



ONE BIG UNION OF  
ALL THE WORKERS

# A Labor Paper to Serve All Labor

ABOLITION OF THE  
WAGE SYSTEM



## INDUSTRIAL WORKER

"An Injury to One is an Injury to All"  
ONE UNION - ONE LABEL - ONE ENEMY



OFFICIAL ORGAN  
of the  
Industrial Workers of the World

It should be understood by members and others who read this paper, that it is the policy of the I.W.W. to designate as OFFICIAL any articles or policies which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official. All other matter herein contained is the mere personal expression of the individual or individual writer or editor of the same.

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## ADDING IT UP...

We wish to call attention to the significance of some of the material various contributors have sent in for this issue of the Industrial Worker. We believe some important conclusions follow from them when put together.

From Seattle different writers have sent us parts of the picture of some bargaining that goes on in that area. It may seem we have put this issue off balance in relation to that town at the end of the line. But a fuller description of most of the bargaining in one place gives us a better insight into the process than more notes on it gathered from many places. It adds up to make a consistent picture. It is material rich for the study of the problem of the union member who wants some unionism and the union official who wants to shine; of the processes that corrupt unionism, and of the ways in which despite all manner of structural and constitutional handicaps its still remains possible for workers to practice some militancy, some degree of solidarity and thereby add to their stature. The IWW offers workers the ideal structure for sticking together and for running their affairs to suit themselves. Whatever falls short of this standard is inevitably deficient and inadequate. But our realization of this fact will not lead us to stick up our noses at the efforts to attain some greater degree of solidarity and to use it to fight the employer. That Seattle news provides some interesting indications of ways in which those who want a labor union movement can work toward that end.

We run an item about the bloodhounds at Buchenwald; about concentration camps in Russia and out of it, some of them as book reviews; and an item about how workers fare in the Russian zone of Germany. Add those up and it gives you a picture of one possible pole toward which world affairs may drift—the drift that it would seem apparent must occur if we continue following leaders of almost any description. We don't want to go that way. But add it to the Seattle picture, and you will see that much more reason—far greater than a mere question of wage increases—why we have to do everything we can to build up some rank and file solidarity in the labor movement, and some will to fight.

There is also a lengthy article by that great scholar Anton Pannekoek. Perhaps you think the question of the merits of Marxism has little or nothing to do with practical unionism. We won't stop to argue the point here, but instead urge you to follow that article through and note Pannekoek's very accurate summary of much that we have been saying about this "labor leadership" issue. You will find in that article a keen analysis of why so many labor leaders start out with talk about democracy, and general socialist flavor, and wind up telling the rank and file to pay their dues and keep their mouth shut and do what the boss tells them. In any number of American industries you can see that process going on in the leadership strata today. So add that to the picture, and then think about it. If you want to avoid the Buchenwald pattern of society as your hope for the future, mere revulsion, even military victories will not suffice. To avoid it, you will have to avoid the steps that lead to it. And to avoid them you will have to set out in a different direction, the direction of solidarity, union democracy, and a determination to battle. The door in that direction is marked very plainly "IWW".

## What About Marxism? Thanks!

By  
Anton Pannekoek

An unusual amount of effort is being expended currently in many publications to refute Marxism. LIFE magazine uses many pages for an article by John Dos Passos on "The Failure of Marxism" that has no more to do with its failure than crooked bookkeeping has to do with the validity of the multiplication tables. Perhaps the occasion is that February, 1948, marks the 100th anniversary of the enunciation of the basic historical teachings of Marxism in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848. . . . which doesn't seem to have much bearing on what passes under the name of "Communism" a century later. It is a pleasure under these circumstances to run this article by one of the world's best-known exponents of Marxism, Dr. Anton Pannekoek, and we hope we have not altered his meaning where we ran into words where his hand-writing baffled us . . . but Holland is too far away to check.)

In speaking of Marxism two things called by that name must be distinguished. First the scientific studies and discoveries of Marx that form a lasting contribution to human knowledge. Secondly the practical application in political opinions and action, by Marx himself and by those who call themselves his followers. Marx has given us scientific knowledge about the relations of society, mind, economy, classes, law, ideologies, politics, that belong to the most important progress of science in the 19th century. The application of this knowledge to practice and politics of the day, dependent as it was on the often imperfectly known conditions of that day, of course was often subject to failures.

So Marxism has many different sides. First it is a philosophical world conception. Just as in natural science the investigators proceed from the principle—which cannot be proven by experiment—that all phenomena are connected and depend on one another, the so-called principle of causality, better of unity of nature—so Marxism proceeds from the principle that the entire world, including the social and spiritual phenomena, presents themselves in man and society, forms an interconnected unity. All ideas, thoughts, actions of man thus are determined by the rest of the world, by reality. This epistemological world conception he himself called materialism. To express the evolution of world and knowledge in its antagonistic form, the adjective "dialectic" was added; but this word, which at that time had a real meaning, now mostly has to serve parrot-propagandists to over-awe innocent listeners.

