



The One Big Union Monthly

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ABOUT 50 ARTICLES AND 15 CARTOONS

SOME ARE ENTITLED AS FOLLOWS:

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The Vanguard of Capitalism



TRADING POST AND TIMBER CRUISERS IN CANADA

Labor Must be as Aggressive as Capital

Capital, even in these days of its decadence, is restless, expansive, lustful of new conquests. Capital is like an old and faded harlot, ever anxious and longing for victory over youthful virginity. The emissaries of capitalism go out all over the world, prying, investigating, appraising, and claiming the raw materials of commerce, and the markets of primitive peoples. The exploiters march into the noble forest, and lay it waste, without a thought for the future generation. They scour the world, spoiling, and making wars for spoil. From the Arctic Circle with its gold, seal-skins and whale-bone, to the islands of the South Seas, where the native is cheated of his pearls, copra and tropical woods, go the active spirits of capital, working night and day to swell the money bags of their masters who rot at home.

Labor can meet this mad energy only by equally great energy. Labor can defeat this destructive looting of the treasure boxes of the universe, only by rallying at once, to stand on guard before them. Organized labor demands that the world be placed in its safe-keeping, for the protection of this and all future generations—but Labor must struggle to take it from the fat hands that hold it now and crack the whip over all workers.

Be Ready, Workers! Join The Revolutionary I. W. W., The Advance Guard Of Labor!

INTRODUCTION



THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY hereby enters the arena of publicity with its first number, dated March 1st, 1919.

It is issued by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, and is one of the official publications of the organization.

To begin with, THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY will be a magazine of 64 pages, of which approximately one half will be devoted to reports and bulletins from the Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. and from the Secretaries and Treasurers of the various Industrial Unions of the I. W. W. as well as other announcements from different departments of the organizations.

The balance of the 64 pages will be given up to literary contributions, cartoons and other illustrations.

The object of the literary matter will first of all be to give as true a picture as possible of the principles and activities of the I. W. W. and to depict the struggle of the working class throughout the world for emancipation from wage slavery. Pure news matter will, naturally, continue to be handled by the numerous weekly publications of the I. W. W., the function of the monthly being more to summarize such matter and interpret its significance.

Plenty of space will be granted for theoretical articles of value that can not be handled by the weekly papers. We call special attention to the "Story of the I. W. W." which will be published in installments, in the MONTHLY, preparatory to being issued as a book. This story is a history of the essential epochs in the life of the I. W. W., and is divided into 25 chapters.

Being written and edited, from cover to cover, by wage workers, many of whom lack elementary training in writing, **The One Big Union Monthly** makes no pretense whatsoever at literary perfection. In fact, we prefer to publish the contributions with as little editing as possible, in order not to rob them of their originality and simplicity. For such shortcomings we have absolutely no apology to offer. What the magazine will lack in a literary way, we shall try to make up in frankness and truthfulness.

While we shall primarily use the pages of our magazine to satisfy the needs of the membership, the magazine is by no means to be considered merely as a monthly review for our own use. It is intended to make it as broadly educational as lies in our power, with a view to reaching and interesting the outside world.

While we mainly rely on subscriptions by the members as our steady readers, the magazine will also be sold from news stands and in book stores, on the street corner and in the meeting halls, in fact wherever working men and working women gather to discuss their common affairs.

The subscription price is \$1.50 per year, 15 cents per copy. Bundle order, 10 cents per copy, non-returnable.

Literary contributions and communications on editorial matters should be addressed to The Editor, but all subscriptions and business communications should be addressed to THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.
THE EDITOR.



THE PIT AND THE PENDULUM



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VOL. I, NO. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 1, 1919

WHOLE NUMBER 1

Our Immediate Demands

SPEAKING for that voiceless mass of workers who are not organized, speaking for the voiceless mass of ten millions of unemployed, and speaking for ourselves, we should say that the first thing to do NOW is to take steps to avert the national calamity that the blind greed of the possessing class has brought to our doors.

Of course, somebody might say, we will not interfere. Let capitalist society fall to pieces, though it crush millions of us in falling. Out of the ashes will rise a new society. We, on the contrary, hold that we not only can bring about a quicker downfall of capitalism by interfering, but that we may also to some extent avert the blow of the social calamity it entails.

If the owners of property, the capitalist class, Wall street, call it what you want, are allowed to go ahead at their own sweet will, they will run the wagon of society in the ditch and leave it there. In other words, production and distribution will fall to pieces, masses of the people will suffer from hunger and privation, bloodshed will be the order of the day everywhere, and orderly conditions will be thing of the past.

All these sufferings are unnecessary, and do not in the least advance the cause for which we are fighting. We will reach our goal in the same space of time with calamity or without it, so let us then try to avert the calamity that hovers over us, as it hovers over every country in the world.

To restore normal conditions, peace and order, we consider the following things absolutely necessary:

1. The restoration of all class war prisoners to freedom, with suitable indemnities from the people, to partially compensate them for their undeserved sufferings. **Without this demand is complied with, there can not, and shall not be any peace.**

2. Immediate restoration of the right of free speech to all, the right of free assem-

blage, and freedom of the press from censorship. Also immediate removal of all postal restrictions affecting the circulation of printed matter, such as newspapers, periodicals, books, etc.

3. Complete elimination of unemployment by shortening the working hours to 5, 6 or 7 hours per day, as may be found necessary.

4. Raising of wages by a considerable per cent. all along the line, in order to give the workers some of the comforts of life.

5. Lowering of prices on the necessities of life, so as to maintain or raise the standard of living.

6. Immediate cessation of all persecution against workers who are not in agreement with the policies of the present rulers.

While these demands are being complied with, the workers themselves should immediately take steps for the calling and convening of an Industrial Congress of Workers, representatives to be sent by every industry, both organized and unorganized.

This Industrial Congress should immediately take up the question of regrouping all the people of the country into industrial unions, whose function should be to take over and run the industries as soon as a good working plan is found and adopted.

No American who seriously aims at the welfare of the American people can possibly have any objection to these points, and we serve notice on the people now leading the American people into disaster that **there will be no peace in this country until these demands are complied with.**

If they are not complied with the result must with necessity be suffering with accompanying disorder and bloodshed and general national collapse, not because WE will it, or would try to provoke it, but because the **logic of events would produce it** in a perfectly natural way.

Water seeks its level. So does the will of a people. The more you oppress it, the greater will be the reaction, until the normal level is restored.

As far as we I. W. W. men are concerned, we shall, in the face of all resistance and all persecution, continue on our road, the same as before, enlightening the workers as to the real conditions, and organizing them into industrial unions, thus doing in advance as much of the reconstructive work as we can, using our industrial unions in the meantime to enforce the immediate demands of each industry, and of the workers in general.

The Red Tidal Wave

WITH great satisfaction we record the fact that the red revolutionary wave is encircling the globe, sweeping away the last remnants of feudal rubbish from the body social, and some of the capitalist. The world war acted like a vigorous laxative on the stomach of the nations.

Political democracy is about to come to every people of the so-called civilized world, and we shall soon see the movements disappear which had political democracy for their aim, just the same as the prohibition movement will disappear after having played its roll. The leaders of these movements are in the same position as Shakespear's mohr, "they have done their duty; they can go." They need a rest, and a political job.

The only organization or movement that cannot take a rest, is the I. W. W., and its brother organizations throughout the world. The red wave has not as yet made a living reality of a single point on our program.

Political democracy and racial independence will be a fact in a very short time, but of INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY there is as yet not a trace. Private ownership stands as it stood on the whole, only with a weak tendency to government ownership in scattered places. The attempts of the Russian bolsheviks to crack the solid wall of private ownership are so far to be considered merely as experiments on a small scale.

The real great world revolution remains to be done.

The world will soon find out that the great economic revolution cannot be accomplished through an armed attack by revolting mobs who occupy government buildings and shoot down the officials of the old regime.

The economic revolution, which must with necessity follow in the near future, cannot come with one blow, by changing

the government, and sending out a proclamation, as happens in political revolutions. The economic revolution consists in organization work on the industrial field, covering a more or less extended period of time.

It presupposes, first, the conquering of the brains of the workers, so that they will KNOW what it means, and so that they really shall WILL it. Without that it cannot be done, as there is nobody but the workers to do it. This means a long and patient work of education along I. W. W. lines.

Secondly, it presupposes the formation of industrial unions in at least all the basic industries, in order that we may have the social organs with which to take hold of the industries.

Thirdly, it requires a full consciousness in those organizations of the great responsibility they are shouldering, when they grab hold of the throttle of the world machinery, as well as tested capacity for the immense task. Without that we would court failure and disaster.

This extensive work of education and organization has been commenced by the I. W. W. and related organizations in various parts of the world, but nowhere it has, so yet, been carried to a conclusion, or even reached a stage of completion, that would justify us in saying that the economic revolution is knocking at our gates at this moment.

Unemployment and capitalist oppression in various countries may drive hungry and desperate masses to revolts, and drive them up against the machine guns, but the I. W. W. is not doing it. We are too busy educating and organizing to save mankind from disaster, to engage in street work of that kind.

In some countries these revolting, desperate masses may come out victorious, and establish a rule of their own, like the Russian Bolsheviki, only to find that they will have to keep on running society on private ownership basis, until industrial organization of the workers is so far advanced, that it can take over the responsibility. There is no way in which the masses can escape industrial unionism. What they do not want to do now at our prompting, they will have to do later of their own initiative, driven by economic necessity.

Our new society is bound to come. It will be firmly established in ten years if we are energetic. It will take longer if we are indifferent. We cannot stand still socially, because there is no footing before we reach the bottom. We cannot go back, any more than the butterfly can again become a larva. We must go forward to Industrial Democracy.

A New Program

"THE Amercian Social Democratic League" is the name of the organization formed by those socialists who seceded from the Socialist Party on account of its war policy at the late St. Louis convention. The new league recently held a conference in New York, and adopted a lengthy statement of its aims.

Always on the look-out for truth we courageously set about reading this statement, intending to give the readers of this magazine the benefit of our observations, but we nearly fell asleep twice, while reading it, although it was in the middle of the forenoon.

Like the pearl fisherman who brings a boat-load of mussels ashore, and opens one after another, uncertain whether the next one shall not change him from a beggar to a man of wealth, so we opened word-mussel after word-mussel, wondering if these erudite and wealthy socialists, after all, would not come with a pearl of wisdom that would throw our life on a different track. But the work was all for nothing.

Frankly, we do not see why these people insist on clinging to the name of socialism. Their whole program is one of government ownership and government control. Being in passionate love with freedom and real democracy, we felt a terrible oppression in every line, and it was a relief to be through with their program.

Of course, the league will, in our opinion, never amount to anything, but supposing it did, supposing it "gets there" before we do, we hereby wish to inform its members, that the I. W. W. would be compelled to fight it, and its governmental control, as vigorously as we are now fighting capitalist control of industry.

It seems strange to us that these self-styled socialists will never understand, that nothing in the world will ever satisfy us, advanced workers, but complete and unqualified industrial democracy.

As we are not justified in assuming that the program represents their own class interests, like other political party programs do, but that these people are philanthropists who want to sacrifice their chances in the bourgeois world, in order to help us, the poor and downtrodden, we are sorry to have to repudiate them, but we have no choice.

We will again take the opportunity to inform this league and similar bodies, that we do not want to be governed by them or anybody else, and that we do not even want

political government, even if these philanthropists graciously stepped aside, after winning the battle for us, and invited us to please accept their conquest as a gift. We have absolutely no use for it.

For their benefit we will again state that our deliberate purpose is to remodel society entirely on industrial lines, as fast as we can. We want to make a complete regrouping of the world's people in industrial unions, to take the place of political groupings, so that there will be no possible chance for anybody to escape socially useful labor, not even social philanthropists.

Through these unions we propose, not only to operate our respective industries, but all other human affairs, thus turning all the controlling over to the man with the tool in his hand, this controlling to start right at the place of work. We would positively decline to take orders from any government that the league may succeed in electing, or make use of its machinery. We want to elect our own administration right from the job, and the administrators, or servants we elect, shall not govern us, but their business shall merely be to coordinate the wills and the efforts of the various industrial bodies to a harmonious whole, serving as a clearing house of the people. Those that we elect from the job shall be subject to recall without notice, for the event we think that they are not representing us correctly.

This is self-government and democracy with a vengeance, we know, and we feel sorry for that class of people who have set their mind on governing something or somebody. As for ourselves we feel that there is nobody who can lead us so well, as we ourselves. We have been fooled so much that we will never again let anybody get a chance to govern us. Nobody can help us but we ourselves.

So, there you are, Mr. S. D. L. man. We are the bottom layer of society, and from that layer you have no support to expect for your program. As a league you might as well give up the ghost, as far as we are concerned, turning over your ready cash to us, who can use it to better advantage.

For the rest we shall leave you severely alone, while carrying on our own work for the remodeling of the world. It matters little to us what politicians rule us, or what they are doing, as long as we cannot shake them off. It is none of our business.

We shall mind our own business.

Let us build the new society within the old.

Lest We Forget

WE still have several hundred members in prison. And other members are going there daily at the rate of 20-30-40 at a time. It is next to impossible for us to keep track of all arrests. Extraordinary and sensational as these arrests may be they are now so common that prostitute, sensation mongering journalism has become calloused to them, and give them little, if any notice. Nobody gets excited if it starts to rain, or if it begins to snow, or if the sun comes out; it is so common. So are these crimes against the liberty of workingmen who endorse the principles of the I. W. W. They are so common that they can soon be perpetrated without popular protest. People reason unconsciously: so it has always been, so it is, and so it shall always be. People will not wake up to the horror of selling out liberty, before they themselves become the victims under one pretense or another.

Russian autocracy at its worst was not as bad as American autocracy is now. Not since the time of the persecutions against the early Christians have people in such great numbers been made to suffer for their convictions.

For it is to be noted that our members are not arrested and sentenced for crimes in the common sense of the word. No, in order to carry out their devilish designs against us the capitalist class has been busy these last couple of years manufacturing new "crimes," punishable with the heaviest sort of prison terms and fines, from 1 to 20 years or more, or even death, and fines up to 30,000 dollars. Or our "crimes" are wrongly classified under old names.

This means that the owners of wealth, who would under simpler social conditions be nothing but brigands or pirates or thieves, burglars and hold-up men, resorting to outright, plain murder against those who stood in their way, have gotten complete control of the social machinery and are now running it in the only way that could be expected of them.

In a society like theirs, vice, crime, untruthfulness, unrighteousness are not only condoned and respected, but even rewarded, while truth, virtue and righteousness are persecuted and punished. This explains why so many hundreds of our members are in prison. They stood up valiantly for truth and justice for all men, and they were made to suffer.

The I. W. W. administration is doing everything in its power to assist the imprisoned members in accordance with the laws. In fact, the organization is maintain-

ing a large legal department for the purpose. Be it said, though, in this connection that this legal department perhaps could be enlarged, to the benefit of the prisoners, provided our members and friends could tender a more liberal financial assistance.

Should these lines remind you of a few spare dollars, the proper place to send them is: THE GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. If you neglect this, it may mean that the cases of some of our prisoners might not be attended to, as they could and should be attended to. We leave it to you and your conscience.

The Chinese and the I. W. W.

THE Chinese workers in this country have discovered the I. W. W. And no sooner did it become known to the powers that direct the persecution against the I. W. W., than they began the usual "raids" on the meeting places of their locals, as for instance in New York. We are informed that in Chicago they are trying to use the patriarchal mechanism of Chinese society to suppress and punish our Chinese fellow workers. Deportation is held out as an immediate prospect. Naturally they will first be held a long time in prison and suffer all kinds of brutalities.

The Chinese number less than 100,000 in this country, and as they are mainly in occupations that keep them together and separate from other nationalities, we cannot see any other reason for this persecution than that the Chinese employers have turned to the headquarters of the persecution for assistance, which was, of course, cheerfully rendered. Otherwise Chinese are in the habit of settling their own difficulties among themselves.

Long enough have workers been divided along color lines. The old, old misunderstanding created by our masters is fading away as we mutually discover that we all are condemned to slavery if divided, and that freedom is ours if we unite. The accessions of Chinese workers to our ranks fills us with great joy. May they also succeed in soon carrying the gospel of Working Class Solidarity and Industrial Organization to their native country. That hope takes the sadness out of the news of their possible deportation.

If you miss in my writings that hero-worship of dotards and duffers which is planting England with statues of disastrous statesmen and absurd generals, the explanation is simply that I am an Irishman and you an Englishman.—G. Bernard Shaw.

The Wave of Persecution

IT has dawned on the parasite class that the end of their existence is near. The working class of the world is shaking itself so vigorously that the parasite feels his grip loosening. With a feeling of terror and dismay he is aroused out his comfortable slumber on the victim's back. He has fallen into a terrible rage, aye, in a fit.

He is trembling with fear and bloodthirst and wriggles his octopus arms around the victim, and squeezes, and crushes, and lashes and bites, and roars and squirms. He has lost something he can never get back, and all because of his recklessness. He had a fellow vampire, competing with him for the blood of the world's workers. He left his safe sucking place for a moment to make war on the other vampire. He crushed him, and prepared to return to his old place on the worker's back, only to find that he could no more get to it.

He is now striking about recklessly to find the cause of his troubles. He thinks he has found the cause of it in the bolshevik movement and in the I. W. W. And he goes after them with all his might. He does not seem to realize that we are only the symptoms of his troubles, not the cause of it. He himself is the cause of his own troubles. Parasitism is not uncommon in nature, but it is not one of nature's fundamental schemes. It is a sin. Any form of life, resorting to parasitism, thereby condemns itself to certain death at some future time. And that time comes when the conditions of life have changed so that the carrier of the parasite begins to live a new life—unsuitable for the sucking organs of the parasite.

That is exactly what has happened to the working class now.

Gradually conditions have changed since the bourgeois planted himself as a parasite on the workers' back. It has taken a century or more. Production and distribution have changed from the form which allowed of private ownership and control to a form which allows only of ownership and control of an organized working class, and the world war did the rest.

This is the real cause of the parasite's troubles. He has himself been the main cause of bringing it about, through his own greed and that of his many fellow parasites.

Now he is vainly whipping and lashing the waves of the sea, waves thrown up against him by the storm he has himself created.

He is in a terrible fix. No matter how he looks at it he sees his doom.

The waves he is whipping are the constantly increasing number of working class organizations, each succeeding one rising higher than the preceding one.

But out on the sea of industrial life the storm keeps on blowing. From the gale of general poverty it freshened to a hurricane of starvation, to a cyclon of general despair, and the waves come rolling in merrily, threatening to gather into a real tidal wave of world revolution and universal economic reconstruction that will exclude the possibility of parasitism.

How long shall it be before the workers unite their scattered efforts into such a tidal wave.

The wave of persecution will hasten it.

Who is Guilty of Starting the War

THE German socialdemocrats have started a probe to determine who is really guilty of starting the war.

The socialist literature of the last 50-60 years has made that so plain that we must conclude that either Herr Ebert and his friends have never read our literature, or else, that they are trying to help the capitalist world to find a scape-goat in whose blood capitalism and social democracy can wash their hands jointly.

The whole world was armed to the teeth for the sole purpose of war, and the peoples were held down with armed force, or by fear of it.

If two powder supplies are left open and accessible so that a vicious crank like Billy the Sudden could touch them off at any time he got a maniacal fit, then it is the owners of the supplies that are responsible. The crazy and criminally insane crank has **only one** wretched life to pay with. To take that life as just retribution is like punishing the wolf for tearing the sheep by pulling one hair out of its tail.

We remember very well the congress of the French Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) in Toulouse in 1910. There the French workers approached the German socialists with a view to reaching an agreement about the necessary steps, in case war should break out.

Then and there the French workers were curtly turned down with the dodging answer that German social democracy should be approached through the French political party. Then and there the German social democrats missed the chance of their life to show that they were something more than Pan-German jingoes.

Perhaps this little reminder will help to give Herr Ebert and his friends a start in their probe, in case it is their purpose to whitewash capitalism.

