies of the I. W. W. When, with a shortsightedness unworthy an international labor body, and apparently responding to influences hostile to this organization, the R. I. L. U. discriminated against the I. W. W. in the matter of representation at the Moscow congress, a breach was opened out of which has grown an antagonism which the I. W. W. can but regret, and for which responsibilities lies with the R. I. L. U.

Opening The Breach.

The delegate from the I. W. W. to the congress represented a real tangible membership, while others seated as American delegates represented nothing but undetermined and undeterminable minorities — ideas and hopes, rather than the qualifications generally demanded of delegates to such assemblies.

You will pardon us for remarking that your credentials committee made a bad and a sad mess of things and, in the acceptance of its report—in that portion covering American representation — the congress condoned its offense and aligned the R. I. L. U. with the enemies of the I. W. W.

The mistaken policy adopted by your body, dictated no doubt by a misconception derived from misrepresentative and deceitful declarations, we can only regard as your responsibility.

Using R. I. L. U. As Bait.

When you, now again, permit yourselves to be used by those who are much more interested in destroying the I. W. W. than they are in overthrowing capitalism we must refuse to aid them by refusing to allow you to use us. We do not believe that you, of the R. I. L. U., conceived this disruptive scheme. We are satisfied that your eagerness to serve labor is being exploited, and your credulity has been imposed upon. You are once again being deceived.

Even before we received your communication we had been informed of its existence by some of our "contacts" in "the militant minorities," and of the use that it was proposed to make of it in this country.

I. W. W. Essentially International.

The importance of international connection is well understood and fully appreciated by the I. W. W. No one who reads its preamble and literature can doubt that the I. W. W. realizes that necessity more than any other existing labor organization. The I. W. W. is an international rather than a national movement. It has often been referred to as "the first real international of the proletariat." Industrial Workers of the World — not of the United States, or America.

We have faith in the ultimate realization for a world-wide united front of the proletariat, for which we have worked, and shall continue to work without ceasing.

Your invitation to the I. W. W. to

be represented at the Second Congress
will be referred to the Convention.

We remain

Yours for Industrial Solidarity of
the workers of the world,

**General Executive Board
of the Industrial Workers
of the World.**

**Arthur Boose
Norman Weir
H. G. Clarke**

**T. C. Smith
Joe Miller
J. Johnson**

E. W. Latchem, Chairman.



Article from front page of Industrial Solidarity, dated April 8, 1922:

Fellow Workers in the mining industry:—

The purpose of this item is to ask your help in getting all the facts about this great mining strike which the labor movement of the world is watching.

We want every reader of this paper to consider himself the special I. W. W. correspondent in his locality, to send us all the local news about the strike.

You do not need to write articles. Just tell the editor in your letter what is taking place where you are. Also, mail to us all clippings from local papers dealing with the strike in any way.

We want full and accurate news about the strike, as our papers must say what other papers leave unsaid. Our papers will have splendid reports on this strike with your help.

Again we urge you to send in all newspaper clippings dealing with the strike. Beside that, write us all important strike news which the clippings do not tell. Watch out especially for the following things:

1. How many mines are shut down; how many are working.

2. Methods used to keep scabs away.

3. Tactics of the United Mine Workers' officials: tell us whether any camps, and how many men are working with union consent; whether U. M. W. of A. officials are talking in favor of separate agreements and settlements.

4. Watch the railroad workers. If any body of railroad men refuse to haul coal during the strike, tell us at once: that is big news and will make magnificent propaganda. If any body of railroad workers even considers such action, let us know.

5. Tell us whether gunmen are used in your locality—company guards, private detectives, cossacks or militia men.

Send in all other important strike news so that all readers of this paper will agree that the I. W. W. papers have told the truth and the whole truth in this great battle of the working class.

(Signed) Editor, Solidarity.

Article from Industrial Solidarity, dated September 2, 1922:

THE I. W. W. IN THE R. R. AND OTHER STRIKES

We are requested to define the attitude of the I. W. W. toward the strike of the railroad shops crafts' workers, now in effect throughout the United States.

In the first place the I. W. W. does not merely adopt an attitude or strike a pose whenever workmen, organized or unorganized are out on strike. From the I. W. W. strike occasions command such active assistance as it is able to extend without any reservation whatever. It is thus it regards the strike of the railroad shopmen.

For instance, since the shopmen's strike was declared every influence which the I. W. W. could exert has been wielded to assist the strikers. Our members have been instructed to do all in their power to prevent the recruiting of strike breakers, and the service thus rendered to bring about a successful outcome it is impossible to calculate.

