



Social Exploitation

The capitalist system has split men up not only into classes but into ranks as well. Not only do the rich exploit the poor, but these latter exploit one another. We have been subdivided up in such a way that there is hardly any one who hasn't somebody under him whom he can exploit. All of us from the neggar to the millionnaire find ourselves urged on, if not indeed compelled, to make the best of another's dependence upon us. This is considered so natural that even the most honest man will commit serious abuses without knowing it. Worse still, whenever shams taking advantage of his position is treated as a booh. A capitalist may be generous, honest, and anxious to see his fellow beings well educated, but his position of being a capitalist obliges him,—unless he wants to improvise himself or lose his station—to exploit his fellow men, to take advantage of the weakness which want engenders, to contribute towards degenerating his fellow men in order to obtain the greatest interest on his money, at the expense and sacrifice of the disinterested. In order that we may enjoy life he must make it difficult for others to live and often work them to death in factories. In order that he may enjoy greater liberty he must enslave others. Even his college education and possessions are due to the ignorance and misery of those who supply him with the riches he has amassed.

And in greater or less degree the same thing happens with others. One's better condition depends upon the poorer condition of others to a large degree. As war gives rise to promotions, medals, pensions, naturally army and navy men look forward to wars for their advancement, stir up wars and intrigues to provoke them. The welfare of lawmakers, judges, lawyers, policemen, jailers, all depend upon quarrels amongst men. Therefore the greater the amount of crimes, the more robberies there are, the more intriguers are lawmen the more satisfied are they. Physicians would despair if the people did not get sick and undertakers swear at the healthiness of a place where deaths are few. The welfare of one depends upon the misfortune of others.

About the same thing happens in the field of work. The work of a day-laborer is just as useful and indispensable as that of the civil-engineer. Both devote their intellect and skill to a certain task. But it isn't profitable for the engineer, nor for the architect that those who carry out his plans should know as much as he does, for then his work would not be so much appreciated nor (which is more important), so well compensated. He feels gratified over the fact that those who execute his plans not only stand in need of him to explain the plans but also that they themselves are so split up into ranks of specialization as to make it hardly possible for any of them to raise himself a single step on the social ladder. And each one of the subdivisions or specializations of work which exist between the day-laborer and the architect is distinct rank of itself made up of workers who look upon and treat one another as a "superior" or an "inferior", according as his work is better or worse paid.

And this conditions of affairs becomes even worse when the position of one depends upon how he treats those under his charge. The foreman well knows that the greater amount of work he gets out of the men for the least remuneration, so much greater will be his own pay and so much more secure his position. Chief engineers aboard ships count upon making themselves solid with the shipping companies by using the least amount of help in the engine rooms, although it may bring hardships on those who have to do the extra work.

The more wrappers a stripper can save—whether or not by giving the cigar-makers little bits of leaves that they can't possibly use doesn't much matter—the more sure can be of his place and the higher will be his wage.

In short, on account of these ranks in specialization and the present system of profit, modern toilers look upon each other as enemies instead of as fellow-workers.

And perhaps there is nothing so damaging to the cause of the workingmen while in invigorating to the system of capitalism as this same enmity to be found among the mass. Were capitalism not supported by this division and disagreement between its slaves, its laws, its punishments, its oligarchs, and the other terrible weapons it allowed to use in its war on labor would be of no avail. Then, it is up to us to mitigate this lack of harmony among workingmen and if possible to wipe it out completely.

Of little use are labor federations unless the members who go to make them up are animated by the feeling of solidarity in their work, no matter what their rank or task may be. For us working ranks must be done away with. We may be paid a little more or a little less, according as our jobs are considered hard or easy and whether they require intellectual ability or not. But we must realize that we are fellow-workers, that we are equals. We should never work any "con" games on one another, nor live at another's expense, nor make another do our work for us when he has work of his own to do, nor carry on any petty graft. Our purpose and our every effort should be to foster solidarity among us.

Each ship's crew should look upon itself as one big family. There should be no friction between the sailors, coalpassers, firemen, oilers, watertenders, and cooks. We must remember that our common enemy is the Company, whose profits largely depend upon the differences between us. Whenever anyone of us, be he a fireman, cook or a watertender, under the influence of his former habits or of the new custom in vogue in this abominable society, tries to get the best of a fellow-worker, whether by ordering him to do something outside of his trade, or by exacting tips, or by refusing him something which rightfully belongs to him, the other comrades should bring their influence to bear upon such an exploiter and wean him out of his bad habits. For we must remember that respect, better treatment, and the host of benefits which unionism promises its members depends upon harmony reigning among its affiliated members. The bonds of brotherhood are not to be confined to the workers of any one trade; but rather is each member of a Union federated with other Unions to consider as his brother every other member of the other Unions. Else why the brotherhood?