Parcelling Out

WE have learned from the bolshevik constitution, that the bolsheviki of Russia have proposed to solve the land question by parcelling out the land to the peasants, giving nobody more than he can till.

This may appear to be an act of supreme justice and democracy. It certainly will make life easier and more happy for the peasant than it was under the rule of the landed aristocracy before the revolution.

But have the Russian farmers the right to do it?

There are four main supplies of agricultural food stuffs in the world:

- The American plains
- The Argentine plains
- The Australian plains
- The Russian plains.

These agricultural districts have to supply not only the agricultural populations living on those plains, and the industrial population of their respective neighborhood. Jointly the tillers of those fertile plains are responsible for the food supply of the world, and have to fill the deficiency in other places wherever it occurs.

The Russian farmers will ill be able to assume their share of this responsibility, if they are going to till the soil individually. They will not be able to take advantage of the great inventions, helpful to agriculture, that are in use in this country, nor will they be able to apply scientific methods of work and management. The Russian farmer working individually will feed himself, his wife, his children, his horse, his cow, his pig, and very little more.

If we, agricultural workers here in America, were to solve the land problem in the same way, and if the agricultural workers of Argentine and Australia should follow suit, the people engaged in other occupations would have to starve to death by the tens of millions. This we have no right to do. The man that takes possession of the land takes the cream of the earth, and he has certain duties to those who make the other things he needs.

"Parcelling out" is a bone thrown to the anarchists who object to organized production on a grand scale, because it interferes with their liberties. The consistent anarchist would be pleased to enjoy liberty on a patch of land, tilled with a hoe, even if it deprives others of their lives.

The average anarchist should have no seat at the table where the practical economic affairs of the human household are discussed. In his striving for individual liberty he endangers not only the liberties of his fellowmen, but their very lives. The

Russians will suffer to the same extent that they are experimenting with the useless economic program of the anarchists.

The Russian plains should be tilled as one great domain by the organized agricultural workers of Russia, and so should the American, the Australian, and the Argentine plains be tilled by the workers of those countries. Private ownership and individual tilling should no longer be permissible, in view of the chronic starvation of masses of the world's people.

Why the Silent Defense

"HIS illusions were broken" is an expression we frequently hear. Often men devote years of their lives to movements and activities in which they have such implicit beliefs that they give to them their very soul, only to have them broken some day.

One of the most common illusions in this world is the old one about "equality before the law." To the man who knows in the innermost of his heart that he has done nothing wrong, there is a great consolation in this illusion, and he hugs it tenderly to the last. When he is innocent of crime it feels so safe to be thrown on the mercy of the people. Even if he is convicted against his expectations, he still retains the illusion, and the hope of having the miscarriage of justice righted. He appeals from court to court, and anticipates with happiness the day when he shall come out one day, triumphantly, his innocence established, greeted by loving friends, and best of all, he rejoices in advance at his chance to vindicate justice and law, by patiently suffering until the truth shall come out.

His illusion is sacred, and is the very basis of human society, for without that "illusion" on the part of the citizens no society can last.

It remained for the rulers of the present day society, the capitalist class, to profane, to desecrate, to traffic in this sacred illusion. It has been done by them for a long time, but it has always been difficult to catch them at it, and the popular belief in equality before the law has remained unshaken. But capitalism carries within it the seed of its own destruction. The criminal tendencies of the capitalist class are proving their own undoing. In their desperate attempt to perpetuate this horrible state of society, they have overstepped the bounds, they have gone too far.

Men don't and can't live by exchanging articles, but by producing them: they don't live by trade, but by work.—Ruskin.

The Sacred Illusion is Broken

ONE group after another of I. W. W. prisoners, with sentences of many years staring them in the face, have lost faith in "equality before the law," in the courts, in the administration of justice, and decline to go into any defense. They resort to the so-called **silent defense**. They decline to throw themselves upon the mercy of the capitalist court, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the people directly, instead of doing so via the courts.

The I. W. W. prisoners who have used silent defense, have already appealed their cases to the court of last instance, they have **appealed their cases to the American people as a whole**.

Let us not act in the same way as the capitalist courts do. Let us not pigeonhole this appeal and lie on it for years. Let it be known that in the court of the people they are already acquitted. This can be done only by holding protest meetings in every city and hamlet of this country, demanding the immediate release of all our prisoners.

This demand will carry little weight, however, if we do not at the same time organize, so that we have the requisite power behind our demand with a likelihood of being able to enforce it.

Therefore, our call to the workers in behalf of the prisoners is:

HOLD PROTEST MEETINGS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, DEMANDING THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS.

ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY IN ORDER TO GET THE POWER TO ENFORCE THAT DEMAND.

Deportation of I. W. W. Members

THE authorities, subservient to the owners of the industries of this country, are playing on the string of patriotism in their persecution of so-called bolsheviks and the I. W. W.'s. A desperate attempt is being made to mislead the people into believing that we are at least 90 per cent. foreigners who have no interest in the welfare of the people of this country, and that we are the enemies of this country, like German soldiers in disguise or something in that line. By branding us as such they can more easily take carte blanche in maltreating us and excluding us from "the benefits of the law."

As a matter of fact we have reason to honestly believe that the percentage of foreigners in the I. W. W. is about the same as the percentage of foreigners working in the industries we have organized. We have taken no statistics, as we draw no lines of

nationality, color or creed, but we think we are right in this assumption.

This face of the persecution against us is absolutely nothing but criminal jingoism.

But there is another face to the matter.

Granted that the I. W. W. men are men who are discontented with conditions as they are, it would be right to conclude that if the emigration bars were let down, great numbers of the discontented would leave, gladly leave, for their native countries. That would relieve the workers of the suffering incidental to long terms in detention prison, it would save them clubbing and maltreatment, and would save America the disgrace of treating persons of foreign nationality in this shameless manner.

What would America say and do, if the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish or English French and Italian authorities were to treat American citizens in the same manner?

Or has America lost all sense of shame? Besides, is there not danger of retaliation in those foreign countries. Such treatment of foreigners is not apt to create friendly sentiments towards Americans in foreign lands.

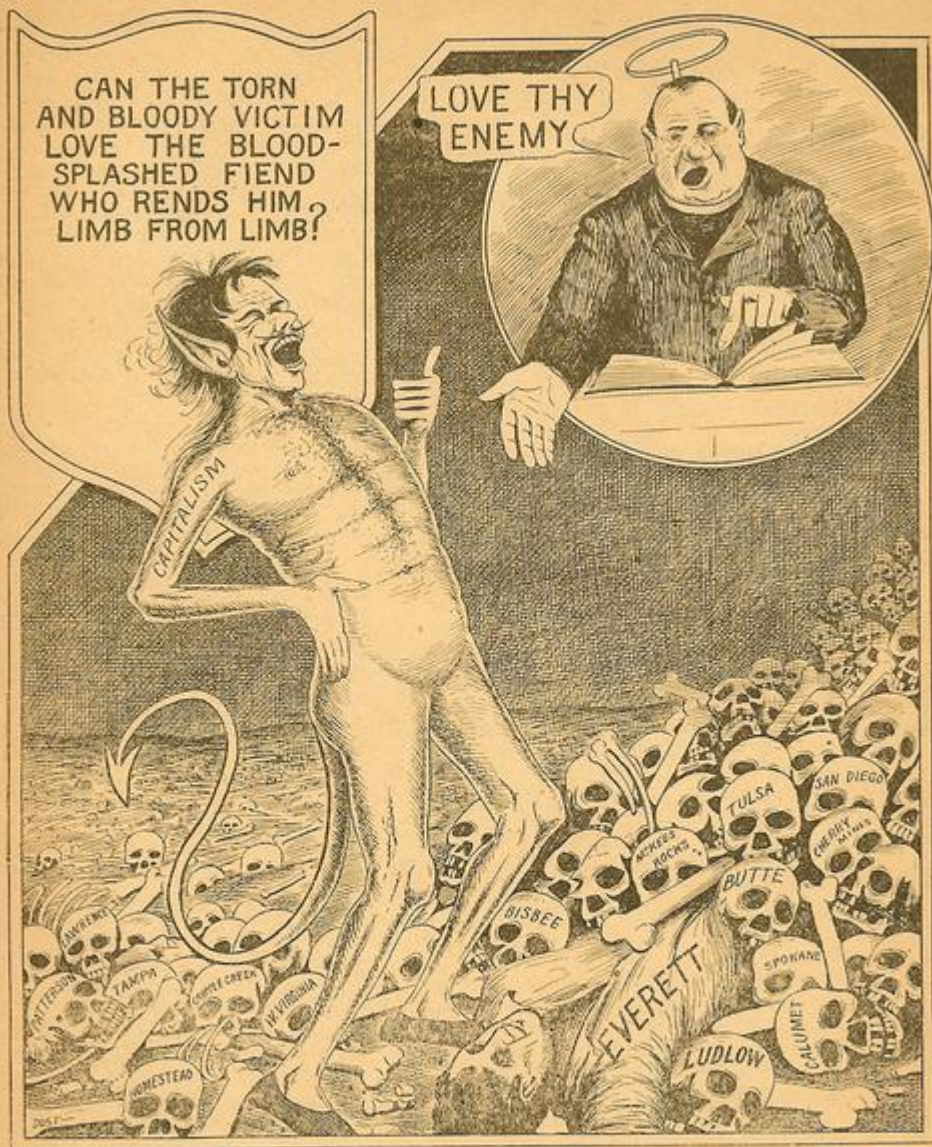
If it is a fact that the majority of the American people do not want foreign I. W. W. men in this country, why do we not give them a chance to leave voluntarily, instead of incarcerating them and beating them like we were a lot of barbarians, incapable of orderly social processes. If our foreign members are "undesirables," they still are citizens of foreign countries, and should be treated according to common usage and as we ourselves would like to be treated on foreign soil.

We know this argument is all for nothing. The fact of the matter is that the capitalists of this country do not want to lose the foreign workers. That is why they will not let them out, except with difficulties. They want the foreign laborer to stay here and make profits for them, and they want to beat them into submissive slaves. Those that are deported are those who refuse to be beaten into submissiveness to the economic masters.

Again we repeat to those "patriots" who would save this country by maltreating a few foreign laborers who are defenseless: "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

"Nothing can stop the driving power of effective organization, well directed; organized cooperation means success." — Manifesto of Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.

For once I. W. W. agrees.



Capital and Labor Are Partners—Not Enemies

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The Standard Oil Gold Brick

COMPLIMENTS OF

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr.

26 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

YOU would hardly believe it, but we are really in receipt of a neat card like the above. It was enclosed in an equally neat pamphlet of some 30 pages, bearing on the cover the following inscription:

REPRESENTATION

IN

INDUSTRY

BY

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr.

AS we took it in hand the ghosts of women and children killed with machine guns and afterwards burned, in Ludlow, Colo., rose before us. A panorama of ruthless exploitation, oppression, violence and bloodshed passed before our eyes at the sight of the author's name, and the first impulse was to spit on the book and throw it in the waste basket. Had that been done, the readers of this magazine would, perhaps, not have known of the new kind of devilry emanating from Standard Oil sources. After all, the book is only clean white paper, covered with the foul thoughts of a confidence man.

The booklet has probably been mailed in millions of copies throughout the country.

In suave, polite, and apparently frank language, the confidence man insinuates himself with his victim. As a bait he "concedes" many such points as "every man is entitled to an opportunity to earn a living." After that he works in the old falsehood that he should work for wages, and of course the wages should be "fair," the hours should be "reasonable." (The writer then remembered how he once upon a time worked 36 hours in a stretch on a Rockefeller steamer, and was told to "go to hell," when he wanted pay for extra time.) Putting on the airs of a saint, the confidence man then becomes unctious. From "proper working conditions," and a "decent home" he tremulously delivers himself of this ghastly bluff: "opportunity to play, to learn, to worship, to love." This false sentimentality is the boa-constrictor saliva he wets his victim with before swallowing further. Then come, adroitly, and as a matter of course, such stale lies as these "Capital and labor are partners,

not enemies," "neither can attain the fullest measure of prosperity at the expense of the other," "industry must insure to capital a fair return upon the money invested", etc.

Having, as he believes, made these and many other lies stick in the reader's mind, he comes with the goldbrick, and the goldbrick is—**representation in industry.**

Of course the Rockefellers have found out that the I. W. W. slogan "Industrial Representation" is catching like wildfire among the workers, and quite naturally the first instinctive impulse of the confidence man is to make a goldbrick substitute with which to dupe rube workers.

As a solution of our troubles he proposes that the workers accept representation on a joint committee of employers and workers, same to be local, district and national.

The fraud consists in tempting the workers to accept such "representation," on "community of interest" basis, whereby we would surrender our program point of **exclusive control by the workers.** He wants to go 50-50 on the spoils, so to speak, knowing that he is entitled to nothing.

Summing it up we may say that the capitalist class, headed by Standard Oil, is now trying to build up a nation-wide machine of stool pigeonry, by which they hope to establish a rule of espionage and terror in the shop. It is merely the carrying out on a nation-wide scale of their old spy and stool system, by means of which they have effectually prevented organization in the past.

John D. Jr. is about as slippery a confidence man as ever worked a trick on a "hayseed."

He is a specialist on creeds. Having some time ago adjusted his religious creed, the baptist creed, thereby widening the pearly gate so that he can get through with a sack of any size, he now, on the closing pages of his book, comes with what he calls "a new industrial creed" which will fill that sack.

This new industrial creed is the old, old capitalist bunk which has for its aim the welfare of parasites and the robbers and murderers of workers, with systematized suckerdome and stool-pigeonry superimposed as an aid.

Our own creed is expressed in the preamble of the I. W. W., and we recommend that to the workers for comparison. Our creed provides for the abolition of capitalism, and we do not see how any worker can hesitate in the choice between the I. W. W. creed and the Standard-Oil goldbrick:

Mr. Rockefeller, we repudiate your compliments. To your spirit we say: **GET OFF THE EARTH,** and mankind will be happy.

The progress of knowledge is very much retarded by the fact that people so often devote their attention either to things which are not worth knowing or to such as are not knowable.—Goethe.

Who Has Profited by the War?

In these days of unemployment and poverty for the workers with the accompanying strain and worry, it might not be amiss to make note of the distress and worry caused by a superabundance of wealth suddenly fallen to our patriotic rich.

The following are excerpts from an article in "The Magazine of Wall Street" of Jan. 18, 1919.

The Worries of Wall Street.

We have loaned foreign nations not less than \$10,000,000,000 and may loan more. We have bought back at least \$3,000,000,000 worth of our own securities previously held by foreigners.

That means that foreigners will hereafter have to pay us something like \$500,000,000 in interest every year, and that we shall also be released from the obligation which rested on us before the war of paying them about \$150,000,000 annually in interest money.

In all our past history we have been debtors to Europe. We are now creditors, and to a vastly greater sum than our former indebtedness.

This tremendous reversal of our position, far overleaping the wildest flights of any pre-war imagination, must have the most important effects on our investment outlook and on our foreign trade, and through them upon our general business prospect. What will those effects be?

In Gold, Goods or Securities.

There are only three ways in which this half billion annual payment can be made to us—in gold, in goods, or in securities.

Suppose the payment could be made in gold—what would be the effect? An inflow of half a billion in gold, on top of our already very large accumulations of the yellow metal, would swell our bank reserves beyond reason, cause an abnormal ease in our money market, stimulate a violent speculation not only in securities but in all sorts of commodities also, raise prices to a level still higher than that already reached, cause a further increase in the cost of living and in wages, and further reduce the purchasing power of our money and of all fixed incomes.

Such an outcome would be most undesirable, hence it is just as well that it is impossible. Europe, with its supplies of gold already depleted by the war, could not possibly get hold of enough gold to meet this big annual obligation.

Payment in Goods.

The payment could, however, be made in the form of goods; for if Europe has not gold she still has labor with which to produce a great variety of products and manufactures for which we have constant use. This would come about, in actual practice, through the rates on foreign exchange.

For example, in Italy the cost of a draft on New York is now about 10 per cent. of the amount to be remitted. This means that the Italian importer must pay 10 per cent. more for goods bought in the United States, while the Italian exporter gets an additional profit of 10 per cent. Just now this abnormal condition does not greatly stimulate Italian exports to us, because Italian industry is still running in war channels, and even if it were not the ships to send us goods in quantity are not available.

But as industry becomes readjusted to a peace basis and ocean tonnage becomes again available for peace trade, it is clear that a 10 per cent. profit on exports and a 10 per cent. tax on imports would have a great effect in decreasing Italian purchases from the United States and increasing Italy's sales to us.

If Europe has to make a payment of half a billion dollars to the U. S. every year, and if she has not the gold with which to make it, the natural result (providing we do not take her notes or bonds for the money) will be that exchange rates on America will go to a considerable premium. The European buyer of American goods will not only have to pay for them but he will have to pay a considerable additional sum in order to make his remittance across the sea. All American exports would face this handicap. But the American buyer of foreign goods would get the benefit of this exchange premium abroad, and could therefore afford to sell his imported goods just that much cheaper to his American customers.

Therefore with a foreign premium on American exchange—or an American discount on foreign exchange, which is of course the same thing—of say 10 per cent., our exports would quickly fall off and our imports would increase. The balance of trade would soon turn against us.

This situation would greatly handicap our newly fledged efforts to build up our export trade, and would bring an increasing quantity of foreign goods into competition with our own products in our home markets. Yet its final results would be far less injurious to us than the payment to America of a half billion in gold every year; for payment in goods as a result of an abnormal discount on foreign exchange rates would not inflate our currency nor our price level, nor would it stimulate a wild speculation.

Payment by Foreign Securities.

The third way in which Europe can pay the half billion is by giving its note—that is, by selling us bonds or other securities. At first thought this may not seem like a genuine payment. But if we are offered foreign bonds which are adequately secured, which yield a rate of interest attractive to us, and which are desired by American investors, they will be the equivalent of money in settling the annual interest bill.

That is, of course, just what we have been doing during the war. The table herewith shows the excess of our exports over imports since 1907.

U. S. TRADE BALANCE, OR EXCESS OF MERCHANDISE EXPORTS OVER IMPORTS

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1907 | \$500,256,385 |
| 1908 | 636,461,360 |
| 1909 | 252,677,921 |
| 1910 | 303,354,753 |
| 1911 | 560,167,586 |
| 1912 | 581,144,938 |
| 1913 | 691,421,812 |
| 1914 | 324,348,049 |
| 1915 | 1,776,074,152 |
| 1916 | 3,091,005,766 |
| 1917 | 3,281,044,642 |
| 1918 (approx.) | 3,050,000,000 |

We can go on doing the same thing provided we can sell Europe the goods; and even if we can't sell the goods (because of Europe's ability to make its own goods in times of peace) we can at any rate accept bonds in payment of Europe's annual interest obligation to us. All we have to do is to look the bonds over carefully to see that they are good and are being sold to us at a fair price.

These interest payments give us command over the labor power of Europe. By means of them we can, if we choose, cut down our own production or keep it stationary and compel Europe to work for us and to furnish us goods to the extent represented by the interest due us.

A Study in Reconstruction

By H. P. HERZBERG.

THE idea of reconstruction that is now agitating society finds its expression in the minds of some of the membership of the I. W. W., who are trying to devise some change in the structure of the organization; that will meet the new conditions arising since the world war.

That some change will be agreed upon at the coming general convention, should be apparent to the most superficial observer. The question then arises, which form of organization will be best suited for present and future conditions.

The district form of organization is being advocated by its supporters as being the next logical step in industrial unionism. It is argued that the district form will eliminate congestion at the main office of the industrial union and thereby give the job delegate quicker action on his reports and requests for supplies and information.

Delegates will of course be expected to transact business with the district office, in the district in which they are working. Briefly the district form of organization, is this—the activities of the different industrial unions will be carried on by districts.

Delegates and members of each district will be in communication with their district office which in turn will be in communication with the headquarters of the industrial union. Delegates will report to and get their supplies from the district offices.