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Socialist society, as put forward

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## OFFICIAL NOTICES

### Chicago Membership

General membership business meetings are held twice a month on first and third Fridays, at 8 p.m. at 2422-N. Halsted.

Next meeting will be Friday, Feb. 6.

### RULING ON GRU DUES

Members of the GRU are reminded that dues are now one dollar. Because of date of notification on results of referendum, all members who have paid for some months of 1948 at old rate are to be considered in good standing, the new rate to take effect with the first month they have not yet been paid for.

KENNETH IVES,  
Chairman GOC.

### New York Re-Union

All old wobbles and new wobbles are invited to attend an important reunion of IWW members for the Metropolitan Area at Marine Transport Workers' hall, 134 Broad st., Wednesday night, Feb. 25. The chief subject for discussion is the opening of a new hall in midtown New York, which is urgently needed to expand our activity and organization. Members are urged to attend. Members in the following industries will be particularly interested because of activities planned in these fields: construction, transport and general manufacturing, especially in the metal and machinery industries. Please discuss it with all wobbles that you meet and bring them along.

### Cleveland Wants Wobs

To take advantage of organizing opportunities we want experienced members of IWW to come here and work in selected factories, and exercise some organizing initiative. If you prefer to shoot the bull, stay at home. But if you have what it takes and are not working, take a chance and report to Cleveland Office. If you can consider quitting your job, write here.

JACK NOBLE,  
Branch Secretary,  
1427 W. 3rd st., Cleveland.

### Houston I.U. 510

Fellow Worker Nils Moller has been elected secretary of Houston Marine Transport Workers Branch of I.U. 510 of IWW. All mail for the branch should be addressed to him at the hall, 1316 - 75th st., Houston 11, Texas.

R. VAUGHN,  
Outgoing Secretary.

### Scabs are Scabs

NLRB Trial Examiner Wittemore ruled in regard to an unfair labor practice charge filed by Sunset Line & Twine Co., of Petaluma, Calif., that it is OK to call a scab a "scab" and even a "son

## State of the Arts

During the un-American Hollywood Frenzy, this paper chronicled how pictures are kept to a moronic level by sample testing them in process on pre-conditioned guinea pigs through the use of the Hopkins Televoting system. Now they are doing the same thing with books to make sure of publishing only best sellers. (There's an interesting arithmetic question though: How many best sellers can you permit in one month?) Since we have never yet felt tempted to recommend any best-seller, and since all the books that have survived any length of time are those that were far from being best sellers, and were in fact those that had a narrow squeeze getting into print at all, this new stunt already in operation under a former V-P of the Gallup outfit, is alarming.

Worse yet, the outfit that has been teaching languages by phonograph record is now going to teach all manner of things to people while they sleep by much the same system. This craze for acquiring speed in reading was bad enough—as though an education consisted in how much you had read instead of in how much you had DOUBTED ~~all~~ that you read, and consequently had checked and analyzed it as you went along. Now if we do our learning this way while our critical faculties are entirely asleep, and then read during our waking hours this stuff that's guaranteed by the guinea pigs to be best-seller material, what will be left of that primary assumption of democracy: an informed and critical minded body of people?

A world dotted with concentration camps is bad enough. A world that is one big concentration camp, its inmates all hypnotized, is worse.

P.S. The Industrial Worker is not a "best seller." Hurry up with those subs.

## The Fortune Tellers

Americans spend \$125 million on fortune tellers, and a lot more on dream books, horoscopes and rabbits feet. A lot of them buy business research services and tipsheets. The curator of the American Museum of Natural History who brings this out, points out quite properly that the real cost is much greater than the figures indicate; the real cost is the sloppy sort of thinking that goes with this. But it also shows a keen concern about the future.

...mainly determined the social, political and spiritual phenomena. He discovered the struggle of the social classes as the chief moving force of the inner history of peoples and empires, of their wars and revolutions, reflected in their ideologies and beliefs. As a science of society this doctrine was called **historical materialism**. Its theses have not the strict character, for example of the laws of classical physics. Individual conditions and behaviour often show a wild variety; the rules appear in the averages, in the regularity of the great numbers, the classes. (Modern physicists emphasize that physical laws too are statistical laws.)

As a science of the present system of production, Marxism is a new **political economy**, a complete theory of capitalism, as the outcome of its main life study. By this theory he could explain exploitation and surplus-value, and

absolute certainty. Hundreds of times it happened, contrary to expectation, that it did not come true, and on such cases depended the progress of science." ("Das Wesen des Naturgesetzes" in "Erkenntnis" Vol. III p. 397.)