Harm must be minimized at all hazards. For if we destroy it or drop back into squabbles between trade and trades all of us are likely to reap a whirlwind of harm. The only ones to benefit by such inter-Union disputes will be the Companies. And this must be avoided, no matter what the sacrifice, no matter who suffers.

Now that the trial of Ettor and Giovannitti is the issue of the hour; now that they are face to face with the electric chair or being accessories before the fact in the death of a woman at Lawrence, Mass., we must not fail to read and distribute for reading that interesting little pamphlet by Tolson Banc, "His Duty," dealing in narrative form with this same shooting case for which our brave comrades are so falsely held for condemnation. The eight-page story is nicely published in large bold type and sells for a nickel. Order copies from us or from the publisher direct: ALICE FLETCHER, 441 E. 16th St., New York.

I read among my notes, now, with a new interest, some sentences from an edition of 1621 of the Apocryphal New Testament.... There is one verse that ought not to have been rejected, because it so evidently prophetically refers to the general run of Congresses of the United States:

"190. They carry themselves high, and as prudent men; and though they are fools, yet would seem to be teachers."

Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad."

Wm. D. HAYWOOD, himself sought by the Lawrence authorities for having helped during a victory for the textile workers, will address an Elter-Giovannitti protest meeting at Cooper Union on May 21, next Tuesday night. On the 24th—the mission:

In A Prison Cell Because They Are Loyal To Their Class

TWO NOBLE FIGHTERS IN THE STRUGGLE OF TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND STRIKING TEXTILE WORKERS WHOSE WAGES ARE REDUCED LESS THAN SIXTY PER WEEK



Our Fellow Workers
Arturo Giovannitti & Joseph J. Ettor
INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.

Under the date of April 23rd the above post card was received by Comrade J. P. Dill from the prisoners held at Lawrence without bail, whose trial is to come up on the 25th of this month. The men may be introduced to the electric chair, having been charged with being guilty of the crime of murder in the first degree, "accessories before the fact" to a crime committed by the minors of the law.

On the back of the post card is written:

Cagliari al di fuori empagno
ogni uno di dimostrare che fra le
angeli di questo rene, il d'nojo agir
cresto, agiando l'opinione pubblica per
svantato questa turpe trama e non conti
mo niente su se. Salut fratrali.

Tuo per la Revoluzione

Arturo M. Giovannitti,

Jos. J. Ettor.

Empedocles, the Greek philosopher, divided all matter into four elements: land, fire, air, and water. These four are contained in everything in more or less degree, and are necessary for the life and well-being of animals and human beings standing in such need of them, they should be free and accessible. Such is our contention.

Following Friday—Charles Edward Russell will address another protest meeting dealing with these Russian tyrannical methods used by the United States authorities to browbeat the working masses into subjection.

Rally, Boys, Rally

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DO IT NOW!

By M. H. WOOLMAN.

The committees are busy drawing up the about the value of unionism, its aims and demands. The Transport Federation is holding mass meetings, its affiliated Unions are swelling their files of organized men. So, now's the time to boost things along. Now's the time to agitate. Now's the time to bring in new recruits. Now's the time to get back of our organizers and help them do the work of unionizing the men along the waterfront. Now's the time to open the button. Now's the time to put hands with them.

This is the kind of individual propaganda work I have in mind. And the task of carrying it on this year is much more simplified than it has ever been before. As has been said, there are circulars to be distributed, always advising the men to spread the news quietly and without any hullabaloo which would awaken the adverse criticism of the ship owners.

Next, the men should be told about unionism. And for doing this among the English-speaking element no other booklets can be found better than the "West-Pocket Essays for the Laborer." These will make Union men every time.

When the men on the dock begin to listen with favor to the expositions of unionism, it is time to show them the Federation button, taking care that none but those whom one can confide in sees it.

Finally, after getting a good number to wear the button and show it around to the others individually, the hour has struck for exhibiting it openly, for then in case the shipping company should discharge these men, the others would immediately recognize the power and usefulness of the Union; it being held in such respect by the company.