To take No. 500 for an example, as the district form is now being used in that union. Washington, Oregon, California, and Idaho are in one district, with headquarters at Seattle or Spokane. Minnesota and Wisconsin in another district, with headquarters at Duluth. The Southern lumber country has not as yet been formed into a district.

To the writer it seems that the adoption or rejection of the district form should be left to the membership of each industrial union to decide for their industry. That the district form is best suited for one industry does not necessarily mean that it is the best for all industries.

The activities of some industrial unions are permanent whereas others are not. Take No. 500 where the membership, as a rule, are lumber workers and follow only that kind of work. This enables the different district offices to be permanent, as the business transactor makes the office pay.

But where the work of the industry is more or less temporary, such as No. 400 in the harvest fields, it would not pay to keep open permanently all of the district offices. If Montana, North and South Dakota were in a district with headquarters centrally located, say at New Rockford or Fargo, it would not pay to keep the district office after the harvest was over.

For after the harvest there is very little No. 400 organization work going on in Montana and North Dakota. What little activity is supplied by the corn harvest in South Dakota would not justify the keeping open of the district office.

Again it is being advocated that district organization committees be established, such as No. 500 has, to take charge of organization work in their respective districts, subject to the organization committee of the industrial union. This implies an increase in expenses to the industrial union, as these men would be under pay. Then again, as in the case of No. 400, it would not pay to keep these on the pay roll after the harvest in their district was over.

The idea has been advanced that through the formation of districts the industrial union form of organization will be abolished. This does not necessarily follow. As long as organization activities are carried along the line of industry and not the tool we use, we will have industrial unionism.

It is also claimed that the formation of districts will lead to jurisdictional disputes, such as are taking place in the A. F. of L. But again that argument does not hold good because whereas in the craft form of organization the trouble arises through the use of the tool, in the industrial form of organization no such questions will arise.

The membership of each district will organize along the lines of industry and instead of causing friction it will have a tendency to promote increased organization activities. Because the membership of the different districts will vie with each other to make their districts the most active.

In other words to make their district show the best results on the bulletins and financial statements issued by the main office of the industrial union.

This article has been written with the purpose of creating discussion on reconstruction among the membership, so that when the different industrial unions meet this spring the question of reconstruction can be decided intelligently.

Notice to Our Readers

The publishers of this magazine are not satisfied to have the readers merely look through its pages and then put it away and forget all about it. If everybody did that we could not make any progress.

If you really mean it seriously with your demand for a new society, if you really want to do your share in the great struggle of the working class for freedom, you will have to help spread our ideas.

This you can do by getting others to subscribe for this magazine and by calling attention to our numerous publications advertised on the cover.

Do not go to sleep. If you do, we will all be buried under the avalanche of lies that capitalism is now setting in motion against us.

Be a true soldier in the army of emancipation that seeks to save mankind from slavery!

Be an educator! Be an organizer!

"He who would be free, must himself strike the blow."

The Big Task Before Us

WE have long predicted the revolutionary cyclone that is now sweeping over the world, even though few people cared to believe us. We asked them to prepare for it by building up the framework of the new society within the shell of the old, in other words, to see to it that we had the new house ready to move into, before we dynamited the old one.

Only a few million workers, scattered in every country of the world, understood the seriousness of the situation and started to build industrial unions for the purpose. The great big mass of workers was either totally indifferent or proceeded to follow political leaders without the necessary social vision to lead them right, while the capitalist class and their followers tried to suppress the truth by persecuting us, lying about us, and trying to crush us.

Without a Roof Over Their Head.

As a result the revolting nations, Russia, Bulgaria, Germany, who have torn down the old structure, or want to do so, have no new social structure to move into, and are in the same predicament, as f. i. the people of San Francisco the days after the earthquake and fire, when they had to camp out in the open with insufficient food supply and all social organs impaired. Indeed they are worse off. A bighearted world rushed supplies to the San Franciscans, and soon helped them on their feet, till they could erect the temporary structures required. The Russians, the Bulgarians, and Germans house-wreckers to come, are set upon by predatory neighbors and sabotaged by their own bourgeoisie, and thereby partly prevented from working on the new social structure. What suffering this entails for the people we have already learnt in part, and we know that there is no guarantee that it will not end in gruesome disaster.

Had mankind generally obeyed our advice and created in advance the social organs necessary for taking over production and distribution, that is created industrial unions of the workers, they could have passed over this crisis almost without a jar, and would have had a much better house to move into than the old one they had to destroy. Now they have to do the building under the most unfavorable circumstances, exposed to sufferings unmentionable, and with the risk of having the new structure swept away by new revolutionary storms as fast as they are putting it up.

There is at yet no country where the building of the new house has proceeded far enough to make it advisable to tear down the old social structure. Even in the countries where the syndicalists and the I. W. W. are strongest, they are as yet unable to assume social control with guarantee that mankind will not suffer from it. In fact, we go so far as to say that no tearing down should be necessary. If the transformation from capitalism to Industrial

Communism is done as it should be done, it should be done with as little inconvenience to "the public," as the changing of a carline from horse-cars to electric cars. The overhead wires should be put up, while the horse-cars are still running, the machinery should be tested in advance, so that the first electric car could take its place behind the last horse-car without a change in the schedule.

That is the way we should like to see it done. And it can be done, and we shall do our very best to make it happen that way, now that we see from other countries what terrible results spring from hasty action without preparation.

I. W. W. has as yet only about 15 large industrial unions. We do not doubt that these could, in an emergency, take over their respective industries on 24 hours notice, without endangering the steady flow of products. They have the industrial skeleton ready. All that is needed is the meat on the bones, that is the membership. But there are thousands of industries to organize in a similar way. Of course it would not be absolutely necessary to have them all ready, but nothing should be undertaken in the way of tearing down, until we are sure that we have a grip on the basic industries that no reactionary capitalist revolt could loosen. Such industries are agriculture, horticulture, foodstuff industries, dairying, the wool, cotton, and textile industries, the clothing industry, building construction, coal and metal mining, the lumber industry, transportation by rail and water, perhaps also the automobile industry, and several more, including postal, telegraph and telephone communication.

The work before us consists not only in organizing the men and women of those industries with a view to take over full responsibility in their various lines.

There is an immense lot of statistical work to be done in advance, without which even the strongest industrial unions would be helpless, when it comes to take over production and distribution.

The workers would have to be in possession of the knowledge of markets and sources of supply, now in the hands of the food trust f. i. This indispensable knowledge cannot be had simply by taking possession of the offices of the trust, no more than we acquire knowledge of languages, mathematics and the other sciences by taking forcible possession of the public libraries.

The clerical force of the trust is perhaps the last body of people to endorse our program, and they could sabotage us and our enterprise to pieces.

For that reason it behooves every I. W. W. Industrial Union to establish a department for the study of the problems solved in the offices of the present owners. As we do not propose to buy and sell, our task would be considerably simpler than theirs, but we must have a clear and complete understanding of the sources of supply as well as the demand, not to forget the problems of trans-

portation, which will be somewhat different from what they are now.

We hold that it is not too early to bring these points to the attention of the membership. The woods are full of revolution makers these days, and we should not allow ourselves to be carried off our feet by any preposterous adventurers.

The I. W. W. program is the world's most serious and gigantic undertaking, and the responsibility we take is enormous. This responsibility is easy to carry, if we are safe, sane and mercilessly consistent, but it will crush us if we act upon outward impulses, coming from we know not where, and aiming at we know not what.

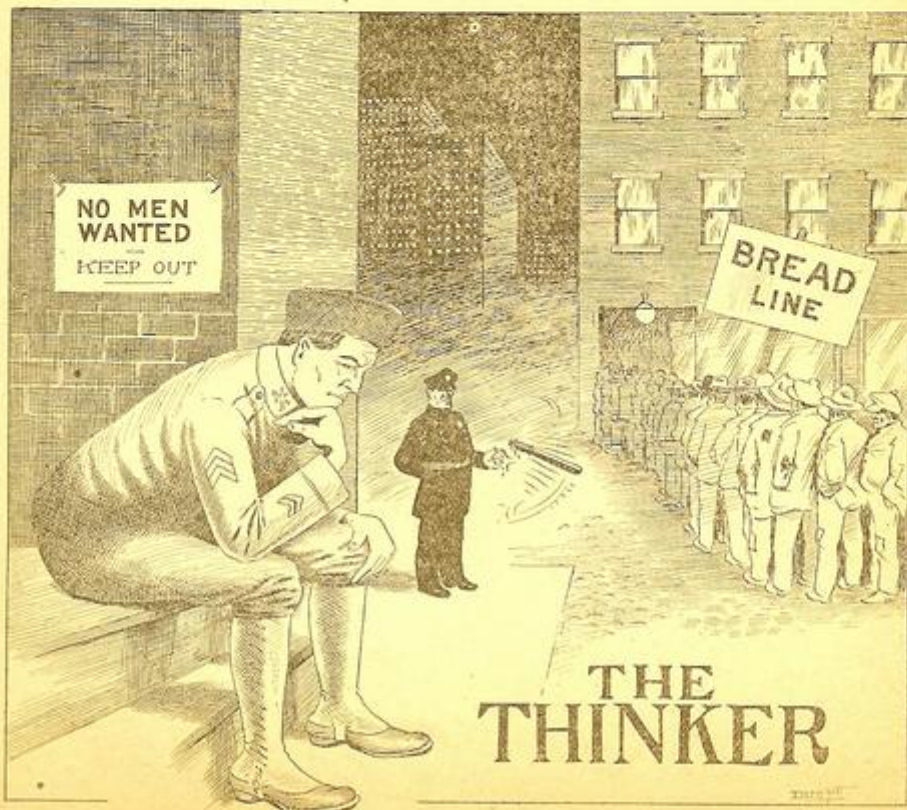
The I. W. W. program survives the world war without the necessity of taking away or adding a dot. Let us stick to it through thick and thin. We have found the right solution of the social problem, and so far we know of no other solution.

But events are crowding fast upon one another these days, delay and dallying is dangerous. Before we know it the world may be calling upon us to assume responsibility. Rush the organizing work, and let us make ourselves masters of all problems of running the world-household.

Returned soldiers are not getting the good jobs promised them. The capitalist class is a swindler class, as we have always been maintaining. The soldiers made the mistake of believing their promises.

Dr. George W. Kirchwey, federal director of employment for New York State, says that there are 10 million men idle in U. S. today. We know that the employers of the U. S. cannot put these men to work, all municipal appropriations notwithstanding. An immediate reduction of the working-day to, say, 5 hours is the only palliative. The final solution is to stop production for profit, and start production for use, with the industries owned and controlled by the workers through their industrial unions.

A divided working class is a defeated working class. Get together industrially you common laborers, you skilled workmen, you agricultural workers and you mental workers—in no other way can you hope to achieve industrial liberty.



How the I. W. W. Men Brought About the 8-Hour-Day in the Lumber Industry

By A. H. PRICE.

I do not think there has been enough said about how the eight-hour day was brought about and about the struggle toward economic power. Being one of the strikers, I will write it as I have seen it, the best I can.

The Industrial Worker was started the first part of 1916, as an official organ of the I. W. W.

Through the Industrial Worker there was a call for a convention of Lumber Workers about the 4th of July, 1916, at Seattle. At that Convention ways and means were arranged to organize the Lumber Workers Union of the I. W. W. The latter part of the summer, I. W. W. halls began to open up. Everett, one of the first halls to open up, was opened and closed several times, resulting in the killing of no less than five I. W. W.s, and the wounding of several more; also the arrest of seventy I. W. W.s., who were charged with murder, and after a long trial were found "not guilty."

There is a book on the Everett tragedy in circulation at this time, so it is not necessary to comment on it further. The autocratic stand that the lumber trust took in Everett against the Union men landing on the public wharf, and the sayings of Hy Gill through pressure brought to bear by organized labor against the Commercial Club of Everett in favor of the I. W. W., went a long way toward organizing the I. W. W. and the winning of the eight hour day; also in winning the trial of the defendants in the Everett tragedy. After the winning of the trial, loggers and mill workers joined the Lumber Workers Union of the I. W. W. by the thousands.

In the spring of 1917 strikes began among the river drivers in Montana, Idaho and the Eastern part of Washington, and the winning of some of them was encouraging to the loggers. By the middle of June, the lumber industry of Idaho, Montana and the Eastern part of Washington was tied up. By the 20th of July this strike had extended to the Pacific Coast and parts of Oregon.

The tricks of the Lumber Trusts.

The Lumber Trust seeing that we were preparing to spread this strike, their first act was to make use of the A. F. of L. by calling a strike before we were ready, for the purpose of creating a division. They also got the support of some of the shining lights of the Socialist party. This was at Aberdeen, Wash., but we beat them to it by shutting all the logging camps and saw mills down in that vicinity. The second day after the strike was called, one lumberman granted the nine hour day, and the Timber Workers of the A. F. of L. went out and scabbed as an organization. When the strike was first called the Timber Workers Union had about 400 members;

at this writing they hardly exist, with the exception of the places where the boss is using them to keep the slaves from joining the I. W. W.

The second act was to flash a court injunction in our face against picketing, but we had so much economic power and so many went on the picket line and in picket camps, that it was not enforced until toward the last when our economic power began to slip; and then they began to fill the jails. It was not a question of being against the law, or against right or wrong; it was a question of power.

The Third Act.

The officials of the A. F. of L. saw that they would be forced to quit for the want of lumber in the shipyards of Aberdeen, so they called a strike in the shipyards against using "scab lumber" for the purpose of swinging the loggers and mill workers in the Timber Workers Union.

The Fourth Act.

The Political State felt our economic power and saw that the Lumber Trust would be forced to grant the eight hour day sooner or later, so the Governor of the State of Washington and Secretary of War Baker declared themselves for an eight hour day, for the purpose of getting great honors and being heroes, and to make the slave think "George did it." This ought to be a great lesson to the Workers. It proves, that if we get enough economic power, we can swing the politicians on our side or off. It makes no difference who or what they are, so let us waste no energy dabbling with politics.

The Fifth Act.

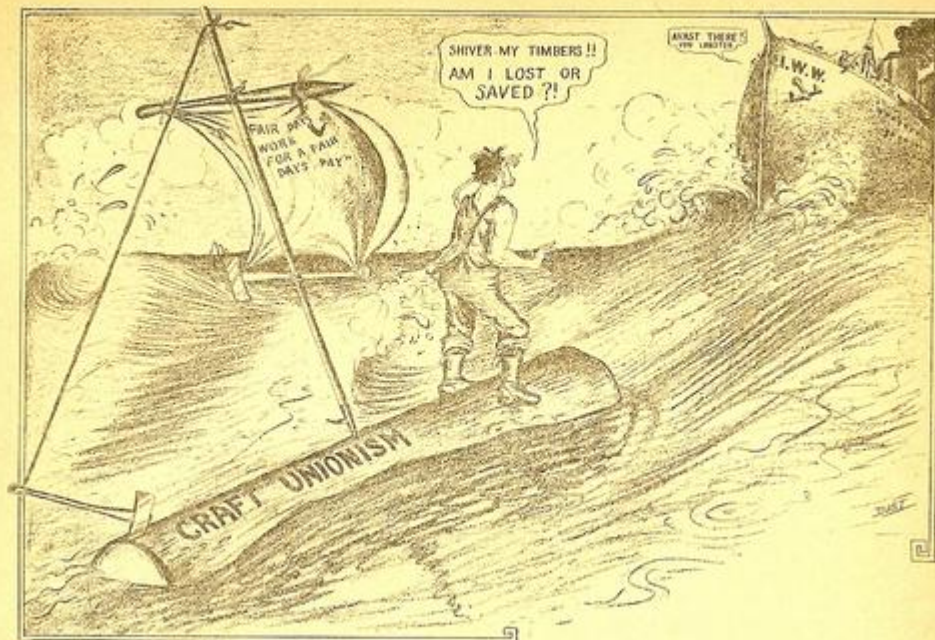
In Seattle several hundred carpenters were laid off for the want of lumber, so the labor fakirs and bosses instigated a strike in the Seattle shipyards against using "scab lumber" for the purpose of getting the loggers and mill workers to join the Timber Workers of the A. F. of L.—the Bosses' Union. All this was for the purpose of defeating the I. W. W.

The Sixth Act.

In Aberdeen the soldiers were called out at the instigation of the Mayor, through the economic pressure brought to bear by the lumbermen, and drove the strikers off the picket line. This happened after the A. F. of L. had called off their strike in the shipyards at Aberdeen and the jail at Montesano began to fill up and men going broke and going back to work. Our economic power got weak and the Lumber Trust took advantage of the situation.

Act One by the Workers.

Seeing that we could accomplish nothing by staying off the job any longer, there was a resolution



Between the Devil and the Deep Sea

drawn up in the Montesano jail to the effect that we transfer the strike to the job and that it be left to the workers to do what they saw fit, individually or collectively, to enforce the eight hour day. So back to the job we went.

In the first camp I was in we loafed on the job three days.

The bull of the woods quit because we could not get the logs. The fourth day we all got fired and the camp shut down for a new crew; at other camps the whistle would blow when the eight hours were up, and we would all go to camp. There were instances where the job delegate would get fired and the whole crew would walk out. One lumberman gave \$50,000 to the Lumbermen's Association for the purpose of defeating the eight hour day. This lumber camp was pulled five different times. In another instance a camp was being pulled and the owner was overheard to say, "I will spend every cent of money I have got to defeat that damnable organization." In another instance one lumberman was overheard to say, "They will put me on the bum if they keep this up, striking on the job. Grant them the eight hour day." The "hoosier" act was played to a finish and the "loaf on the job" and other tactics not only hit the lumbermen's pocketbooks, but it was those tactics that got the eight hour day.

Four L. Organized.

While all of this was going on, the lumber trust, seeing that they could not create a division with the

A. F. of L. Timber Workers Union and that the loggers were joining the I. W. W. by the hundreds, the Lumber Trust attorney suggested an organization by the name of the Four Ls, meaning the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, and this was accepted by the Lumber Trust and turned over to one Col. Disque for execution. The next move was to send a "sky-pilot" into the logging camps and saw mills to work on the workers' patriotism for the purpose of preparing them for the Four Ls.

The next move was to send men into the woods with uniform on and intimidate them into signing up with the Four Ls, and the great struggle was on for the control of the Lumber Workers. Hundreds signed up through intimidation and bulldozing and for the purpose of holding their jobs without being bothered. All men refusing to line up with this organization suffered all manner of abuse at the hands of the authorities by being called pro-German and traitors to their country.

A few of those who signed up with the Four Ls were sincere; the majority were not, but the Four Ls being controlled by the Lumber Trust did succeed in keeping wages down and kept many from thinking that the I. W. W. forced the Lumber Trust to grant the eight hour day, and it also hindered organization.

The Lumber Trust held a meeting and decided to surrender the eight hour day before the Four Ls held a meeting, and when they did call a meeting they tried to cut wages, but there were too many I. W. W.s on the job for them to make it stick.

The lumbermen east of the Cascades were the first to decide to surrender, at a meeting held at Spokane, Wash., which represented the lumbermen in Montana, Idaho and Eastern Washington. At this meeting they passed a resolution calling on the government for the sake of industrial peace to establish an eight hour day.

In numerous camps at this time the eight hour day had already been taken by the I. W. W.s.

Slush Fund Lost.

The Lumber Trust also attempted to cover up under the government by making the people think that the government forced them to grant the eight hour day, and the lost their \$500,000 that they raised to defeat the eight hour day and the I. W. W.

After all this they did not stop the growth of the I. W. W. by using the A. F. of L., the Four Ls, jails, patriotic bunk, and their lying papers in big headlines.

The capitalist class in general seeing that the workers were not being "flimflammed" and that there were thousands of workers on the fence thinking of joining the I. W. W., including the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and the Socialists, so the last stand was "mob rule." The next move was to make a raid on the printing plant where the Industrial Worker was being printed and about \$10,000 damage was done to the Piggott Printing plant, but this did not stop the paper.

Some of the A. F. of L. officials who accepted government jobs were used as industrial police in Wenatchee and North Yakima. A resolution was signed calling on the soldiers, which resulted in the closing of the hall and the arrest of a great many I. W. W.s.