Besides this kind of assistance, the various industrial unions of the I. W. W., even before the strike declaration, had instructed their delegates to actively assist striking shopmen in the carrying out of plans which the shopmen had decided upon in the conduct of the strike. The I. W. W. through its members in railroad employments and members in other employments in contact with local strike situations, have assisted to the best of their ability the cause of the shopmen. Moreover, the machinery of the industrial unions have been at the disposal of the striking shopmen in the harvest fields and upon construction work. In fact, wherever a striker came in contact with the I. W. W. as an organization or its members as fellow workmen, he found understanding sympathy and ready help.

Shopmen's Strike Also I. W. W. Strike.

Insofar it could be done without unduly interfering with the arrangements which strikers themselves made, or which were made for them, the I. W. W. has made the strike of the shopmen its own fight. This has been the traditional policy of the Industrial Workers of the World. We do not feel indifferent to any struggle in which members of the working

class are engaged. We believe their fight is our fight and that our assistance is due them. So that we have not an attitude to define so much as we have misunderstood activity to explain.

The most vindictive enemy of the I. W. W. cannot charge it with strike breaking or conducting any of those devices whereby assistance is rendered to employers for the carrying on of an industry in which workers are out on strike. Our idea of a strike is idle machinery and unoccupied working places. Whenever and wherever we find workers assisting in the operation of a plant or industry when there is a strike, we denounce such workers as scabs ~~whether they are organized or not.~~ Now, men enslaved to a custom, no matter how pernicious it is, do not welcome exposure even when it is honestly intended and borne out by facts. The acceptance of a union card as a license to continue working and thus defeat a striking body of workmen has won the I. W. W. 90 per cent of the opposition it encounters from craft union sources. But we are convinced that our aim is a correct one and gratified to note that, in increasing numbers the members of the craft unions are recognizing that our contentions in this respect are sound.

While we are always ready to extend a helping hand to workers engaged in an industrial dispute we are at the same time interested in assisting them to learn from their experiences on these occasions. Not to do this would be to withhold from them a contribution of greater value than anything else we have to offer. We would not be true to them or worthy of our own conceptions if, because of some temporary advantage or prospect, we refrained from offering constructive criticism. Upon that is predicated the future progress of labor.

Typical Craft Conduct.

The defeat of the will of the maintenance of way men by their officialdom we regretted, though it was a manifestation which is entirely in harmony with the traditions of the craft system of unionism. The I. W. W. literature has pointed out, time and time again, that actions of this kind were to be expected. So, while we were not at all disappointed, we naturally regretted such a blow at railroad solidarity as Grable and his fellows delivered in the first days of the strike.

On the other hand, the action of members of the Big Four brotherhoods in different sections of the country where they have shown a disposition to come to the assistance of the shopmen, we regard as commendable and the most hopeful sign in this struggle. We interpret it as indicating that the spirit of the workers will not much longer brook the restraining bonds of the craft system. Naturally, we shall bend every energy to encourage the growth of that spirit and a multiplication of such occurrences. We feel a pardonable pride in recognizing that these displays of real union recognition are due in great measure to the propaganda efforts which we have carried on for seventeen years.

~~We are satisfied~~ that as the strike extends beyond the industrial limits of the shop crafts that the prospect of winning increases. We shall do everything possible to help the shopmen win in any event, but our greatest contribution to their success lies in influencing where we can other railroad labor classifications to lend their industrial support to the strike by refusing to function in transportation until the last scab is out of the shops.

Disunity Threatens.

While the seven shop crafts retain their separate autonomies, we see a potential threat to the splendid demonstration of solidarity they have thus far maintained. The circumstances in the railroad shop situation may press them together so that their present unity will be preserved to the end. But the danger that inheres in craft autonomy is always present.

The need for unity of the railroad workers as one industrial group should be amply proven by the railroad workers' experience in the past as in the present. Until these experiences have been given organization expression in the railroad industry, such situations as the present will occur and recur.

From 1877 up to the present time, the railroad workers have had many experiences which should have driven home to them the need for one union in which all railroad workers would be included. The mutual value of such an organization is self-evident. The shopmen, if the other railroad classifications were joined with them would have had their power multiplied. So, too, with the others—engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, etc.

When the Big Four undertook to act together in 1917, their demands were conceded forthwith. If all railroad workers were to act together in an emergency there is no power outside of themselves strong enough to deny their demands.

This is what the I. W. W. sees and what it concentrates itself upon to bring about. Its vision is not limited by the vague and indeterminate boundaries of an industry, but extends to include the workers in all industries. It plans not only for industrial and social betterments today and tomorrow but for the emancipation of labor by the organized workers.

With this end in view, it throws itself on the side of the workers into every conflict in which the workers are engaged. It helps them as it can to overcome obstacles that impede their progress, but it endeavors, above all things, to overcome the handicaps of economic ignorance and ineffective organization which militate against the successful waging of industrial warfare.

With All Workers.