And now the so-called "predictions," that is the conclusions derived by Marx from his theoretical work. If we look at the changes of society in the past century, what do we see? A continuous development of big industry, and decline of small business into entire dependence. A concentration of capital, more enormous than ever could have been expected; a concentration of power in few hands, exemplified for example by "America's sixty families." An increase of the working class, apparent in all statistics, in the chief industrial countries now the majority of the population. An increase in their class fight—a century ago the first

What's in the future? We don't know. But here's something that bears on it: Business Week has been checking up on the output of consumers goods, inventory, and consumer income. It concludes that output of these goods has come as close to consumer income at this new 170 billion level as it was back in 1939 at the old less than 70 billion level. Consumer purchases don't hit it because of a slight cushion of export and inventory additions. So it might not be too surprising if some of these days prices did come down, and then see all the mass meetings and other forms of incantation directed toward stopping this "recession." With that big national debt to pay off, there will be strong motives to try every stunt to stop income from dropping to where it can't pay the interest without too many gripes.

But why should we guess about the future any more than we guess about our work? We make the future. Why not make it the way we want? That is something One Big Union could do . . . and then the fortune tellers could go to work making the ball-bearings and other gadgets for the future we decided upon, instead of staring into crystal balls to guess at it.

Socialist society, as put forward by social democracy as the goal of the working class, was just what could appeal strongly to social minded intellectuals. There state power by means of its officials and minor political bodies, directs production, distribution, and social life at large was to be a well-planned system. Thus all kinds of intellectuals scientists, managers, specialists would find their tasks, not as underlings of capital, but as highly appreciated servants of the community, exerting all their capacities for the weal of the working masses. Physicians who preferred to be health officers for the people to earning money from imaginary illnesses of the rich; scientists who are desirous of applying their science to create abundance for all, instead of seeing it converted into profit for capital; artists who wish to bring beauty into the life of the masses; politicians coming forward as spokesman of the miserable—they all saw socialism as a new world giving significance and contentment to their life. What for the workers was only partial liberation, assigned to the socialist intellectuals the glorious role of being the active liberators from misery, as politicians, leaders and officials. Thus the doctrine of State Socialism to be brought about by class fight, attractive for the workers themselves only as long as they did not feel their full power, was for the socialist intellectuals the consummation of the highest aspirations of mankind. So they hailed Marxism as the theory of social de-

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that juvenile delinquency is greater among the "overprivileged" as the judge called them than in families below medium income.

a scab "scab" and even a "son of a bitch" provided no direct threat is involved. Why insult the female dogs though?

## The 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.

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foresee the growing concentration of capital and industry. Capitalism was now seen as a transient state to be transformed by a social revolution into a production system without classes and exploitation, where mankind is entirely and consciously master of its work and life. In the class fight of the working class he recognized the driving force in this revolution. Thus he took sides with the proletariat in its upward struggle.

So Marxism is a class-science. Marxism now became the life-system of the toiling and struggling workers; it expresses in conscious theoretical form that they are, what they feel and think, the daily experiences of their life, their aspirations, their will, their fight. It is rejected and refuted by those who take their point of view in the ruling class. Its name and authority is borrowed by those who side with the workers' aims; so their errors are now imputed to Marxism.

Marx seeing social development with so lucid clearness, expected it to be more rapid than was possible under all the retarding and opposite forces. Under the retardation capitalism steadily strengthened. Things that he could not foresee as trusts and world wars, airplanes and atom bombs, changed the conditions of class fight. He necessarily saw the workers' emancipation in the context of his own time, when barricade fights decided over governments and revolutions. Afterwards he was enthusiastic over the plucky and successful fight of the German workers, by the use of the ballot, against Bismarck's anti-socialist law. But he never believed in parliamentarism, as did most of his followers in the social-democratic movement at the end of the 19th century. Here again the expectations were too optimistic, chiefly through lack of understanding of the enormous growth of capitalist power, and of the softening influences of economic conjuncture.

True science, it is said, is discerned by the exactness of its predictions. Look at the natural sciences with their ascertained laws, at astronomy or physics; and the predictions of Marx on social development and revolution proved false. Are those who try to discredit Marxian science on this argument — taking Marx as a kind of soothsayer — acquainted with the practice of science? The history for example of astronomy is full of predictions that did not come true, of disagreements that alarmed the scientists and had to be explained by new unforeseen circumstances. May I here quote myself on the character of natural law? "What certainly do I have that the event thus asserted and computed really takes place? The answer can only be: None. . . . No scientist assumes that for predictions on the basis of known laws there is absolute certainty. Hundreds of

revolts of a small despised lot of starvelings, now over the chief factors determining inner and even foreign politics. All this has long since been recognized, though cavilled at it detail, by the learned economists of the bourgeoisie. But they had one strong point. Marx had spoken of the increasing misery, the capitalist class not even being able to feed its slaves. That was false; the fight of the workers, the trade unions, the social reform, all tended to raise the standard of living of the masses, indicating the gradual rise of society to a real commonwealth; and Marxian writers had to point out at least the "relative misery," as living standards lagged behind the great increase of the productivity of labor. Thus it was generally assumed. And now? Just now, that science demonstrates its power in the highest degree, that new immense sources of energy are being opened, now famine rages over the world, naked hunger destroys the millions, direct visible consequences of capitalist development. If ever a prediction came true, more terribly than any student of Marx could have expected, it is this.

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