Governor Slides Out.

In the latter part of April there was a meeting of lumber men called at Spokane, to decide ways and means to stop the I. W. W. activities. At this meeting the Governor of the State was called on to cope with the situation. The Governor refused to act. The President of the Central Labor Council did. So back to Olympia the Governor went, and in a few days he was notified by the lumbermen that they could do the job without him.

After a few days I heard that the Governor had gone to Alaska on a visit. Whether he got cold feet or his trip paid for, I do not know. I will leave it for other people to decide. During his absence raiding of union halls began, smashing in the fronts and burning furniture, tarring and feathering job delegates and others, and there were many people put in jail on deportation and open charges and held for months, then turned loose without trial.

This was for the purpose of intimidating weak-kneed members and others who were thinking of joining. In Seattle I saw the biggest union raid on record. It lasted about four hours. There were 213 arrests and over \$5000 found on them. All the time while this was going on there were thousands of people looking on.

All summer, during 1918, in some of the logging camps, antagonism was kept up between the fore-

man and the men; the foremen in order to hold their jobs would tell the men that the Four Ls got the eight hour day, or that Col. Disque did it.

At the present writing they are losing their control with the Four Ls. What their next move will be remains to be seen. But watch developments.

Federation Petted.

In the last eighteen months the capitalist class has petted the A. F. of L. and gave some of them government jobs in order to hold them down.

Just eighteen months ago I was working in Peterson's shipyards at Aberdeen, as a common laborer. All we common laborers were members of the I. W. W. We called a meeting in the hall one night and decided to go on a strike the next morning at ten o'clock for fifty cents more a day. It was successful. In a few days our demands were granted, but the owner of the shipyards told us that in order to get our jobs back we would have to give him our red cards and take out a card in the shipyard union of the A. F. of L. There was nothing doing along these lines.

At the present writing there is some cunning diplomacy going on in Seattle. The A. F. of L. are taking some of the I. W. W. principles; the Socialist party of Portland is at present using some of the I. W. W. philosophy, also posing as the same people as the Bolsheviki in Russia. Their main idea seems to be to confuse the workers in order to hold them where they are.

The working class should learn a great lesson from the way the eight hour day was brought about. In forcing the lumbermen to grant the eight hour day we have demonstrated our propoganda. We do not have to tell them we can "put them on the bum," they know it. The lesson to be learned is worth more than the eight hour day.

What I. W. W. Gained for the Workers.

This is the greatest labor victory in the history of the country, and the first time that a big strike has ever been transferred to the job. There were no arbitration meetings with the bosses. They tried to get a meeting with us, and wanted to sign contracts, but there was nothing doing. There have been no less than 150,000 slaves who have profited by this labor victory.

The scissorbills of Oregon and British Columbia who have never done anything to better job conditions have profited well by getting the eight-hour day, but they have not yet received any better camp conditions from the boss. If a worker wishes to know what class of men work in a certain camp, all he has to do is to ascertain what camp conditions exist there to know whether the camp is organized or unorganized.

The lumber industry is the basic industry of the Northwest, and whatever the conditions are in the basic industry it helps you to determine what conditions exist on all the jobs. Every one who works for wages in the Northwest has profited by the great struggle for shorter hours and better conditions that was put up by Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500 of the Industrial Workers of the World.

In Memoriam Carl Liebknecht

By COVINGTON AML.

Wrapt in the flag of Brotherhood, their hands have murdered you—
The Scheidemanns have done a deed the Kaisers dared not do!
In all recorded history no blacker treason's shown,
No baser deed by baser men in any age is known!

You Mamelukes of "kultur"! You, the Beast of Berlin's slaves!
You who filled the Earth with broken hearts, who made the Nations
graves!

How dare YOU talk of "terror"? YOU, assassins, grim and cold,
YOU, to all things false and faithless, YOU, the foul, the traitor-souled!

O Germany! O Germany! what curse is on your brain,
That you exalt Apostates to the empty seat of Cain!
O Motherland of Music's sons, of Goethe and of Marx,
Is your heel to crush forever down on Freedom's dreams and arks!

L'ENVOI.

The truest of the true is gone, the death is on his eyes,
The Captain of the Spartans in eternal slumber lies.
Beyond the reach of Serviles and the Reptiles of the Press,
In the Crimson Flag enshroud him, and our love for him confess.

Farewell, Beloved Altrurian! O Rebels of the Right,
Like him to "death or liberty" we're marching on tonight!
And the march shall not be halted 'till we pierce the last slave lines,
And all the Lands are Freedom's and, for all, the lovelight shines!

Is Wage Slavery Abolished in Russia

QUOTING Robert Minor in an interview with Lenine, we repeat the following words of Lenine:

"Future society will be organized along soviet lines. There will be soviet rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial unionism is the basic state. That is what we are building."

Should soviet control be so arranged that it gives the workers actual industrial control, and not only a substitute at bottom of political nature, there is no doubt that we shall soon see the end of wage slavery in that country.

As yet, it is not completely abolished, and no sane man could expect the thing to be done in such a short time.

Quoting again from Robert Minor's interview we learn:

"The interview was in the Kremlin, ancient seat of the czars. As I came away two smart limousines drew up and deposited several well dressed men of the business type. This class has been lying very low only a few months ago. They are of the type the bolshevist creed denounces as "bloodthirsty minions of predatory capital." There is a difference now. The business types ride in fine automobiles as before,

live in mansions, and are again managing the old industries with more authority than ever before."

If Mr. Minor is quoted correctly, he evidently means to convey the impression that wage slavery is not abolished, but that on the contrary things are tending to return to the old order.

Personally we are convinced that Russia will never again return to the old order. The workers have control, and they will not let go of it. As the days go by, they will gradually organize production and distribution on the lines of industrial unionism, as Lenine assures us, and that will be their salvation.

The plight of the Russian people is a warning to other peoples to immediately start building the new society, by building industrial unions right now, before the structure of the old society topples over. Industrial unions are the only social apparatus that will make abolishment of wage slavery possible.

For a good first hand description of conditions in Russia, we refer the reader to another article in this number, namely "Life in Modern Russia," by N. Bucharin, a real, live Russian bolshevik, who has been taking part in shaping Russian history during the last 16 months or so.

Triumphant Industrial Democracy

By COVINGTON AMI.

PEACE when, if ever, it comes will be an **ECONOMIC PEACE**. The mere shifting of national boundary lines will accomplish nothing, for the Industrial Age is here, and this Age presupposes and compels Industrial Democracy, as the fall of the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs amply testifies. The past ten years has witnessed the steadfast march of the New Democracy around the World, and the Royal, the Uncrowned, Houses of Rockefeller and Rothschild, of Scheidemann and Gompers, can no more halt it than could King Canute order back the ocean tides.

Not only has Capitalism failed spiritually and morally, but it has also **broken down materially from within**. Its boasted "management" of society has brought the Race to an impasse where Death is King and Hunger Lord of All. So, the Old Order holds out today absolutely no hope of salvation to Humanity. The "Competitive System" has wrecked itself.

It began with Money and it is ending with Money. The gold dollar bears absolutely no relation whatsoever, as a standard or measure of values, to the enormously inflated credit of the nations. Ingersoll could not today, in attacking "fiat currency," hold up a gold dollar and say: "I know that my redeemer liveth," for gold is less than a ghost as a redeemer of currency, much less of society. Some other basis of value for exchange of commodities will have to be found, and there is none other conceivable than to make an **HOURLY SOCIAL LABOR** the unit of value; this being done, we could then leave the existing currency in circulation or, better, with a socialized Banking System, we could, in every Community, simply credit up to every Worker the Service Time due him or her, give them a checkbook and let them draw against the account until, as now, their account was exhausted. This last would not only simplify matters financially but would also have the wholesome effect of getting rid of the most efficient germ-spreaders ever devised—the filthy paper money now in use. But no such Service Money can be devised or used outside of an Industrial Democracy, for we cannot have any such thing as a true exchange of values so long as society is compelled to support hordes of non-working Parasites, of non-producers. Service, real Social Service, must be the law of the New Order. It can have no other law and live. And this law is **JUST**, for it is the only Natural Law of Property; for, if a man or woman be not entitled, as a **NATURAL RIGHT**, to property in the labor of their hands and brains, to the **FULL SOCIAL VALUE** of that product—then there is no Law of Property that can stand in a Court of **JUSTICE**.

Being up-against this mechanical breakdown of the Old Order, The People must **MOVE FORWARD**

or **PERISH**, and it is this Moving Forward that the Old Order is bewailing as "Anarchy," tho the anarchy is of its own making, since it was their **DUTY** as a Ruling Class to see to it that the Management of Society was efficient. It was bound, the Ruling Class, on its **OWN CLAIMS**, to manage the affairs of society as to promote "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" for the **RACE**; otherwise, the Race is absolutely under no obligation whatsoever to **ANY** Aristocracy; for the service I here call attention to is the main **DUTY** of an Aristocracy and, refusing, or being unable to perform this duty, the Race correctly and of right demands the abdication of the old Executive, or Aristocracy. The abdication of the Aristocracy is, of course, Revolution, and, hence, the wailing in the "Seats of the Mighty" that were. It is the Law of Service by which they are and have been weighed and found wanting.

It is this demand of **SERVICE** that is rising everywhere that is one of the surest signs of the triumphant rise of Industrial Democracy; for, among other things, it **PROVES** that the vast mass of men are no longer interested in maintaining the "Right of Private Property" in the Common Means of Life. In fact they are deeply interested in the direct opposite—its abolishment; since, no matter whether his wages be \$2 or \$100 a day, the Modern Working Man is **NOT** interested in Property Rights, but in **INCOME**, and everywhere, in all the Lands, the Competitive System of Production and Exchange is, not only hungerizing the Race by limiting production, but is tremendously and **adversely** affecting the **INCOME** of **BOTH** the **INDUSTRIAL** and **AGRICULTURAL** Classes; for these two Classes stand to each other as **true Producers** and **Consumers**. How closely they so stand, and how vitally they are interested in free exchange of products, is shown instantly if you only take up the statistics which bear witness to the fact that in this country the average income of the Industrial Workers and Working Farmers is practically the same; and this is so because the Farmers cannot take out of a Market **MORE THAN IS PAID INTO IT IN WAGES**; hence, their standard of living is **FOEVER bound and limited by that of the Industrial Workers, and vice versa**. It is the Wage System that is making Tenants of the Farmers and Peons of the Workers of the World, and this is true because that system inherently violates the Law of Live and let Live.

It is the subconscious awakening of the Masses to the facts I have herein touched on that is the real power behind the triumphant, world-wide march of Industrial Democracy, and that march neither rifles nor prisons, nor gallows nor deportations can stay from final victory; for, as "All things strive toward the light," so the Soul of Man toward a Wider Vision, a Higher Destiny struggles forever on. And will win.

The Life of Democracy

By Harold Lord Varney.

NOTHING is so enticing to the mob as a large word which idealizes their ambitions and expresses their hopes. The word may be a mask. Its silken melody may be a false cry, leading us away from the ideal, back to the naked and hated past. But the mob follows unreasoningly, and idealism ever perishes in an idolatry of words.

Just now, the magic word is Democracy. It flashes from lip to lip and altars of belief are erected to it in every land. Men fight and men die for it, and for the name of Democracy, millions of men have perished or crawl mutilated over the face of the earth. Statesmen sit at Versailles to plan a Democratic world. And yet, like all the false cries of the past, the Democracy of the day is but a fatal and meaningless word—galling us with the promise of liberty—betraying us into bonds of new subjection.

Perhaps Emerson phrased it most happily. He was asked once whether Democracy was a success. "I don't know," he answered. "Has it ever been tried?"

One of the most fatal mistakes of Socialists and revolutionists in the past has been this. They have failed to analyse and to define Democracy. Like the mob and the kept thinkers of the ruling class they lazily accepted Democracy as a word. They have embodied it in their belief. They have tacitly assumed that Socialism and Democracy are synonymous and that Socialism must come by the Democratic road. And they have failed utterly to realize and to proclaim to the public that the Democracy of Socialism and the Democracy of the present day, are systems abysmally dissimilar. The contrast has not been pointed out; hence the spavined thinking of our present day Socialists.

The Bolshevik Revolution has emphasized this sad fact. Socialism in Russia, facing for the first time in Socialist history, the problem of inaugurating a working class state, found itself paralyzed by the existence of a parliamentary form of Democracy. The Revolution was at stake. In order to destroy capitalism, it was necessary to destroy parliamentary Democracy and Lenin destroyed it. In its place he reared a new form of Democracy—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is Socialism.

And yet, so misled is the thinking of our European Socialist that, in the very presence of a living, accomplished Socialist commonwealth, they hastened to repudiate it because it was not "Democratic." Plekhanov betrayed it. Kautsky reviled it. Albert Thomas called upon the capitalists of France to send their soldiers there and crush it. Mr. Walling, Mr. Spargo and Mr. Russell baptized themselves into a "Socialist" crusade to destroy Socialism. Could idocy be more abject?

The alternative is presented, to choose between Socialism or Democracy. Or perhaps it would be better to put it—between industrial Democracy

and parliamentary Democracy. And our pitiable Spargos, duped by a stale phrase, abandon their Socialism because it is not "Democratic."

In America, it is this same issue of Democracy which has long been the dividing line between the Socialist Party and the I. W. W. Like the Bolsheviks of Russia, the I. W. W. have championed Democracy but we have refused to allow the capitalist thinkers to define it for us. We have practiced Democracy in our organization and we have sublimated it into the most perfect of Democratic organizations. But always, it has been a Democracy only of proletarians. We have built the framework of a new society which says that those shall not vote who do not work. And this, indeed, is Socialism.

But the political Socialists have feared to draw this distinction. They have not built themselves upon the proletarian rock. Into their ranks they have admitted, not only the butcher, the baker and the candle-stick maker, but also the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the sky pilot, yes, and even the capitalists—known as millionaire Socialists. Out of such a medley, a medley philoosophy was sprouted. Democracy, to the political Socialists, could not be rigidly proletarian, because the political Socialists, themselves, were not proletarians. And their ideals paled into evasion and compromise.

Again, the I. W. W., being proletarian, spurned a parliamentary action which would have drawn it together with the exploiting class. It realized, before Spargo took that fatal dodge, that, from parliamentary Socialism, to parliamentary Democracy it was but a step. Hence we spurned politics and parliamentarism, and substituted a Democracy, grouped around unions, and not around parliaments.

But the political Socialists, immersed in parliamentary hack work, stifled the Socialist concept of Democracy by recognizing and participating in the capitalist form of Democracy. Entering the parliaments, they dreamed that they could transform these parliaments into Socialist republics. Only too soon they discovered that the parliaments had transformed them into "Democratic" apologists. Like a poisoning stain, parliamentarism spread out over Socialism. And so, when Socialism came at last in Russia, without the aid of the foolish parliaments, deluded Socialists cried that Bolshevism was not Socialism.

"How meaningless are all our observations if we cannot find the right thread to string them on," said Carlyle. How meaningless indeed is our Socialism, if we have not grasped the central thought of its ideal.

Socialism is proletarianism. It is a Dictatorship of the proletariat, at first. It will be a Democracy of the proletariat when all men have become proletarians.

It does not come by the thought of the theory of men. It is a growth. The new system springs into life out of the economic absolutism of capitalism. It is born in factories and workshops. It springs its tendrils out of the economic cells of the productive system. It knows no parliaments; it scorns the twaddle of the economists and the schools. It is life—a great, leaping flame of human growth—germinating in slave shops and in fetid, poisonous slums.

The Socialist Revolution comes because there is a rift of classes—blasted through the heart of our life. It comes because there is an age-long conflict between the masters and the proletariat. It is the child of this conflict.

Socialist revolutionists do not, like the parliamentarians, deny the conflict. They do not soften its impact. Rather, they deepen its hates, they harden its clashes, they set themselves the goal of the inexorable. In all the world, there are only two classes—the oppressed and the oppressors. They summon the oppressed to a truceless war. Such is the spirit of the Socialist Revolutionist. Such is the spirit of the I. W. W.

To such a spirit, the institutions of capitalism appear as evils which must be rooted out. The ethics and the edicts of capitalism are imprisoning falsehoods which must be scrapped. The mechanism by which

capitalism governs—its courts and its parliaments are the debris of a degrading system. Socialism does not enter these parliaments and courts.

Outside the existing system, Socialism rears new institutions. It weaves a new fabric for our social life. In Russia it is the Soviets; in America it is the One Big Union. This fabric is proletarian only. Within its limits, the Socialist Revolutionist halts.

This new organism—this One Big Union—may, or may not seek Democracy. Democracy is merely a method of governing. If that method leads to Socialist goals, it will be followed. Otherwise, we will seek further for our avenue.

But the great end is proletarianism. It is the social ownership of the means of production. It is the creation of a society where all classes will be melted into one, and where the class war will soften into an all-race proletarianism. And when this end is reached, then we may talk of democracy. Then we may become meliorists and cry halt to social hatred. Then we may become imbued with thoughts of human brotherhood and we may dip into experiments of humanitarianism. For then Democracy will no longer be a lie and a meaningless word: it will be warmed with the breath of reality.

Such is the goal of the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Industrial Workers of the World. Can true Democracy be bought else?

The Most Important Question

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE question "What is industrial unionism?" may be said to be, in its essence, the most important of social questions. For industrial unionism is, in its final analysis, a method of social reconstruction. It is a means by which the basic activities of society may be continued when capitalism shall have been overthrown by its own failures and class conflicts. Industrial unionism seeks to inaugurate a system of industrial democracy in place of capitalist autocracy and control when capitalism shall have demonstrated its own impossibility. **Industrial unionism is constructive unionism, taking the place of self-destructive capitalism.**

Industrial unionism is the highest development in unionism. It seeks to organize the worker according to industry, instead of trades, not only for the everyday conflict for more wages and less hours with employers, but also for the day surely coming when capitalism shall have outgrown its usefulness and must be supplanted by a system of greater stability and value to society as a whole. **Industrial unionism is far-sighted unionism. It is social unionism.**

Industrial unionism not only seeks greater unity among the workers, but believes that the abolition of craft lines in industry compels such unity. It views industry, not as a collection of trades with separate interests but as a series of continuous activities that tend to a general standard and are

more affected by general conditions that permit of general movements.

How Craft Lines Disappear.

In the metal and machine industry large subdivisions of labor, formerly called trades, are now classified on a uniform hour pay basis, and have their wages determined in arbitration proceedings by the rise in the cost of living, instead of their craft skill as formerly. In the transportation industry, to cite still another instance, the four large brotherhoods combine together to wage the 8 hour fight and to secure wage classifications that are of a general character. It is this tendency to put hours and wages on a general basis that makes industrial unionism both possible and necessary, and that also makes of **industrial unionism large scale unionism**, instead of the petty scale unionism, required by the trades 50 years ago.

Industrial unionism is alive not only to the general tendency to wipe out trade lines in industry, but also to the very close relation that exists between all industries. Industrial unionism, for instance, recognizes the close relationship that exists between the textile industry, in which the raw material for articles of wear is made, and the clothing industry, in which this raw material is made into the finished products. Industrial unionism recognizes the fact that these two industries practically

form one whole industry, and organize them accordingly. Industrial unionism embraces, accordingly, not only all the so-called trades in an industry, but all the industries engaged in the production and distribution of commodities. It is one big union of all industrial workers.

Interrelationship of Industries.

Industrial unionism, further, recognizes not only the very close relationship that exists between industries, but so also the financial ties that bind them still more closely together. In the clothing industry, for instance, it recognizes that woolen trust capital is invested in large establishments, and governs itself accordingly. Industrial unionism is alive to the fact that such is the interrelationship of all industries that the capital invested in them must become interrelated, too. That capitalism is in fact, one big combination of capital and capitalists, because industry itself is one big combination of activities, created by man's necessity to feed, cloth and shelter himself, and not by the alleged superior ability of the capitalist class. And thus it comes that industrial union organizes all industries together in one big union just as capitalism binds them together in one big combination for capitalist profit. Industrial unionism is parallel unionism, growing out of capitalist combination and living side by side with it.