We are with the shopmen in this struggle as we are with the workers everywhere in all their struggles. That they are prone to misunderstand us and misinterpret our motives is to be regretted. But this shall not deny us, or prevent us from doing our best to help them win. Even though they deny us, we shall not deny them. They are of our class and with us they are always right and always worthy of our assistance and support. The Cause of the shopmen is the cause of all workers; their problem is our problem, their fight our fight; we win in their victory or lose in their defeat. We shall unite with them as far as circumstances permit us to; and we shall endeavor to rally all other workers to their support—solidarity of all workers is the prime need of labor.

The future will vindicate our stand. The close of the shopmen's strike will find these workers closer to our position and with a clearer understanding of our actions and our motives.

"Help the striking shopmen to win," is the slogan of the I. W. W.; the I. W. W. industrial unions and every one of their members. That's our attitude, that's our position. This governs our every action in connection with the strike.

Resolution of 1922 Spring Conference of Agricultural Workers' Union No. 110, of the I. W. W.

Whereas:

The members of the United Mine Workers of America are now on strike and experiencing all the difficulties and hardships which the capitalist class of this country can visit upon them, and,

Whereas:

We recognize in these striking mine workers, fellow fighters in the common struggle of the working class against the forces of capitalist repression;

Therefore, be it

Resolved, That members of the U. M. W. A. organizations on strike shall be accorded all the rights and privileges of members of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, in the harvest fields of the United States this season.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110, OF THE I. W. W.

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, Ill., July 28, 1922

To the Striking Railroad Shop Crafts,

Fellow Workers, Greeting:

In this time of crisis the sympathy of the I. W. W. is with you, and the support and co-operation of its members are yours to command. We recognize that your strike is a skirmish on the long battle front of labor. Need we say that we deplore the odds against which you are compelled to fight, or to assure you that whatever assistance we can render, we stand ready to offer. You are struggling for a living wage and human conditions in your employments. You are striving to retain and stabilize living and working standards at a minimum to which you and we feel the American worker of the twentieth century is entitled. Upon that score you and we are in entire accord. It is our pleasure, as it is our duty, to volunteer whatever help we are capable of giving you, so that in this effort you shall not sustain defeat.

But for many years we, too, have been en-

gaged in an effort to achieve a position where a decent living standard would be secured to us. In pursuit of that object, we have encountered all the opposition which the employing interests could array against us. Brutality has hounded our footsteps and claimed its victims from our members by the hundreds. We have been slandered, vilified, and framed. Our members have filled the prisons and decorated the scaffolds. They have been lynched, tarred and feathered, hunted, crippled, and murdered. The motive underlying and inspiring the long record of vilification and repression was, and is, to prevent organization of the unskilled migratory workers who constitute the bulk of the membership in the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W.

From the tools and minions of the employing interests we expected no other treatment than what we have received; but from workers, particularly from striking workers, we expected an understanding sympathy and active co-operation. It is with pain then, and with some surprise, that we learn of striking railroad shopmen, through their organizations, preparing to invade the harvest fields with a total disregard of our efforts to win living wages and decent working conditions. We had anticipated your coming, and had made preparations to extend to you the hand of welcome. We had expected you to co-operate with us in the true spirit of unionism, so that all of us together might raise the common level of the workers. We are loath to believe that a body of men like you even for a moment, and at a time like this, would waver in your loyalty to the cause of labor. If our information is correct, which we would regret, and the conduct alleged is continued, we shall be compelled to regard it as an act unfriendly to labor, which would indeed be deplorable.

The moral code of labor decrees against resisting a wage cut for yourselves by helping to impose wage cuts upon some other, and presumably more helpless body of workers. The "going wage" of the farming communities is the counterpart of the railroad corporation's wage, as determined by their Railroad Board. You regard it as a matter of principle to resist the wage this Board has set, and the conditions that accompany that wage. By what process of reasoning can you justify resistance in the one (your own) case, and

in the other (that of the harvest workers) force upon us even worse conditions than those you, yourselves, refuse to accept? This is not a consistent attitude, nor is it one that promises to advance the interests of the workers of America. To win for yourselves, if, by the present alleged harvest policy, you would win, would be to have sacrificed the migratory workers—something, which we feel sure, upon mature deliberation, you will not be willing to undertake.

Our delegates in the harvest sections stand instructed to extend every courtesy to striking workers of every calling, and to assist them in every way. We shall expect you to take this matter up seriously, and to devise ways whereby unanimity of action between your members and ours will bring about living wages and human conditions in harvest employments.

Again pledging you the friendship of our members, and assuring you of our entire sympathy; and that our organization is at the service of the shopmen whenever they act in the spirit of unionism, we are,

Yours for Labor Solidarity,

Tom Doyle, Sec'y-Treas.

(Seal) Tom Connors, Chairman, G. O. C.
A. W. I. U. No. 110, I. W. W.