This coming Sunday a mass meeting is to take place at the Marine Firemen's Hall, opposite, Pier 25. Talks will be given in four or five languages. The meeting is herein advertised; slips are to be had from the organizers, and at the headquarters of the various Unions. Let's tell our friends to attend. Now's the time to do it. Do it now!

ON LAND AND SEA

Comrade Charles H. Sheraton has returned to Baltimore, where the strike of Longshoremen is still on.

New Orleans, threatening to take the crew ashore.

* * *

The New Orleans Branch of the Marine Firemen's Union decided that "home" men in that port who were being paid Norwegian wages must leave their ships to join the Union, and take their turn on the shipping list.

* * *

The Sailors and Firemen on one of the Ward Line boats struck in Havana in sympathy with the striking Longshoremen at Havana and refused to discharge cargo. The Captain threatened to fine the men four days' pay, basing his action upon the navigation laws, obliging men to discharge cargo. The Secretaries of the respective Unions called upon the Manager of the Ward Line in New York, Comrade Vidal, of the Marine Firemen's, telling the Manager that such drastic action of the Captain might precipitate a strike of Firemen on all the Ward Line boats. The Manager has instructed the Captain not to fine the men.

* * *

Classes in English at the Marine Firemen's headquarters, 229 West Street, will henceforth be given at night. The Spanish Firemen are showing their appreciation of the chance to master the language of the country in which they work.

* * *

On all vessels leaving Mobile, Ala., recently an increase in wages for Firemen has been secured through the activities of Agent Wm. Linden.

* * *

On the S. S. "Paloma," at present running out of the port of Mobile, the Union Firemen are getting \$45 whereas the other Firemen mostly Spaniards and Cubans are getting only \$35. The non-Union men are joining the Union in order to be able to demand the higher wage.

* * *

Comrade Wm. L. Cartledge, Secretary of the N. T. W. F. of A., butted into a strike on the Brooklyn docks. At first he thought it was a seab recruiting agency to help break the Baltimore Longshoremen's strike.

* * *

LABOR NEWS ITEMS

On Wednesday the winter at the Venetian hotel struck because the Head Waiter had discharged some waiters. They now demand \$50 an hour for over time, better food, better treatment, the abolition of fines, a demand that no man should be discharged without receiving a hearing, a demand that his discharge, and the reinstatement of every man who had either been discharged or had struck.

A rash thing best up two newsboys in Chicago on Tuesday. The boys had struck in sympathy with the pressmen and stereotypers, and were quietly waiting to see a boss who owed them some money.

Commissioner of Accounts Fosdick has charged four judges of the Court of General Sessions with having defended criminals of the "higher-up" sort, dismissing cases against them or letting them escape.

Ben J. Reitman, manager for Ensign Colliery, was tarred and feathered by vigilantes in San Diego, California, and branded "I. W. W." with lighted cigars for having announced a free speech meeting to be given by the famous Anarchist woman.

A naval bill for 119 million dollars was

Some of the Obstacles in Our Path

By M. J. COSTELLO.

The men and the organizations of the National Transport Workers' Federation of America are the pioneers of a great movement among the toilers of the American Continent. They have a great cause, and the principle underlying their Federation, if ever carried into substantial effect, represents a power great enough to accomplish all that we seek.

On the other side of the Atlantic the experiment has been tried. It has proven successful beyond the dreams of human credulity. Among us it has never been tried. The Federative idea is labor organization there and here are not alike.

In the American Federation of Labor, there are various kinds of constituent federations—The Building Trades Federation, The Metal Trades Federation, The Miners' Federation, The Allied Printing Trades. The Business Trades Federation now is disrupted and innocuous. The Metal Trades Federation is little more than a name. What the Miners' Federation amounts to is shown by the fact that while the hard and soft coal miners avowed certain demands at the same time here recently, the one organization made its little deal with the mine owners and sent its men back to work. The sister organization and its members were left to shift for themselves, which they are now doing in a very hopeful spirit, while throughout it all, the metalliferous miners, it will be noticed, never peeped even once.

The newspapers' strike which has prevailed in Chicago for some days, offers another object lesson of the federation that doesn't federate. It isn't a new object less on either. The International Typographical Union has never been anything save an intensely selfish body. That it has done good, even great, work along selfish lines, for printers and printers alone, must be freely admitted. It owes all it has, both to the universal support which its label receives from all union workers. Without that support it would be neither stronger nor weaker than the other trades unions.