International Unionism.

Industrial unionism arises out of and is modelled after modern capitalism. Unlike trade unionism, it is not born of the capitalism of 50 years ago. Industrial unionism recognizes that capitalism is not only interindustrial, so to speak, but also international. That just as it binds industries together by means of machine processes and financial investments, so also does capitalism tend to bind nations together. Industrial unionism follows the same trend. It too is not only interindustrial but also international. Industrial unionism seeks to organize the industrial workers of the world just as capitalism seeks to exploit them. Industrial unionism is spreading wherever international capitalism exists. Like international capitalism industrial unionism knows no boundaries, color, race, creed or sex. As international capitalism knows only profit, industrial unionism knows only the industrial exploitation by which profit is possible. Industrial unionism organizes to make industrial exploitation an impossibility. And capitalism is its most valued assistant.

Industry the Basis of Society.

Industrial unionism believes that industry, in its broadest economic sense, is the basis of society. We work in and are dependent for our very lives, art, culture, law and institutions of all kinds, on industry ceases, society closes. Every snow storm that ties up industry, every general strike, every shock of war, that paralyzes and destroys industry, proves the dependence of all society on industry. President Wilson, when appealing to the A. F. of L. convention, declared that winning the war was impossible

without the aid of labor. So that even international issues and the state depend on industry. Without industry, without the active cooperative labor of millions of men, women, and children, the state is unable to generate the force on which its very existence depends. Recognizing the dependence of society and the state on industry, industrial unionism urges the workers to organize industrially so that both society and the state may become so transformed as to lead to the greater freedom and progress of the race. Industrial unionism holds to the belief that he who controls industry, controls the means, not only by which peoples live, but also by which their interests and ideals are protected and advanced. To get control of industry for the benefit of mankind instead of capitalism is the object of industrial unionism.

The Wide Scope of Industrial Unionism.

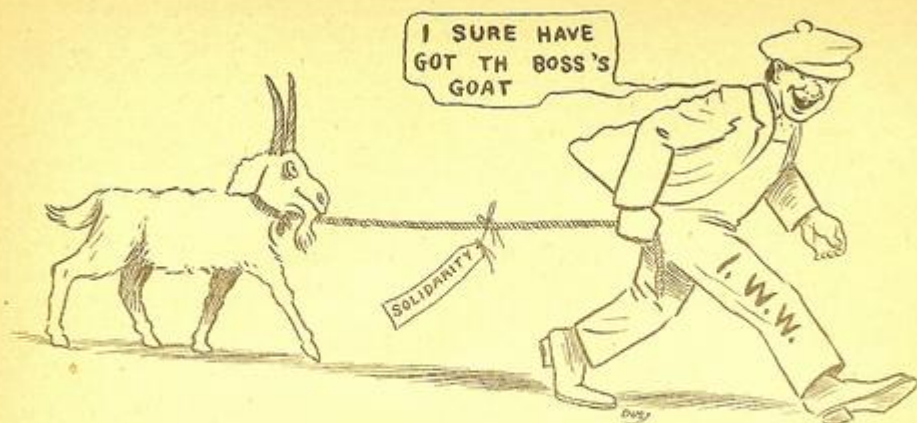
Industrial unionism is not merely unionism in the old sense of getting more wages, less hours and better conditions, but also in the sense of getting more social power and a more perfect social status for the workers. It is a means of solving social problems for the workers, and of making the workers themselves representative of a new society working for the good of all and the profit of none. Industrial unionism, through its social vision, tends to make the workers more intelligent in the grasp of conditions. It tends, in its practical outworkings, to make them more self-reliant and competent to run affairs for themselves instead of for others. Industrial unionism, in scope and plan, fits the workers for the cooperative management of society. Industrial unionism is industrial democracy in the making.

Industrial Unionism is Industrial Democracy.

Industrial unionism is the great foe of capitalist materialism, with its degradation and destruction of manhood. Industrial unionism is the social idealism of the workers operating through industrial means to insure their own free development, and through that development, their own liberation—the liberation of society, for the workers are society, in fact and numbers. The capitalists are a class, a useless, dangerous, parasitic minority that can be dispensed with. Industrial unionism is unionism of the workers according to industry and for the advancement and emancipation of society, through their own intelligence and efforts. Industrial unionism is non-bureaucratic. It is non-autocratic. It is non-capitalistic. Industrial unionism is industrial democracy, by, for and of the workers, first, last and all the times.

The kind of national defense this country needs right now is national defense against the greed of the private owners of the machinery of production.

Blind is he who cannot see that he is not free and cannot be as long as the means of life are the private property of a few.



What Is the I. W. W. and What Does It Want?

This being the first issue of the One Big Union Monthly there might be a number of people who look for an explanation of what the I. W. W. is and what it wants.

The capitalist press is full of notes about us every day of late, but hardly ever will one find a correct description of us and our aims. They seem to be afraid that if people find out who we are and what we want, it will be "all off" with themselves and their paymasters.

Everybody knows what a labor union is. Well, the I. W. W. is a labor union, the very latest in labor unions. It embodies a new invention, or rather a discovery in the field of labor unionism. It is hardly right to call it merely an improvement on old trade unionism, no more than it would be right to call the limousine an improvement on the wheelbarrow. It is an entirely new departure in the domain of social organization, a discovery that is right now, at this very moment engaged in no smaller a task than revolutionizing the whole world.

But are you not afraid to speak of "revolution" in that reckless way, the reader may ask. You ought to know that the U. S. authorities, at the present time particularly, are in no mood to tolerate that kind of talk. Well, we are no more afraid to use the world revolution in this connection than we are afraid of speaking of geological revolutions, or biological revolutions. Neither one of them lies within the control of mere man, be he a hunted I. W. W. man or a highly respected prosecuting attorney or judge. All three of these revolutions are the result and outcome of conditions that precede them, and we are only the human material used by the makers

of world revolutions in their effort to improve this universe of ours. Why should the tree be afraid to speak of the ax, why should the dough be afraid to speak of the baker? If the prosecutor wants to do business, why does he not tackle our boss, the fictitious mind or spirit that has guided the fortunes of this planets so far, and who will have to take the responsibility for the conditions at the bottom of this world revolution as well as the honor of having instilled this new idea in the human mind.

But to return to the subject.

The I. W. W. is a labor union, and as such it has first for its aim to organize the workers, so that they can jointly force the employers of workers to grant better pay, shorter hours, and better conditions. Experience has shown us workers that we will never get any improvement except by exerting pressure on the boss and putting our organized power behind it.

This same thing has been attempted also by the old trade unions. As long as we lived in a society of small private capitalism, and as long as production was carried on on craft lines, the trade unions made a success of it. In fact, all the progress made by labor in the 19th century was due to the pressure exerted by trades unions. It is perhaps wrong to speak of progress, for the progress was only superficial. What we gained in improved living conditions, we lost in prospects and independence, until we today have no prospects at all except eternal wage slavery, and no independence except such as the master class sees fit to grant us, and that is very little. After a century of trade unionism we are to poor to be independent.

Trade unionism is out of date. The new capitalist conditions require a new kind of unionism, namely industrial organization of all workers into one big union, and this is just what The Industrial Workers of the World proposes to be when it gets ready. With these larger aggregations of men along industrial lines we feel that we are better able to fight with the employer for living conditions.

On the basis of this reasoning we are organizing the workers irrespective of craft into one big union.

Taking for instance the stockyards. We do not know how many crafts there are in the stockyards, but there are many. According to the old style, these crafts would be organized each by itself, the carpenters belonging to the national union of carpenters, the engineers to the national union of engineers, the butchers to the national union of butchers, etc. It also belongs to old style unionism to leave the unskilled workers unorganized.

Our method would be to organize all the workers in a plant, as a branch of the Stockyard Workers' Industrial Union. This would imply the cancelling of trade distinctions and craft lines. As against the employer we would face him not as butchers, laborers, carpenters or engineers, but as stockyard workers, no matter whether we are office clerks or laborers, or carpenters, or engineers. This is what we mean with industrial unionism. The various branches would combine into district organizations if necessary, and all of them together would form the Stockyard Workers' Industrial Union as part of the Industrial Workers of the World.

By being thus organized we hope to be able to carry on the fight locally, or by districts, or on a national scale with better chance of success, than if we were split up in a great number of unions in each plant, with little or no contact with one another. The advantages of the one big union idea are so apparent, that no honest worker will in earnest contradict us.

The only reason why the stockyard workers have not as yet organized as we suggest, is that the idea has not yet reached to the great mass of them or else not penetrated into their mind. When it does, as it will sooner or later, the powerful foodtrust that is now holding the American people by the throat, is going to rock on its foundations.

So far we have only pointed out wherein the I. W. W. is an improvement on the old trade unions, and we now leave that point and take up the grand fundamental idea underlying the I. W. W., the idea which perhaps more than anything else has made it hated by the capitalist class and loved by the workers.

The I. W. W. proposes to become the structure of the new society. Most every intelligent worker now-a-days recognizes as a fact that capitalism is going to pieces, and that a new system of owning and operating the means of production and distribution is going to take its place. The I. W. W. claims to have discovered that system and is now perfecting it as fast as it can, with the hope of having the

structure of the new society ready to take the place of capitalism, when the latter no longer can perform the functions of society, viz. supplying the needs of the people.

As we have already stated, we are now re-grouping the people into industrial organizations, beginning with the actual performers of socially useful labor. When this system is ready it will be so constructed as to be able to absorb every human being. Every able-bodied person will be compelled to perform some useful social task, or he cannot exist.

The joint administration of these industrial organizations or unions will be the administration of the new society.

Private and collective capitalist ownership and control of the means of production and distribution will cease. The people itself takes over everything with the industrial unions as holding organs.

We maintain that only in this manner can the social question be solved. Only in this manner can the worker obtain the full product of his toil, only in this manner can parasitism, the curse of our day, be abolished and freedom be secured for every man, woman and child.

Our aim is not to establish a political dictatorship of the proletariat supported by force of arms, but to remodel the world in such a manner that there shall be nobody to be dictator over. We intend to make everybody a worker of some kind or other, thereby removing conflicting class interests and the necessity for dictatorship.

These few remarks will suffice for the present. For the rest we refer the reader to the preamble and to other articles in this number, to our advertised literature, and to our weekly papers.

The One Big Union Idea

THE modern idea is the One Big Union idea. The idea of a union of all the world's workers, on the basis of the world's industries, is the hope of the human race. It is the idea that will save society from a breakdown of capitalist imperialism. It is the idea that will enable society to climb out of imperialist chaos and war into human fraternity and growth.

Under capitalist imperialism life is a war, for field investments. Under the One Big Union idea life is peace, for human enjoyment and development. It is an abhorrence of the kind of idealism that sees human advancement in savage reversion. It sees more in life than degradation and enslavement. It sees emancipation and aspiration. Such is the One Big Union idea.

The One Big Union idea is something more than the opposite of prevailing ideas. The One Big Union idea is born of big industrial conditions that can only be dealt with by big unionism. The machine process is making the world one. In a world of machine-made oneness, a oneness in union ideas is a growing fact, as well as a necessity. So let no man ridicule the One Big Union idea as utopian, because the only thing utopian about the One Big Union idea is those who ridicule it. Be a One Big Unionist. Be a man with a big idea.

District Organizations and Industrial Unions

ONE often hears people speak of District Organization and Industrial Unions as mutually exclusive, and the discussion sometimes develops quite some heat.

The fact is, of course, that the supplement each other.

Just as the district industrial union co-ordinates the work of surrounding branches, so the general industrial union co-ordinates the work of the district unions.

District organizations have been tried in every country, and are there to stay, because they are absolutely needed. Whether to have them or not, is largely a matter of convenience and expediency, a matter that should be settled by those concerned.

Take for instance the Lumber industry. The lumber industry of this country is located in 6 or 7 principal districts: Maine, The Great Lakes region, The Rocky Mountain region, The Pacific Coast region, The Louisiana-Arkansas region, and the Georgia-Florida region. These districts are separated by wide stretches of territory, and have each a more or less permanent crowd of workers.

Of course, all the lumber workers of the country should be organized into one Industrial Union. If all branches belong directly to this industrial union, its business office will be a big one and a busy one, being that it would have to attend to not only matters of detail for each branch, but also to all matters of a national scope, or eventually worldwide scope.

The main office should be centrally located, but even so the work will of necessity be quite cumbersome, and no matter how centrally located it is in this country, it will still be a long way off from the various districts.

It is not for the editor of this magazine to tell the lumber workers what they shall do, or not do. They can best order their own affairs. But it should not surprise us, if they found that the district industrial union is just the thing for them. If the lumber workers establish a district office at some central point of each district, it would of course increase expenses to some extent, but the advantages would perhaps more than compensate for this. Business would be more easily transacted between neighboring locals, and there would be a closer and more frequent contact.

The work of the general office of the union would be greatly simplified. It would perhaps find time for the important task of planning the transfer of the industry into the hands of the workers, when the elected officers are freed from routine business, as well as taking care of the educational side of the work, issuing of books, pamphlets and periodicals on pertinent matter, etc.

Where the union is not as yet big enough to keep district offices as well as a general office, the membership would have to decide whether to keep 2, 3 or more district offices, and for the moment dispense with the general office, or to keep no office besides the general office.

Through the district offices we get the advantages of decentralization, through the general office we get the no less important advantages of centralization. In the end we must have both.

A Constructive Ideal the I. W. W.

THE Industrial Workers of the World is something more than a movement to organize unions along industrial instead of trade lines, with more wages and less hours as its one and only aim.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a movement that attempts to prepare a new society, in which the workers employed in the world's industries shall own and control those industries—shall own and control the world in fact. It means the creation of a new world—a new life!

The Industrial Workers of the World is the conscious effort to organize and prepare the workers for this purpose, not because of impossible dreams, but because of the demands of society in its upward climb. It is industrial development—capitalist development—that makes the Industrial Workers of the World necessary, and that compels the preparation of a working class competent to continue this development to higher planes, when capitalism itself shall have been overthrown by its own incompetency, contradiction and failures.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a great constructive force, brought into being by capitalism itself to supplant capitalism. It is because it is such a constructive force that the Industrial Workers of the World is so hated by capitalism. Like all selfish fathers, capitalism hates to see its own progeny turn on and supplant it.

Consider what the Industrial Workers of the World program implies! No longer, under the idealism of the Industrial Workers of the World, are workmen and women considered only fit to train themselves to make profits for capitalists. Instead they are called on to study industry, in all its technical, economic, financial and social features. From the crudest of materialists, content with a belly-filling job, they are urged to become the most scientific of idealists, competent for mastery over all the problems of society and life.

The Industrial Workers of the World calls on the working class to be supermen instead of slaves; and as supermen to labor for no man's subjugation, but for the cooperation and elevation of all in all. The liberation of the bourgeoisie from aristocracy and kinglycraft gave capitalism a great impetus forward! And the emancipation of the working class from capitalist domination will give the race a forward impulse impossible of calculation. It will be progress at once stupendous and immense; for the working class is the human race, and its liberation means the liberation of every human faculty and aspiration.

This, then, is the Industrial Workers of the World: It is constructive, idealistic, evolutionary and revolutionary. Hated by capitalism, persecuted to death, it still lives, the embodiment of an ideal that can only die with its own consummation.

J. E.

Was Butte a Defeat?

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

As I write these words, the Third Butte Strike is ended and lost, Joe Kennedy is in jail and Harry J. Casey (Hell Roaring Harry) is under threat by the gunmen of the A. C. M., but the prospects and the future of the I. W. W. in this city seem brighter than we have ever dared to hope.

It was the A. F. of L. which broke the strike. Union scabbery once more did the expected and saved the day for the boss. To-day the black flag of the A. C. M. and the yellow flag of the A. F. of L. wave intertwined in Butte.

As the end of the first week approached, the air began to fill with rumors that all was not well with the craft unions. Some of them began to discuss going back.

To get a bird's eye view of the labor situation here, it will be necessary to pause for a moment and summarize the different elements in the Butte labor movement.

Since the day when Moyer and his union pirates threw the W. F. of M. into the A. F. of L. (1911), there has been a jurisdictional division of crafts among the mine workers. There has been no One Big Union. Instead, the skilled and the unskilled have been divided off into autonomous crafts—A. F. of L. wise. At present, there are the following autonomous unions here, all working for the A. C. M.:

1st—The Miners. Organized in the I. W. W. and the Independent M. M. W. Union.

2nd—The Engineers. Organized in the I. U. of M. M. & S. W.

3rd—The Electricians. Organized in the I. B. of E. W.

4th—The Machinists. Organized in the I. A. of M.

5th—The Blacksmiths. Organized in the Blacksmiths' Union.

6th—The Boiler Makers. Organized in the B. of B. & H.

7th—The Structural Iron Workers. Organized in the I. U. of B. & S. I. W.

8th—The Pipefitters. Organized in the Pipefitters' Union.

And of course, in case of strike, each craft votes separately and acts independently.

Numerically, however, the miners are in a crushing majority. It is only the divisionist nature of the A. F. of L. which gives to these other seven crafts the fictitious importance which they have attained during this strike.

In an effort to soften this division, the I. W. W. had taken the lead, weeks before the strike, in organizing a Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Council. In the absence of industrial unionism, it was felt that a Council offered the best hope of unity. A strike was anticipated. When it would come, reasoned 800, the structure of the council would supply the strike machinery. Several of the A. F. of L. crafts were induced to affiliate. Campbell's Independent Metal Mine Workers' Union affiliated. The Engineers (the husk of the old Moyer outfit) with their 800 members were the only considerable labor body in Butte which remained aloof.

The strike broke out spontaneously. Control passed immediately to the Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Council, with the full sanction of the I. W. W. The affiliated unions—particularly the Electricians and the Machinists—were naturally forced into the walk-out. During the first few days the fever of strike enthusiasm swept the A. F. of L. as it swept the I. W. W.

But, in the craft unions, it was felt that the Engineers held the key to the situation. Hopes rose high that the Engineers could be induced to join the strike and make it general. For a time, it was forgotten that the Engineers had scabbed in the First Butte Strike (1917) and that they had scabbed in the Second Butte Strike (1918). In the spirit of solidarity they were asked to join the strike. And pending their decision, both the Machinists and the Electricians delayed their formal strike vote.

Of course, Moyer's dupes lived up to their past. On the second Saturday of the strike they took their vote. The noes carried, two to one.

Then followed the usual A. F. of L. scramble to get in out of the rain. The Engineers had set the example; the others followed suit. "The issue of this strike is the I. W. W.," shouted a labor fakir at the meeting of the boilermakers. "Vote for a strike and the I. W. W. will capture your union." And so the Boilermakers proceeded to vote no. "The Engineers will scab on us, charge batteries and pull switches," cried the members of the Electricians. "The company will punish us by giving them jurisdiction over our work." And before such a ghastly fear, the strike was broken.

Under the same impulsion, the courage of the Street Car Men broke down and on Saturday afternoon the street cars began to appear again. And the Butte Workmen's Union (a federal body of the A. F. of L.) abandoned the strike and cleaned the tracks of snow. Like a rotten sagging wall the A. F. of L. of Butte tottered under the pressure. Like a crumpled pile of ruins it lies at the feet of the A. C. M. today.

Another influence was afloat also. Secretary Wilson, the Great Deporter, had summoned a conference of picked delegates from the miners' unions of Montana and Arizona to consider the "industrial situation." Their report has been published in the press and doubtless it has been read by all. It recommended "no strikes." Naturally there were no I. W. W. men in this conference.

These labor vultures were returning from Washington at about the time when the strike began. Led by McMullen, whom old timers will remember as one of Sherman's star performers in the Second I. W. W. Convention, they began an insidious propaganda in the unions. They fanned the old hatred against the I. W. W. They became strike breakers and saved the day for the Anaconda Copper Trust.

Under other circumstances, this A. F. of L. treachery might have done incalculable harm to the I. W. W. But as it happens, it has helped us.