What has the Typographical Union done in the Chicago strike? It has left the Stereotypers and the other sympathizing organizations to make the best terms they could, pleading its respect for existing contracts at its excuse. It extends to them neither its sanction, nor its support, moral or financial. This it does, just as in the past it has left the pressure to struggle in helplessness and humility, and as it has time and again thrown down the machine tools within its own craft.

If this sort of thing is the best Transport Workers' Federation, we are not at bottom unselfish and humanitarian; it certainly would not seek to have anything to do with the Longshoremen. It would leave them with those who have plainly neglected them throughout the years, and who are now just as plainly standing in the path of progress.

Notwithstanding all the barriers thus erected in its path, and unless the feeling of jealousy of ill-will among individual leaders, or the spirit of organization selfishness, are allowed to creep into the councils of the new organization, its future, in my judgment, is assured, and its success, sooner or later, inevitable.

We may have to go slower than we thought. It may take us longer to awake the poor, inert mass upon which we must work. The opposition we must encounter may far exceed anything we are now looking for. We may have existing maritime organizations and members of existing maritime organizations, scab on us, as so often happens among the organizations and on land. But, if we remain true to the great underlying principle how animating the National Transport Workers' Federation—that the cause of one is the cause of all—a successful issue is merely a matter of time.

We start far better equipped than did the men of England. When the Seamen made their demand in Liverpool a year ago this Spring, no one was looking for the phenomenal success. Their example woke up kindred organizations, until today the labor movement of England is on the "qui vive," and the so-called conservative organizations of labor are confronted by a serious lessening, if not by a total eclipse, of their influence.

Coming events, it has been said, cast their shadows before. It is but a brief distance across the Atlantic Ocean today, it will grow briefer. The bonds of human sympathy and identity of interest which link the fate of toilers the world over are growing more tense, each day. They are drawing men and organizations closer together. We have ample reason to believe, and we have a thousand-fold more reason to hope that the National Transport Workers' Federation of America, which represents in practice on this Continent the initial expression of this sublime thought, will go on struggling for its ideal until it embraces among the organizations in its ranks every self-respecting man and woman who works for a living in the transport industry.

SAN LUIS POTOSI PLAN

Madero's troubles are due to his failure to comply with what is known as the "Plan of San Luis Potosi," to which he solemnly swore adherence in October, 1910. The section dealing with the land question runs as follows:

"Owing to the abuse of the law relating to uncultivated lands, many small proprietors, most of them natives, have been despoiled of their lands, either by the connivance of the Secretary of Agriculture or by decrees of the law courts. Inasmuch as, in all justice, these ancient possessors should be put once more in possession of the lands of which they have been despoiled in so arbitrary a manner, such dispositions and such decrees are hereby declared subject to revision, and those who acquired the lands in a manner so immoral, or their heirs, shall be compelled to restore them to the original proprietors, to whom they shall also pay an indemnity for the injuries suffered. But where the lands have passed into the hands of third persons

before the promulgation of this plan, the ancient proprietors shall receive indemnity from those who shall be shown to have profited by the despoliation."

That is the basis of all this trouble, and as Ricardo Magón wrote long ago—Madero's chief weakness lay in the fact that, being himself one of the greatest of land monopolists, he did not understand the people, but believed that on this point—the very one as to which they were most desperately in earnest—they could be fooled with words. It will be noticed that the Plan of San Luis Potosi was adopted over eighteen months ago, and feeling on the land question has ripened enormously since that date.

(From *Regeneración*)

(o)

A Turkish pasha is surveying the field with his glass. An aide-de-camp rides up: "All our artillery has been captured." The pasha strokes his beard philosophically and says, "Fortunately it was not paid for." Modern Eloquence.

For Organization Purposes

—A—

Transport Workers' International Meeting

WILL BE HELD AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE

MARINE FIREMEN'S UNION 229 WEST ST., (Opposite Pier 25.)

SUNDAY, MAY 19, at 3 P. M.

SPEECHES WILL BE MADE IN ENGLISH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, POLISH, AND SWEDISH

If You
Want to

DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND THIS IMPORTANT MEETING! IT INTERESTS YOU PERSONALLY. COME ONE, COME ALL!

WHAT THE LONGSHOREMAN SAID

—By M. H. WOOLMAN—

"Hello, Bill! How goes it?"

"Pretty bum, Jack. My wife's sick. My little boy can't go to school. Prices have

gone up, and this longshore work is so

unpleasant that I can't even pay for a

doctor. The best companion I've ever had

die off any moment, and I'm powerless

to do anything for her. Tell me, what's a

fellow to do?"

I do not state these facts nor ask these

questions in any spirit of criticism. I am

merely trying to state the situation fairly,

as it presents itself to my mind.

The movement of the Transport Workers' Federation were not at bottom un-

selfish and humanitarian, it certainly would

not seek to have anything to do with the

Longshoremen. It would leave them with

those who have plainly neglected them

throughout the years, and who are now

just as plainly standing in the path of

progress."

"You are up against it, aren't you? Well,

I'll try to help you out all I can. I'll

go around to-night and see how much do

they pay here on the Malony Line docks?"

"Only thirty cents an hour when there's

nothing to do. They're the worst paying

docks on the north side. I used to have a

steady night job on the Morgan Line dock

up above. That paid half as much again.

And on holidays a fellow got fifty cents

an hour. But here on an average I can't

make more than a few dollars a week, just

enough to keep me in hot water all

the time, worrying and fretting. It's a

wonder I haven't taken to drinking. Most

slops in my shoes would. Really, I don't

know what to do. Sometimes I think I'd

better learn another trade and quit this

work."

"Are you a Union man, Bill?"

"Well, I was; but I got tired of paying

dues and seeing no results. Then, too,

prices got so high. And I stopped. That's

the reason I don't stand in line for benefits

and neither do I feel like asking a Union

man for any favors. I don't feel as though

had any right to do so."

"Oh, man! that's not the way to distract

your fellow-workers. They stand ready

to help you—or at least a great majority

of them do. I admit that the conflicts

between Labor and Capital creates bitterness

between the workmen themselves because

some take the places of others and sometimes

this bitter feeling lasts for a

while after the struggle. But really it

should not. The workers must remember

that each one of them is fighting off

starvation and that it is up to all of us to

help one another to the best of our ability."

"Coming events, it has been said, cast

their shadows before. It is but a brief

distance across the Atlantic Ocean today,

it will grow briefer. The bonds of human

sympathy and identity of interest which

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We have ample reason to believe,

and we have a thousand-fold more reason

to hope that the National Transport Workers'

Federation of America will be successful.

Shipment of Slaves to Baltimore*

National Transport Workers' Federation of America

The following letter has been received from J. Anderson, Business Agent of the National Transport Workers' Federation, it sets forth the desperate efforts made by the shipping companies and the authorities to break the strike of Longshoremen at that port:

Baltimore, Md., May 6, 1912.

Just a line in reference to the strike of stevedores here. Things are tied up for fair. The shipping of this port is practically at a standstill. The men here are certainly sticking firm while the steaming companies and the Boss Stevedores are doing all in their power to break the strike.

Men and boys have been brought here from all over the country; they arrive here in droves. But as soon as they find out that they have been brought here under false pretenses, they try their best to get out of town. There have been brought here from everywhere Italians, Greeks, Turks, Bohemians and all other nationalities. The men, however, were unaware of any strike being waged here and when they asked for their fare back to the place from where they had been shipped, they were told that the only thing for them to do was to work at something until they could make enough to get out of the town with.

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Everything is in our favor for a quick settlement, and I sincerely hope that the Sailors and Firemen's Unions and also the Cooks' will do all in their power to aid financially the men in this port, as this is sure to prove a great factor in this strike. We had a parade against the wishes of the Marshalls and the Mayor of the city; but police arrested forty-seven men and beat them with clubs. Thirty-six of the men were fined \$2 and up. So the parade certainly had some effect.

If we can but hold out for another week I think victory is in sight. All the Commanders on the coal piers are out and this surely helps this cause along. Tugboats and steamships have had to go to Newport to coal up. The government sailors are now tied up and the railroad men expect to walk out any minute, and this will make it clean tie up all around.

We have organized Relief Committees all over the waterfront and they are helping to relieve the suffering and those that are most in need. We expect to install about five locals, and by the time that these locals are filled we will have the waterfront well organized in the port of Baltimore. The Mayor has stepped in to settle this strike and we will write you if anything should come of it.

Fraternally yours,

J. ANDERSON.

OUR FEDERATION EMBLEM



"One for All and All for One"

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