The I. W. W. did not enter the strike blindly. The dependability of the A. F. of L. had been calculated nicely. We did not commit ourselves to a fettering program. No demands were presented. From the beginning, it had been a "protest" strike.

When the A. F. of L. deserted, the I. W. W. acted with a snap. First it broadcasted the blame: it employed the Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Council, the Butte Daily Bulletin, and the final big strike rally to fix and publish the blame. The A. F. of L. stood stigmatized. It had stepped into an indefensible position. Even its own members were dumb before the truth. With relentless irony and with merciless insistence, the I. W. W. drove home the shafts and they were barbed with fatal truth.

On Monday, 800 met in its hall and voted to return. On Tuesday, our members were "rustling" and by Wednesday they were nearly all at work.

(Continued on page 39)

Poisoning the Springs of Knowledge

A Study in Thought Control

WHY are allied troops kept in Russia?

Fremont Older, the courageous speaker of truth as he sees it, points out that Rothschild and the Paris bankers lent the czar 3,000,000,000 for the war, the French Government endorsing and guaranteeing the loan in a way. The Rothschilds also have lent the French republic 12 billions of dollars, and as a result they have a stranglehold on the French government, as they also have in other countries, through their banking houses in London, Berlin and Vienna. No matter how the war turned out, the Rothschild interests could not lose, says Fremont Older, but the Russian proposition became expensive to them, as the soviet government has repudiated the bigger part of the czar-government's obligations.

Fremont Older maintains that it is the financial interests that demand war on the bolsheviks, because they want to collect their bad accounts. American financiers are in the same fix. They lent large sums to the Russian government before the revolution. We still remember how Mr. Aschberg was here negotiating some of the loans.

If truth were known, they could not do this, so they make it their business to suppress truth and substitute it with lies. In other words, they poison the sources of knowledge, deceiving mankind and wrecking civilization.

And this is how it is done, says Older.

The Rothschilds "subsidize" a dozen news agencies in Paris and thereby get only such news published, as will tend to help them in collecting the money from Russia. In order to obtain the same results in United States, he continues, the only thing they have to do is to "subsidize" the following news agencies: The Associated Press, International News Service, Universal News Service, United Service, and Mackay Bennet Service, in order to get control over 30,000 newspapers. As members of the different bureaus the papers have to print what is served them, or go without news. For this reason American news concerning the soviet government are colored to suit the financiers. Mr. Older ought to know. He is editor of a large daily paper.

What a ghastly prospect this instance opens. Men in all countries by nature are truth seekers. And here come the rulers of the world and give them stones instead of bread, lie instead of truth. Not only through the press they control, but also through the schools, the pulpit and the rostrum, who are all subsidized in the same manner, to keep the horrible truth from seeping through into the minds of the mass. Gigantic as this machine for the pollution of the human mind is, still it is insufficient. In spite of it they do not succeed in absolutely controlling the will of men for good. For that reason they maintain a stupendous police force, an expensive judiciary, great political machines and large armies.

In addition they control the will by controlling the bread of all men.

Even this does not suffice to keep truth down. So strong is the human mind and the human will that it rises out of the mire with this tremendous burden. The spirit of truth hammers in the breast of every good man and woman, and demands voice, in written or spoken language. Then the same poisoners of the mind and oppressors of the will put their other machinery in motion. Free speech is suppressed with police clubs, jail sentences and persecution, and by taking the bread away. The right of free assemblage is denied, the mails are interfered with in the most arrogant manner, and all sorts of obstacles are put in the way.

And all of it comes from the Wall streets of America, of France, of England and all the world, from the owners of property.

What a terrible crime capitalism must be to require such tremendous, such criminally repressive measures. What an awful sin the present system of society is. And all of it done in order to save a handful of parasites from useful labor, to keep them in luxury, and to perpetuate their power over mankind.

They would, of course, have been overthrown long ago, if they had not discovered the art of dividing the useful workers by administering different kinds of mental poison to them and by "subsidizing" men and women with leadership tendencies, so that they would set the people to fight each other, instead of turning upon the common enemy.

Under the circumstances, deprived as we are of all primary human rights, we have to fight the big monster with our puny means as best we can. If we cannot hold meetings and speak to masses, we can each one of us speak to individuals. If we cannot use the mails in regular manner, we will have to disseminate the truth through other channels. We have to work out our own system of distribution of our papers and our books. Truth cannot always be suppressed, and woe to the servants of the evil spirit, when it finally dawns on all mankind.

Workers of the world, awaken! Speed up! Get onto the firing line! Attack the boss at the vitals of industry—on the job. That is what job organization means. Deeds speak louder than words, and hurts the enemy the most. Drop the past bandwagon tactics, and strike the enemy in the field—the lumber camps, the shops, the construction work, the mills. Those are points of production, and the vitals of capitalism. There is the place to line up new members, and where it will sting the boss the hardest. Work until it stings the boss, and releases our class-war workers from persecution, and from the prisons.—James A. Billings.

Life in Modern Russia

By N. Bucharin.

THE workers in Russia at the present time are better off than the middle class. All that the trade unions ask for is granted, as they are part of the government. Still the workers have not reached a higher standard of living than before the war. But socially, and in comparison with other classes, the workers' conditions are improved considerably. The hard-working people are *f. i.* privileged in regard to food rations, even if the numerous millionaires, which we have not yet had time to expropriate, are able to get all sorts of delicatessen in secret at high prices.

In the first categorie for obtaining of rations come those that labor in industry with their hands and the soldiers, in the second come soviet functionaires and intellectuals, in the third categorie, those that work only short hours, and in the fourth, those that do not perform useful social labor. The pariah-class is the majority of the old bourgeoisie and the expropriated landowners.

We are against the idea of the common, traditional political democracy. We are for class democracy. We want no parliament on the basis of universal suffrage, but on the basis of the politico-economic workingclass organs of power.

Of the great landowners and usurers there are now not many left on the old estates round the country. They are annihilated as a class, partly also physically, through the dictatorship of the peasant proletariat. The bourgeoisie also has ceased to exist as a class, their political power being crushed once and for all. They prefer to flee to Ukraine and Siberia, but part of the commercial capitalists still continue to exist in spite of legal impediments. Speculators who hide sugar and other goods in order to grab large fortunes, before turning their backs on the "fatherland," have been caught and sentenced in great numbers. In special grave cases they even have been sent into the world of mystics.

The middle class and the so called intellectuals disappear rapidly, unless they wish to go up into the new working class society. It may be added that the ranks of the contrarevolutionists to some extent is recruited from these categories in which bourgeoisie ideology is deepest rooted. To these social layers may also be counted the military officers who are financed by the grande-bourgeoisie to fight for the restoration of the old feudal privileges of the past—up to Novembr 1917.

The intellectuals are gradually understanding that going back to the old private capitalist order is an impossibility, and little by little they are de-classed or going over to us.

In the country the transfer of power has, on the whole, been slower. In some places big peasants are still in full flower, while in some places the medium big peasants are in most places a very compact mass.

The November revolution which in the cities was a real social revolution, did not in the country communities lead to a dictatorship of the poor, but meant the placing of the power in the hands of peasant estate as such. Only in the last few months has the dictatorship of the proletariat taken solid shape also in the country through the establishment of so-called "Committees of the Poor." The decree creating these committees was issued in July 1918, and by this time we are well on the way with them. It has been an easy matter for us to enter into co-operation with these proletarian peasant elements, who have no interest in driving grain prices up in the sky, as they have no grain surplus.

I shall not deny that we have done everything in our power to stir these poor peasants up against the big peasants and usurers. Against the middle big peasants we are not conducting any fight, we make peace with them with suitable concessions. Against all usurers the peasant proletariat is conducting a fight, that might well be called a war of extermination.

The big peasants have, through their large grain supplies, such a great economic power that they demanded the right to exchange grain for other merchandise pound for pound. They have nothing but contempt for paper money. They are also leaders in the various contra-revolutionary riots. We have had our Vendée insurrections with big peasants and all sorts of upstarts as leaders.

All this, however, is now a thing of the past. The dictatorship of the poor peasant class, the working peasants, is considerably stronger. With their aid the grainprovisioning of the cities is organized, so that we only to a small degree are compelled to send out expeditions to fetch what we need.

(Translated from "Solidaritët," Syndicalist daily of Denmark.)

Our real work is to educate the workers—when the workers understand that they are robbed and how they are robbed, the robbery will cease.

The main object of the supporters of capitalism is to keep the workers divided. As long as they can do this capitalism is safe.

We now have a government of the dollars, by the dollars and for the dollars.

Capitalism is digging its own grave but Industrial Unionism will conduct the funeral services.

No government has long survived the denial of the right of free speech and free press.

If you have brains, prepare to use them now.

The Progress of the One Big Union Idea

IF we take an inventory of modern movements or currents of thought, we must admit that there is none that has made such a rapid progress as THE ONE BIG UNION IDEA.

We do not exactly know when the expression "one big union" came into general use, but the idea that it signifies is, as we know, hardly more than a dozen years old, or as old as the I. W. W. The idea may have been expressed in various forms before, but it never before took enough root to become a world movement before now.

Beginning with the I. W. W. in America it spread to the other English speaking countries almost by the first steamer. For some years the idea has led a very strenuous life in America, as well as in Australia, South Africa, Great Britain and Ireland, but is now the predominating idea in the world of organized labor. What scanty news we have from Australia indicates that the "One Big Union" is sweeping the country, carrying everything before it, though not under the name of the I. W. W., which organization gave the impulse to it. The news from Great Britain, contradictory and unintelligible as they are after passing the censor, indicate that the great strikes during the last few months have had for their aim to unite the workers on a new basis, on the "one big union" basis, which is only another name for industrial unionism. Recent news from Russia indicate, that what the bolshevik government aims at is a society of industrial unionism or one big union. Dozens of other countries have adopted it. In the latin countries of Europe it is already strong under the name of syndicalism, which of late years has been gradually adjusting its theories to conform, more or less, with the one big union idea. Especially strong the idea seems to be in the populous and rich industrial area round the La Plata in South America. In Scandinavia and Holland the progress made of late years is equally remarkable. Besides the seeds of it are sown and germinating in countries hitherto practically unheard of in the annals of labor, f. i. Chile and Peru, where great strikes have already been fought under its banners.

As far as America is concerned its growth and increasing strength are a matter of present history, known to every intelligent workingman. Even the capitalist papers which only a short time ago announced our demise are now in terrorstricken unanimity howling because the I. W. W. is able to cause general strikes in two such large cities as Seattle, Wash., and Butte, Mont., as well as in the textile industry, strikes affecting many hundred thousands of workers. And it is all the time coming with new surprises. The latest of these surprises is that orange pickers and packers in California have voluntarily come into our ranks.

There is something uncanny in the "one big union" idea. It is loaded! Whenever the proper conditions for it exist the conflagration starts almost unexpectedly. If it were a pestilence or a dis-

ease, we should say that there is a bacillus not yet discovered by science that causes it.

Well, we will let the oother fellow worry over that question. For our part we rejoice in the victorious career of our idea, our organization. For every day that goes, greater masses are beginning to look upon it as their only saviour from eternal slavery. It is at this very moment sweeping over the Earth as a conqueror. In the world of ideas it is what Alexander, Caesar, Attila, Theodoric and Napoleon were in the world of men. It is a world conqueror. But unlike these renowned warriors, it does not gain its control by the force of arms. It conquers the brains of men, it makes their spirits its servants, willing servants ready, aye, happy to suffer unto death for it.

The future belongs to "The One Big Union." The new society is going to be a "One Big Union" Society.—J. S.

We take no interest in any proposition that to us means only a change of masters. We propose to become the masters of the world ourselves, through industrial organization.

The new society must first be built in the brain of the workers. Therefore, let us educate them to it.

Do not hang back. Get busy. Now is the time.

Is your industry organized in the I. W. W.? If not, why do you not try to get the organization work started? Get in touch with the I. W. W.

A people in revolution without industrial unionism is like a man with his arms and legs shot off before a well supplied table. Neither has the necessary organs for taking and holding.

Reconstruction—the desperate attempt of the capitalist class to get a firm seat in the saddle on the back of the kicking working-mule.

Next number of this Magazine will go to press not later than March 15th.

Contributors please rush their articles. We must have them not later than March 5th.

From the I. W. W. Book Department

THE KEEPER OF BOOKS

All day long I tread the path
Of endless, endless tasks;
Wrapping, tying, shipping
Books and papers—
That they may wend their way
(Pathetically, perhaps,)
Into the intellect of man.

Books! Books! Books!
White, brown and blue
And some are green
And others are scarlet
As of the blood of
One of our last martyred!

Little volumes, I say,
That contain the soul
Of rebel men and
Red-blooded women,
That voice the passion—

The love and hate—
Of man's iniquity to man.

And others that flash
The far-flung wants
Of the workingmen
With the revivifying
Glow of Idealism;
All, all of them portray
The splendors of a free world
Released from the bondage
Of the old.

Glimpsing into these worlds—
I'm crestfallen, smote by
The borders of my place;
Desire streams and fills
My blood with the wine of life
And the dream of deeds
Yet to be!

LOUIS MELIS.

As Other People See Us

The following is part of an editorial in "The Dial," a fortnightly magazine published in New York, issue Jan. 11, 1919:

Release Political Prisoners.

THERE are now in prison in this country several hundred persons convicted according to law on various charges, most of which may be summarized as obstructing the United States in the conduct of the war.

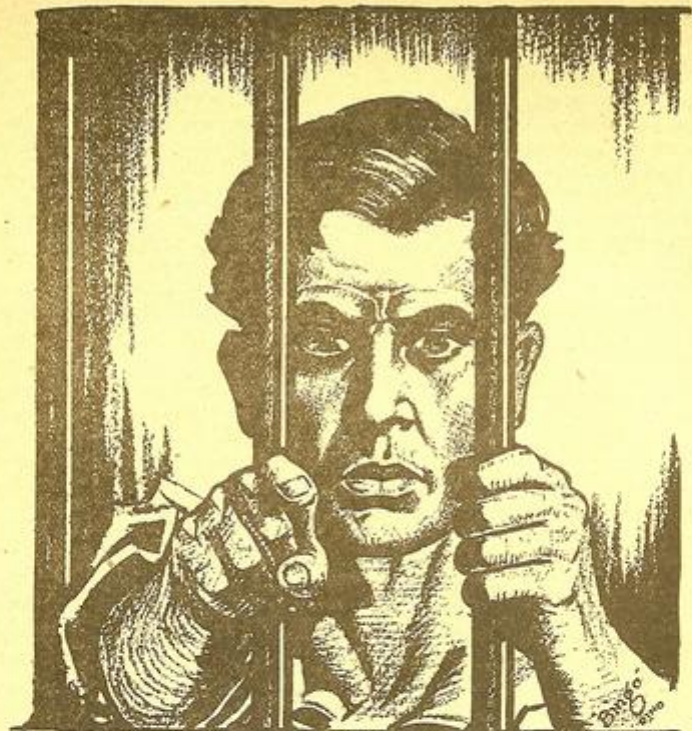
All of these persons were convicted in circumstances of popular excitement when the public mind was concerned with the question of national defense, and when, further, it may be noted, the individuals and interests which depend directly upon public opinion—the press, the politicians, the officials—were subject to the temptation to use this popular excitement for their own purposes—to profiteer in patriotism. The question whether those convicted had, or could have, a fair trial may therefore be raised. It has been charged that representatives of the Department of Justice and the Post Office Department interfered with measures taken in defense of the accused, notably in the case of the I. W. W. leaders convicted in Chicago last September, preventing the raising of defense funds, and intimidating witnesses. The whole effort of the machinery of justice and of public opinion has been to secure conviction—and too often the heavy sentence has revealed the judicial practice of registering patriotism in terms of the penal servitude of others. In view of the inequalities attending the administration of justice in these cases we demand the release of the prisoners.

There is another reason for the pardon of these political prisoners—one of which every American is aware, and yet of which he must speak with reserve. Granted that these men have made difficult the conduct of the war, that they have embarrassed the Government by diminishing confidence in its platform, they do not stand alone in their offense. It may well be questioned whether all offenders against the Espionage Act have done as much to shake the foundations of democracy as the advocates and prac-

tices of mob law who have pursued them. Granted that the I. W. W. leaders have been guilty of offenses as charged, it remains to be considered whether the net result of their damage to our institutions approximates that of the mobs at Bisbee and at Tulsa. If the Government found it necessary to punish with extreme severity in one case, it should have found means to do so in the other. Contrast the overzealous pursuit of the I. W. W. leaders by the Department of Justice with its tardy and languid proceedings against Sheriff Wheeler and the Bisbee deporters. The plea that no federal law exists to insure a citizen the peaceful possession of his life and property must seem to the victim of deportation an evasion when he sees the Espionage Act created to meet an emergency of another kind.

The United States is entering the Congress of Nations with a program of justice and freedom for all nationalities and of a better world for all mankind. Already it is clear that its strength in these councils is due to the support of democratic masses the world over. What better foundation for its work can be established than by an act of amnesty to release those whose imprisonment is a scandal and a rock of offense to democracy everywhere? Not a few of them fall beneath the law as the result of their efforts to plead the cause of self-determination in behalf of this or that nation whose claims will be considered by the world court—of Ireland or of Russia. What more striking evidence of belief in its own cause could our country give than to set them free? We look forward to a new world dominated by a league of free nations from which not even our late enemies shall be excluded. As the President has said, such a creation must depend fundamentally upon an act of faith in humanity. What greater token of faith can we give than by granting pardon even to those who have been against us in the struggle of nationalities, now happily concluded?

We demand as a matter of essential justice to our citizens, of faith in our historic democracy, and of loyalty to our own cause of a better world that our political prisoners be set free.



Remember!

A Direct Appeal to the American People

A Statement of the Sacramento Case

By A Silent Defense Prisoner.

ATACKS on the labor movement began in the early days of the war in California. In the fall of 1917 an indictment was returned which, while ostensibly aimed at the I. W. W., had for its principal charge, "the right to strike" clause. This read:

"The defendants are charged with having conspired to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate certain citizens of the United States by demanding stated wages and certain terms from the employers of labor throughout the United States, and unless the employers of labor will agree to pay the stated wages and agree to the certain terms demanded, the said defendants and the said persons with whom said defendants conspired would refuse to work for or give their services to the said employers and would engage in what is known in every day parlance as 'STRIKE.'"

It is very plain from the quoted paragraph that

this indictment included more than the I. W. W. However, at first there was no interference with the defense organized for this case.

The question of Fickert's recall had been agitated for some time, and an election set for December 18, 1917. About two weeks before the date of this election, the "San Francisco Bulletin" published a story to the effect that Fickert had arranged for a bomb to be placed under his house, at a time when all the family would be away from home. The chosen agent got drunk, however, and talked.

On the night of December 17th, early enough for the story to be carried by the morning papers, a bomb was placed under the residence of Governor Stephens in Sacramento. There was a violent explosion, but no one was injured. However, the real purpose was accomplished. The recall failed. Fickert was saved.

Immediately a group in Sacramento, corresponding to the infamous "Law and Order Committee" of the Mooney case, took control. It was headed by D. W. Carmichael, president of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, violently opposed to Organized Labor, and C. K. McClatchy, proprietor of the "Sacramento Bee," a newspaper which carefully imitates the Los Angeles Times. It was decided to take advantage of the charges of "disloyalty" then being spread by the press, and fix the explosion on the I. W. W. By doing this and connecting it with Mooney they hoped to aid Fickert while serving their own purposes.

The usual wild press stories were spread about. Threatening letters, like those which figured so greatly in the early days of the Mooney case, appeared. A large reward was offered. On the day following the explosion it was heralded as an "I. W. W. plot," though one inadvertently admitted that the tale told by the night watchman did not "hang together."

At this point an incident occurred which materially aided the new "frame-up." A young fellow named Hood, who had been working as a cook's helper at a construction camp, decided to go on a prospecting trip. He helped himself to three slabs of bacon and nine sticks of dynamite (apparently with the connivance of the camp cook), which he made up into a bundle and shipped by express to Sacramento, two days after the explosion at Governor Stephen's house. The camp cook, with an eye on the reward, notified the police that Hood was an I. W. W. and had dynamite. Hood was arrested when he called for his package, and the man-hunt began.

Hood's case, of course, had nothing to do with Labor. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been ignored. Hood pleaded guilty to illegal transportation of dynamite, but exonerated the boy arrested with him, Voetter, declaring that he had asked him to help with the bundle without telling him what it contained. In spite of Hood's statement, Voetter was convicted and sentenced.

Now Carmichael got busy. He ordered the police to arrest every I. W. W. they could find in the city, seize the hall, and imprison every man visiting the place for any purpose whatever. By nightfall thirty men were in jail. One escaped and telegraphed to San Francisco the news that was happening. After that a guard was placed at the telegraph office, and arrests made there also. By December 29th forty-eight men were in prison.

The Federal officials had been called in. Now Don Rathburn, special agent of the Department of Justice, notified Carmichael and his allies that he would not go on with the investigation, nor order the men held. He said that he had found nothing to warrant action.

Carmichael immediately ordered the police to hold all of the prisoners. The "Sacramento Bee" began publishing editorials openly urging lynching, declaring that if the National Administration was too weak in authority or too wanting in determination to act, then private citizens should secure the

desired result "by other than legal means." A "protest" engineered by Ray Benjamin, the "prosecutor" of Oxman, was sent to Washington, demanding that the men be held. On January 7th the forty-eight men then in custody were transferred to the Federal Court, and charged under the Espionage Act.

There were good reason for this. The dyanmiting trail was persistently leading in the wrong direction. Swanson was reported to have been seen in Sacramento the night of the explosion—the familiar Swanson of the Mooney fram-up. The night watchman, whose story would not bear investigation, had disappeared. Charges were openly made that Fickert and his friends knew more about that bomb than they cared to say.

On December 29th, Theodora Pollok, State Secretary for Defense, went to the city jail to bail out a member of the Defense Committee who had been arrested on the customary vagrancy charge. She was also arrested. The police claimed it was done on Federal orders; the Federal authorities denied it vehemently, but it took two days to secure her release on \$5,000.00 bail.

Theodora Pollok was the Executive Secretary of the International Workers' Defense League at the time of the Ford and Suhr fight. She was one of the first to come to the aid of Tom Mooney, and for many months served on the Executive Board of the present Defense League. This was now offered as evidence that she was "a bad lot," to quote the U. S. Marshal. She was told, "You have no legal rights. You murderers should not have any trials. I wish I were a German. I'd make you dig your own graves, line you up against a wall and shoot you." But on February 5th it was admitted that there was no evidence against her, or any other member of the defense committee, and Commissioner Krull dismissed the charge.

The prisoners held at Sacramento were being treated in German fashion. They were half-starved, forced to sleep on the concrete floor (in the middle of winter) and money sent for comforts disappeared en route. Food sent in by friends was placed outside the bars in sight of the famished prisoners and allowed to rot. A. L. Fox, State Treasurer for Defense, and Frederick Esmond, in charge of publicity work, sent telegrams to various U. S. officials protesting against this.

On February 8th the Federal Grand Jury returned its indictment, covering fifty-five. It included Theodora Pollok (whose case had been dismissed for lack of evidence), A. L. Fox, and Frederick Esmond. The overt act charged against the last two was the sending of the telegrams demanding decent treatment for the prisoners. It had become a penal offense to defend indicted labor men.

The threatening letters were revived, and efforts made to lay them to Theodora Pollok. Once again the trail led back to San Francisco. Handwriting expert Kytka made a report that must have sent cold chills down the prosecution's back. They dropped that charge.

On February 24th the Sunday papers announced a newly discovered arson plot. One Fritz Hager-

man, a "German agent," had burst out with a "confession." He had been hired by the I. W. W. to set fires, poison stock and terrorize the country generally. He had "lost his credentials," but declared himself and his mission well known to the entire organization. For one day it was a big story. Then Deputy U. S. Marshall Mulhall admitted that it was a fake. Hagerman's own story proved that he could not have been at the various places mentioned on the dates he gave. Mulhall stated that he believed the confession had been impressed on his mind, or was the result of insane fancies, and recommended his internment. No arrests were made at that time.

Fritz Hagerman is today held in the county jail at San Francisco and has been subpoenaed to appear as a witness for the prosecution in the case now pending. (This was written before the trial.—Ed.)

Now the publicity work was attacked. Evidently both Carmichael and Fickert were alarmed at the weakness of the case, and it was declared that Labor should hear no more of it. Frederick Esmond, who was in charge of this end, was arrested on March 9th, charged with being a "dangerous alien," and his deportation recommended.

Frederick Esmond is a member of Office Employees' Union No. 13,188. He is an English subject, a native of Canada, and a graduate of Oxford University. He, with Theodora Pollock, had aided in the Hop Pickers' defense, and, though seriously ill with heart disease, had come out of retirement to take up the fight for Mooney.

He was refused bail. Though \$1,000.00 was set as the sum, as soon as the bond was submitted, the bail was raised. When the amount reached \$20,000, the authorities admitted that if this was secured, \$40,000 would be asked. We have never succeeded in releasing him, though the Immigration Department has now returned his case to the Department of Justice, so that he might be tried at Sacramento.

He was not held at Angel Island, as are other prisoners of the Immigration Department. Instead he was returned to the city jail, thus placing him in Fickert's hands. His treatment during the seven months he lay there leads to the belief that the police, knowing the nature of his illness, intended to kill him by abuse. Most of this time he was held incommunicado, a writ of habeas corpus being necessary to secure him even the right to see his attorneys.

In June, Fickert, then attempting to secure the nomination for governor, made an attempt to use the Sacramento case to further certain private grudges and as political material. He suddenly announced his discovery of a "conspiracy," which included Simon Lubin of the State Housing Commission, Major Bascom Johnson, Frederick Esmond, and Ethel Lotar, the last an employe of the National Defense Council, who was charged with furnishing information to Esmond as an I. W. W. officer. The threatening letters were again resurrected, with hints that Ethel Lotar was the writer. Fickert was in the very act of presenting this "plot" to the

grand jury, when the Federal Government "budded in" and put a stop to his activities.

Federal interference effectively squelched Fickert, and, outside of petty police persecutions, there was a semblance of peace. The trial was postponed and postponed again. The Mooney case was set over till the elections could be got out of the way. Fickert tore up and down the state abusing Labor, but was defeated for all that. By a pretty political trick, the Democratic candidates were eliminated from the running and Stephens' re-election was assured.

The verdict at Chicago was rendered, and the enemy recovered courage. The arson whispers were revived. On September 9th a third indictment was returned, which charged twenty men with fire-raising. Hagerman's insane confession was brought in; other fires were unmistakably spontaneous combustion, due to imperfectly dried hay; and in many cases there was no doubt that the fires were set by farmers associations which had thus disciplined refractory neighbors. There has been a good deal of this sort of work about Fresno.

On October 5th the fourth indictment was returned. This consolidated the Sacramento and arson indictments, thus accusing many of the defendants with crimes committed after they were in prison. The Fresno "right to strike" indictment was eliminated, as far as charges went, though about half its defendants were transferred to the new indictment. Fourteen of the defendants on the arson indictment were held under specific charges; the remaining six were transferred to the conspiracy end. Twenty-eight of the original defendants had been dropped, and their places filled by others whose conviction seemed more desirable.

Here the case rests. The trial has begun. We must choose a jury from the very men who for the past year have been urging mob violence. The verdict is certain.

We cannot obtain justice. We know that at this minute our sentences have been decided upon. We know that vengeance will be wreaked on others as soon as these victims are disposed of. So we take a new stand. **We will not enter a defense. We will not hire lawyers. We will not summon a single witness. We will plead "not guilty," and thereafter hold our peace.**

Three have failed us in this,—Theodora Pollock, A. L. Fox, and Basil Saffores. These three have retained an attorney and asked for a separate trial. Their attorney has been repudiated by the remaining forty-four. "Your honor, we want it distinctly understood that this attorney does not represent us!" said Mortimer Downing for them.

The Mooney case has proved the uselessness of legal defense. Mooney had all that could be given,—in vain. Every cent we can raise will be spent in publicity, since we are convinced that not until Labor realizes the condition of things here, and by its united action forces a change, will any working-man have a chance of obtaining justice in California. We ask you to help us to tell Labor of the wrongs being committed against its brothers.

The Great Unrest

THERE is a law in physics that in a liquid any pressure is transmitted equally in all directions. The law seems in a way to apply to other things than liquids, f. i. the will of the workers.

During the war and the following period of so-called reconstruction pressure has increased all over the world, gradually, and finally reached a stage where the containing vessel, the workers mind, could no longer stand it, but broke out into action. In Russia, the already weakened vessel broke to pieces entirely. There the workers took control. The same in every other country. German workers overthrow the autocracy of old; Swedish workers talk rebellion so much that the scared government throw them a bone; the Roumanian workers chase their king around the streets and shoot him; English workers inaugurate the biggest strikes in the history of the labor movement; Argentine workers fight street battles in which 800 are killed and 5000 wounded, etc.

And, finally,, comes America. Continuing our illustration we might say that America had the strongest vessel with which to withstand the pressure. Its wide expanse, with a great variety of possibilities for young men, its tremendous resources, its great wealth which is being brought into play in great expenditures, all of it contributed to make this country the strongest country in the world to withstand the pressure of the war and its consequences.

That is why the war has so far made so little havoc here. Up-to-date we have to make note of only 4 strikes of any magnitude or any significance. In all four of them the I. W. W. plays a prominent part, if not the most prominent part.

But then, it would be hard to start any strike in these days where the I. W. W. would not play a prominent part. As our membership grows and expands, we become potent factors in nearly every industry of the country. Such is the strength of our position that in case of trouble the workers turn to us as naturally as a duck takes to water.

The four important labor events recording the warpressure are the general strike in Seattle; the general strike in Butte, Mont., and other mining districts of the West; the textile workers' strike, and the orange pickers' and packers' strike in Southern California.

The pressure is present everywhere almost to the bursting point, and there may be other important industrial explosions very soon. We call attention to the threat of a general strike in Illinois, on April 1st, engineered by the State Federation of Labor, in protest against the eventual passing of the State Constabulary Bill, and the imminent tie-up of the building trades in New York City.

It is not only low wages, long hours, insufferable working conditions and the extortions of the mercantile hold-up men that lie at the back of it. The workers are in a state of resentment against the powers that be, on account of the arrogant abuse

of power on their part. Millions of workers have no peace of mind and will have none, as long as thousands of workers or their friends of many years standing are in jail on absurd charges for 5-10-20 years. This pressure is on the increase, and unless relieved by the release of the prisoners it will no doubt finally result in the bursting of the vessel. Other millions are prepared for decisive action because of the unconstitutional tampering with their mail on a tremendous scale. Generally speaking, the workers are aware that there is a deliberate, concerted and systematic attempt on the part of the capitalist class, Wall street, and other upholders of predatory wealth, and their governmental tools, to curtail the liberty of the workers, and putting the shackles of slavery on them. Especially annoying to them is the abridgement of free speech, of free press, free assemblage, and the constant arrests of great numbers of active workers in the labor movement. All of these factors cooperate to create a situation, where the least cause is sufficient to cause a great conflagration. Deprived of every avenue of protest, of every other chance to express his will, the worker welcomes the chance to strike back at the capitalist class on the only field where he has any power, namely at the place of work, even though it implies sacrifices that he hardly can stand. The four strikes mentioned must be seen in that light.

Unless the capitalist class and the government make a complete backdown within a short time, this pressure is going to increase, well supported by an enormous army of unemployed, and an eruption is bound to come, for the same natural reasons that bring a volcano into eruption.

In an attempt to divert the attention of the American people from the real cause of the so-called unrest, the capitalist class are carrying on a most fiendish propaganda and persecution against "bolshewiki" and I. W. W. men. But here is an assurance to our persecutors that even if they killed every one of us, the unrest would continue, until the causes of it are removed. And what the causes of it are we have already stated.

A BOOK ON THE PRISONERS.

The I. W. W. has now under elaboration a complete record of the wave of persecution against the I. W. W. It will contain the outline of each case and such other information as may be pertinent. This book will be out soon. Do your best so that the prisoners also may be out soon!

Remember the Defense Fund. There are hundreds of cases to take care of. Address your contributions to General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill.

Every reader of this magazine should help to spread I. W. W. literature.

Butte in the Hands of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY.

I arrived in Butte Thursday. The big strike was just rounding out its first week. Everywhere the city stretched out before me, silent and tense. Throngs of slowly moving men shuffled along the streets or wavered in fluctuating groups at the traffic corners of Main and Park Streets. From time to time, uniformed soldiers, heavily armed, stalked past the groups or paused menacingly, until the crowds had dissolved. Over the city a sense of heavy restraint seemed to brood.

Above me, the snow capped mountains which ring the city, stood in a dead whiteness. The black pall of the working mines was gone. The mines stood dead. And all over the city, on lamp posts, on poles, on windows, on every house, I saw the familiar black and white of I. W. W. stickers. The general strike was on.

As I neared the headquarters of 800, I saw the streets black with swarms of men.

"It is the test fight for the copper miners," I was told by A. S. Embree, who is leading the struggle. "If we win here, we will have won all the metal miners of the west for the I. W. W." Other leaders echo the statement. The issue at Butte is the supremacy of the I. W. W. in all the mining camps of the west. Bisbee, Globe-Miami, Coeur d'Alene, Bingham, Ely—all the copper camps are awaiting the decision in Butte. Jerome has already forestalled decision and joined the general strike. But since the days of the old W. F. of M., the rule has been unbroken in the copper mines—as Butte has gone, so has gone the west. Victory in Butte will make No. 800 supreme.

But it is different—this strike—from any of our previous I. W. W. battles. For in Butte, the A. F. of L. unions stand behind us. Many craft unions have walked out in a sympathetic strike. They sit with the I. W. W. in a Soldiers' Sailors' and Workers' Council which functions as an advisory strike committee. They are working with us to create a complete general strike—and successfully, also. And the Butte Daily Bulletin, owned by A. F. of L. unions is the very soul of the struggle and its editorials are hot with the I. W. W. spirit.

The strike started with a wage cut. On February 6, the Anaconda Copper Company—bloated with its fabulous war profits—brazenly posted a notice of a dollar a day cut in wages. This was to affect all miners.

The news was like tinder to the slaves. The cost of living, high everywhere, in Butte was unbearable. A cut in wages spelled actual want. There was already a grievance rankling among them. Since the armistice, the company had been laying men off and discriminating against the rebels. The workers had already been swept by an agitation for a six hour day, in the hope that a reduction of hours would block unemployment. The cut in wages stiffened their determination and they decided to

fight on both issues. On the night of the 6th, improvised meetings were held in all the gathering places in Butte. There was talk of general strike. Everybody looked to the I. W. W.

For some months now, the I. W. W. has been master of the situation in Butte. It has outdistanced all competitors in its growth. Where, in 1917, it had entered the previous Butte Strike with a bare 700 members, now its strength had swollen to over 5,000. And the independent Metal Mine Workers' Union, which dominated in 1917, had shrunk from thousands to hundreds. In this hour of crisis, No. 800 recognized the opportunity to make its grand play for job control.

On the next morning (Feb. 7), the walkout began. At the Elm Oritu mine, they came out solid, only a single engineer from Moyer's deluded outfit, remaining underground. Trooping from mine to mine, they spread the strike. By the afternoon of that day, they pulled half the miners of Butte. They met in the I. W. W. hall and voted for a general strike without a dissenting voice. That night, they flung out their pickets and halted 80 per cent. of the night shift. And the same day, the independent M. M. W. U. were meeting in their hall and voting to join in the strike.

Saturday and Sunday saw the miners organizing their pickets. With clever strategy, the pickets were grouped in companies of 110, each captained by a uniformed returned soldier. Over 2,000 pickets were thrown out. Scarcely a scab got through. But the opposition began to show its teeth and 17 I. W. W. men were arrested.

Gov. Stewart now took a hand and sent in a company of soldiers. If they came to preserve order, they certainly must have proven disappointing to the good governor for their first act was violence. With drawn bayonets, they charged the pickets on Sunday and drove them from the hill. And under their protection, the Anaconda gunmen began to make their appearance.

Trouble came to a head on Monday. Spurred by the example of Seattle, the I. W. W. determined to tie up all Butte. Mustering 2,500 pickets, the strikers marched from the two halls on Monday morning—some for the mines and part of them for the car barns. Here they halted all street cars.

An undersheriff with a band of soldiers made his appearance at the barns. Coralling the pickets inside he declared them under arrest. Obviously, he had hoped to thus save the situation. But the street car workers themselves called his bluff. While he was busy with the miners, they gathered in another part of the barn and held an improvised meeting. They voted to go on strike, at least until their next union meeting, five days off. And all the incoming car crews joined in the strike and put away their cars. As each car made its appearance the miners roared out their applause. Baffled and enraged, the under-

sheriff and his soldiers walked away and the pickets, thus liberated, marched back to the hall.

All day long, the soldiers and the gunmen continued their 'rough stuff.' They patrolled up and down the streets, jostling the passers-by, breaking up groups and endeavoring to provoke a fight. Some of the strikers were attacked with bayonets and 8 pickets were stabbed.

In the evening, Major Jones, now re-enforced, raided the I. W. W. hall, driving everybody out of the office and clearing the strike meeting which was in progress above. John Kinnari, one of the most active 800 men was stabbed with a bayonet as he came down the stairs. His wife was arrested when she protested. But the raiders did not attempt suppression, and as soon as the soldiers left, the officers threw the headquarters open again.

After this Monday flare-up, the violence suddenly ceased. Most of the soldiers were withdrawn to the hill. There they blocked the pickets but the mines were already empty.

A. F. of L. crafts began to join. Besides the street car men—the electricians, the machinists, the blacksmiths, the structural iron workers, the molders and the I. W. W. local of domestic workers came out. Other unions began to consider the proposal. The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council passed a resolution instructing all the affiliated unions to join in the strike. The Metal Trades Council took the same action. Only the engineers held back. And now, it is announced that they will take a referendum vote tomorrow.

Perhaps the greatest poser of the strike to the plutes has been the unexpected solidarity of the returned soldier. Men in uniform have been the most aggressive strike leaders. On February 9, the Army and Navy Club, always a reactionary gang, held its regular monthly meeting. To the consternation of the junkers, returned I. W. W. soldiers filled the meeting, took advantage of their voting prerogative as returned soldiers, and passed a motion indorsing the strike by a vote of two to one. This squelched quite effectually the patriotic yelp which the A. C. M. C. was preparing to spring. In revenge, Major Jones and his men began to strip off the uniforms from discharged soldiers found among the pickets. And he issued an order barring the use of the uniform to all but active soldiers.

Another example of unexpected solidarity came from the newsboys. At the break of the strike, these loyal little fellows refused to handle the "Butte Miner," the "Butte Post" and the "Anaconda Standard," the three company organs. Now, only the "Butte Bulletin" can be bought on the streets. The boys have been threatened by police and chased by soldiers with bayonets, but they are not cowed. And whenever a boy attempts to break the boycott, the BULLETIN boosters are upon him in quick revenge.

At the present writing (Feb. 14), the city is filled with a dead quiet. Undoubtedly the company is laying its plans, but their next move is, as yet, unknown. Probably it will be violence. The streets

are swarming with the sinister figures of old time gunmen. And the A. C. M. C. has never failed to mobilize them into terrorism whenever the strike is already assured and no victimizing of leaders will halt the fight.

Strike rallies are held daily in the headquarters. Fellow Workers Harry J. Casey and John Loughman are holding the fort and shooting fiery propaganda into the crowds. Relief has already been organized and rations are being served at the I. W. W. hall. Contributions and assurances of support are pouring in. But it is necessary for the unions of the I. W. W., throughout the country to rouse themselves to the importance of the stake which No. 800 is battling to win. In a sense, the prestige of the I. W. W. throughout the western country, hinges upon the outcome. We need but one such striking victory as the winning of this battle, to give the One Big Union a primacy in this northwest.

Certainly, the power of the I. W. W. in Butte was never so great before. It has surprised and stunned the junkers. And with a daily press and command, they can no longer lie us into defeat. Probably, the first attack of the A. C. M. C. will be directed against the "Bulletin." Many of the opposition are crying for martial law. Of course, if the soldiers come, freedom of speech and press will be crushed out as in 1914. But against the action of the gunmen, the strikers are already prepared. A guard of fifty strikers watches the "Bulletin" plant every night. And equally as thorough are the precautions at the No. 800 office.

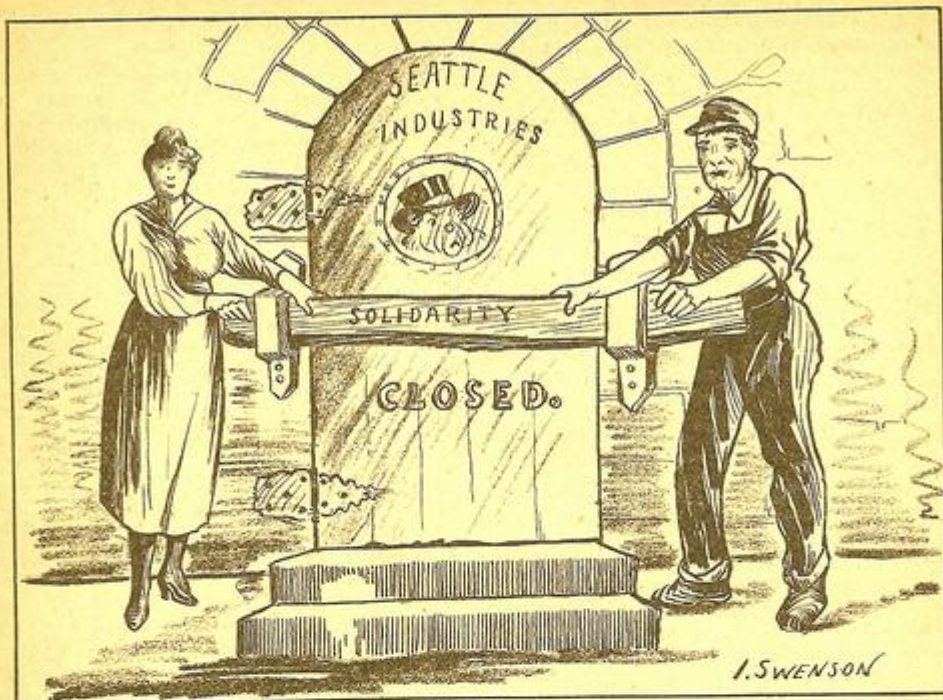
And so, regardless of the future, we can say that the I. W. W. stands here in Butte in the most significant of its struggles. The next chapter will soon come.

A Fellow Worker, member of the Railway Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W., writes: "Conditions are almost unbearable on the main line railway (S. P.) running through the state of Nevada. The men, long suffering, are beginning to grumble. Soon their muttering of discontent will undoubtedly take active form." Please tell the discontented, that workers all over the country want them to stop muttering. Time is past for that. Speedy action by the railroad workers is what they want to see.

If you have not got an economic program that you think is better than I. W. W.'s, we have no time to listen to you.

There are a lot of fellows that think they prove their solidarity by **boltering** for revolution. The sincere fellow he takes out credentials as an I. W. W. delegate.

Remember THE RELIEF FUND. Many hundred I. W. W. prisoners must have their small daily allowance. Their wives and children must be helped. Send your contribution to General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill.



The General Strike in Seattle

THE general strike in Seattle has come and gone. It is an important event in the history of working class struggles, and is well worth recording.

The trouble arose in the shipyards of Seattle and vicinity where the metal trades demanded a wage adjustment in their favor. The amount and the details do not matter to the general public, but here is a remarkable thing that is worth remembering.

THE SHIPPING BOARD HAS AGREED TO A CERTAIN PRICE PER TON FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIPS. THE SHIPPING BOARD IS PERFECTLY WILLING TO PAY THE SHIPYARD OWNERS A CERTAIN FIGURE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIPS, BUT DECLARES THAT SHIPYARD OWNERS SHALL NOT PAY ANY PART OTHER THAN SET BY IT TO THE WORKERS FOR DOING THE ACTUAL WORK OF BUILDING THE SHIPS CONTRACTED FOR.

This is an arrogant slap in the face of labor that could hardly result in anything else than a general strike as a protest demonstration, if the workers wanted to retain their self-respect and their manhood. And the workers of Seattle saved both, and the workers of the whole country thank them for it.

The strike began on Jan. 25, when 25,000 workers in the metal trades on board the ships went out.

Mr. Piez of the Emergency Fleet Corporation took the defiant stand referred to although the shipowners displayed some willingness to concede the point. On February 6, all the workers in Seattle, except some retail clerks, went out on sympathy strike and staid out till noon February 11th.

It was a beautiful show of solidarity, that warms the heart of every true workingman and working woman. Dignified and orderly throughout, with not a single arrest and not a single encounter with police and soldiers who, of course, were on hand with bayonets and machine guns, and the other paraphernalia. True, there were some raids in Socialist and I. W. W. halls and some arrests of their members, but these acts of repression were of a piece with similar persecution going on throughout the country simultaneously.

The mayor of the city was the only public person to misbehave. With the arrogance of a hired gunman he threw about him the most untempered and provocative utterances that were entirely uncalled for, threatening to hang or shoot anyone and everybody who made a move to overthrow the constituted authorities. As if the workers could possibly have had any such intention, even if there was good reason for it. But the workers refused to be provoked. They contented themselves with serving

notice on the ruling class, that such things shall not be, and proving to the workers of the country that a general mobilization of labor's forces is perfectly feasible when required.

The metal workers are at this writing still out on strike, and we do not know with what chance of success.

Thousands of I. W. W. men were involved in this general strike, and we do not hesitate to admit the truth of the accusation in the capitalist press that we were in a large measure responsible for this grand manifestation of solidarity.

Notice to Our Contributors

WE have not at all received the literary contributions that we had the right to expect for the first issue, but we are ready to accept your apologies this time, as the announcement must be in our hands about the first of every month, you on time to enable you to gather your thoughts to a decisive intellectual blow against the enemy of mankind. We are sure you will do better next time.

Please note that all copy of a general nature must be in our hands about the first of every month, while copy containing important news matter must be in our hands not later than the 15th of each month. If it comes later, we cannot use it for the current issue.

For details of the ever widening everyday struggle we have space only when such items serve as direct illustration of the general principles which this magazine should expound, but do not hesitate to send them in. You are apt to see them invisibly embodied in other articles. It is of such stuff that generalizations are made. Especially would we appreciate to be fed with pertinent newspaper clippings. Mark all clippings with name and date of paper. Write spaciouly, on one side of paper only. If you have a typewriter and carbon paper send several copies for distribution among the weekly papers. They may be able to use it. Help us in every way.

To the professional writers with a steady grip on the whole field of the social question, we direct an earnest appeal to get into action. No better opportunity has ever been offered you to enlighten the toiling and suffering bottom layer of humanity, for the I. W. W. is the bottom layer, and we assure you on behalf of those masses that your sincere efforts will be received with love and gratitude, the only payment you will receive for the present. The workers are now in a mind to digest the weightiest arguments in the realm of sociology. Not even writers of fiction should feel themselves barred, provided their contributions are relevant and treat of the one thing that now interests us, the struggle for a new society.

To all contributors we respectfully say, that all articles must be as short as possible and to the point.

We also solicit short and sharp paragraphs, witty daggers, and collections of small gems of wisdom

with which to adorn the monthly or the weeklies, with which we are in constant and intimate collaboration.

Finally, a word with the poets. We have already enough poetry on hand to cover 25 pages. All of it we must O. K. as far as intention is concerned, but only 2 or 3 pieces are of such merit as to make it possible to publish them. To be frank, they are technically deficient, and lack inspiration and poetic flight. The real bards of the great world revolution are as yet only in the making, it appears. By all means, send us poetry, and lots of it, but it must be of the kind that makes the world stop and listen in rapture, of the kind that inspires with invincible courage and spurs to immediate action.

If everybody will take note of the advice given above, THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY will be the greatest magazine ever published, and will find its way into every workingman's home, whether it be a house, a hotel, a tent, or a bunkhouse or the barracks.

Get a few subscribers for The One Big Union Monthly or the I. W. W. papers. From the seed you sow in that manner there will be a surprising harvest.

Unless the workers want to organize themselves into industrial unions with which to take possession, they have no right to scream "revolution."

To make revolution, to tear down the old social structure, without there is a new structure to move in to, is like sawing off the limb you are sitting on.

Your sympathy is all right, but unless you act it is no good to you or anybody else.

Was Butte a Defeat?

(Continued from page 27)

And so the strike ended as it began, without demands or formality. It has attained its purpose. It has been a national protest.

Never before, have I seen defeated strikers returning in such a spirit.

There was no repining. There was no gloom or broken spirits. They returned as they came out, strong in the faith of their I. W. W. union. And at the final business meeting, they signified their purpose by adding new delegates for the new campaign to organize the mines.

The keynote of the situation was sounded when Casey rushed to the footlights, at the final strike rally at the High School Auditorium, after the strike had been called off.

"Let's give three cheers for a 100 per cent. organization of the metal miners of Butte," he shouted. And the vast crowd rose and thundered back the cheers.

The lesson of unionism has been made plain in Butte by this strike. Even the craft unionists have read it. Craft divisions in the A. C. M. must end. The A. F. of L. bodies must give up autonomy. There must be One Big Union, for the craftsmen as well as the miners. And it will be along the lines of such a One Big Union that the future program of Metal Mine Workers' Union No. 800 is going to run.

The One Big Union Monthly Employment Bureau.

No Fee. No Fare. No Wages.

All will be paid with time check, cashable in the new society.

Help Wanted, Male or Female.

HIGH-FINANCIER, capable of acting as our Wall street correspondent. Only those familiar with this fountainhead of all devilry concocted against the people need apply. One who can show the readers of this magazine to what extent the foreign and domestic policies of this nation are directly traceable to Wall street.

POLITICIAN or LOBBYIST, familiar with the gum-shoe routes between Wall street and Washington, as well as other capitals, to lay bare the intimate connection between high finance and politics for the benefit of people suffering from politicomania.

NEWSPAPERMAN familiar with the methods of subsidizing newspapers, also to show just how, when and where the sources of knowledge are poisoned by bought-up news agencies and press bureaus. One who has a heart for those who believe everything they see in the paper.

LABOR FAKIR with long experience as a lieutenant of the capitalist class, to show the underhanded dealings between labor leaders and capitalists, in which working people are sold out and betrayed.

STATISTICIAN to give irrefutable figures showing the distribution of wealth, and proving that the working people are prosperous and the capitalist class about to go into bankruptcy. None need apply who is not an expert juggler.

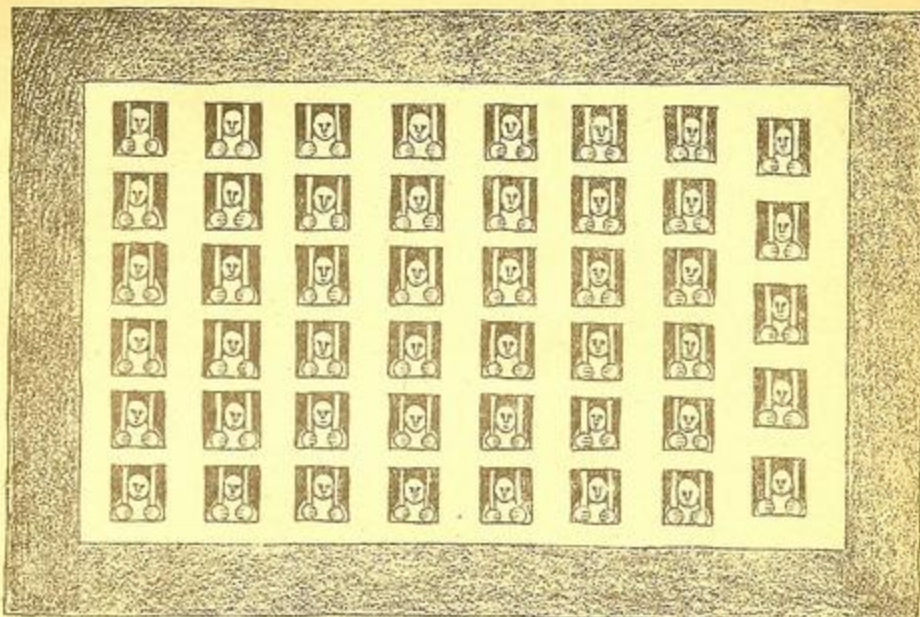
PRIEST or MINISTER to show the One Big Union family why our SOLIDARITY DOGMA is not superior to the ethical teachings of Jesus, Buddha or Mohammed, also to demonstrate the inside of the religion business, and where it is interwoven with Wall street.

LAWYER to demonstrate the equality before the law. This is for the special benefit of 5-600 I. W. W. prisoners who labor under the idea that they did not get a square deal.

DECENT Men and Women all over the Country to send the Editor of this magazine literary contributions, short and to the point, written with ink on one side of the paper only. Also interesting newspaper clippings.

ONE Million men and women to sell and take subscriptions for The One Big Union Monthly.

EVERYBODY who knows he would make a better Editor of this magazine than the present one, to send name and address. When sufficient names are in, to fill 200 pages in a book, same will be issued and sold for the benefit of our prisoners, entitled "Who's who in the editing business."



The Service Flag of California

The Sacramento "Trial"

By Amy Oliver.

SIXTY fellow workers slept on the cement jail floor without blankets for sixty-four winter nights. That was one of the incidents of the Sacramento I. W. W. case—before the trial.

Fellow worker Fred Esmond, close to death from heart trouble, was doped with strychnine, dragged from his bed in the hospital, handcuffed to another fellow worker and started off on a three-day trip in an ordinary chair coach without a bunk or bed. That was an incident of the same case—after the trial.

Between these came the "fair and impartial trial by a jury of their peers." This was the famous "silent strike" trial, probably the strangest ever held.

Well, it is over now. The silent strikers heard their sentences, and laughed as they heard them. January 17, and they are in Leavenworth penitentiary now, beginning to serve their sentences of two to ten years. Not all of them are there, however. Five were given sentences in the San Francisco County jail. Five others of the fellow workers originally indicted did not appear in court because—weakened by confinement and cold and poor food, one after another they died in jail. The mind of another gave way under the strain of persecution and he is now in an insane asylum in California. Five others, either on the indictment or

fearful of being placed on it, were even more unfortunate. The fellow workers that died, died game, using their last breath to urge the others to stand firm in the fight. But this other five heard how innocent men in Chicago were sentenced to serve twenty years, and they lost their nerve. Coutts, a young fellow the wobblies had tried hard to rescue from the life as a crook, had a record as a burglar that the Department of Justice knew all about. He admitted on the stand that he had been promised immunity from indictment if he would testify against his fellow workers, and he did it. Dymond had an army record that sent chills down his spine whenever he saw a uniform. Dennis had turned petty bourgeois and had a family and a profitable business. Weinberg and Schlieman were just plain scared. Their teeth chattered as they testified.

All five took the stand for the Department of Justice, and all five told flagrant lies. Dymond squirmed as he talked, his face the color of a beat, and he avoided the eyes of the forty-three men before him as the told of fires set by fellow workers that were in jail or in hospital at the time he had them applying the match. Schlieman's testimony was thrown out by records brought into court; Weinberg's and Denny's in the same manner; while Coutts not only contradicted Dymond's testimony but lied so obviously that Special Prosecutor Dun-

can felt it necessary to say to the jury that even if Coult had lied, the defendants should be convicted.

But of course it made little difference about the evidence. The jury had read in the newspapers about all the things the terrible I. W. W.'s had done, and besides, the very fact that the Government had had them arrested and brought to trial meant that they were guilty. If there had been any doubt in their minds, three or four of them went over the top for guilty when, in his opening statement, Duncan informed them it was disloyal to strike in war time and also that these I. W. W.'s believed in the brotherhood of workers, regardless of creed, race or color—even included the Japanese (and California farmers have not forgotten their fear of the industrious little Oriental.) A few more jurors made up their minds when the prosecutor read them the song about pie in the sky, an open attack on religion—and the rest became adamant when they heard the fateful words from another song—"and to hell with Farmer John." The jury was out sixty-five minutes, then brought in a blanket verdict of guilty for all on all counts.

The trial is over but the silent defense is not forgotten, nor can the three dramatic scenes of the trial be forgotten.

One of these was the arraignment October 8 when the men made public their decision to "can the lawyers." They had found that it was impossible for them to have a true defense anyway. The spirit of the Federal marshals and deputies in charge of them had been shown in incidents like that of the fruit and ice. In a Sacramento mid-summer, the fellow workers eating of beans and bread and drinking warm brown water longed for ice and fresh fruits. So they pooled their cash and gave it to the jailer to buy these things. He did—but set them where the prisoners could see but could not reach—and left them there until the ice melted and the fruit spoiled. The same spirit was shown in more important matters. When the prisoners wrote to a lawyer, their mail was held up. When they wrote Judge Van Fleet complaining about this, their letters were returned to them, never having reached him. They were not allowed to interview proposed witnesses except in the presence of Federal agents and whatever letters they wrote to attorneys or witnesses were read by the prosecution.

The arraignment was supposed to be an orderly court proceeding, run by the officials in their own way. But it became a Wobbly meeting instead. Everybody jumped up and talked at once. At last order came out of chaos, a chairman was elected, and while bailiffs and deputies, marshals and the like stood with bulging eyes, the Wobblies made their decision to have a silent defense, to hire no lawyer, to maintain a contemptuous silence throughout the trial and then "after conviction" to tell the masters what they thought of them.

Scene two of the drama came when the Wobblies were summoned to court, December 9, the opening day of the trial. A lawyer was there, hired by the

three fellow workers that refused to join the forty-three in their silent strike—the three that have given the masters the right to say that "the I. W. W. had a defense" although they had none. So for a time it looked as though the trial was to proceed in quite the usual way, with an attorney for the defense to question and challenge jurors and go through all the petty legal wrangling. Attorneys for the prosecution, relieved of their anxious uncertainty about this unheard-of "silent defense," smiled pleasantly again. The attorney for the three defendants asked for a change of venue.

Instantly Fellow Worker Mortimer Dowing, elected spokesman for the strikers for occasions when actual speech should be needed, sprang to his feet and shouted in ringing tones:

"Your honor, we want it clearly understood that this attorney does not represent us." That was all. Later in the day when the attorney for the three had challenged a juror and the judge had turned toward the silent forty-three with the question:

"Do the defendants not represented by counsel join in this challenge?" he was met by a steady though somewhat amused silence. For a moment the judge was at a loss. Then he recovered himself, and said, tactfully—"If there is no objection to the challenge, it will stand."

Through the twenty court days of the trial the Wobblies sat and read or yawned or took notes or thought—paying little heed to the trial except when something so flagrant that it was ludicrous came up—as when a detective testified about an ordinary wooden gavel taken from the Fresno hall that it was "a wooden mallet to drive copper tacks in fruit trees." At such times they laughed wholeheartedly. Many of those Wobblies were white as milk, some were painfully thin, dozens of them coughed almost constantly and some were clearly in pain. Yet there was not much of hatred or bitterness in the look of them all. They glanced contemptuously, often with amusement, at their prosecutors and the other officials, but not with personal venom, rather as if they recognized in them the tools of an enemy class, poor tools no better and no worse than any others. It was more as if these wholesome, mentally broad, kindly-spirited Wobblies were sitting there forgetting the present in their dream of a better future they were helping to bring to pass. Their glance and their laughter were good to see and hear.

Most stirring of all was the final scene in the vault-like old Sacramento court room, on the morning when the men came to hear themselves sentenced, and cut loose from their long silence to tell the prosecution and the world in general what they thought of it. They all stood, shoulder to shoulder, while one after another for the space of two hours, stepped forward to say his say.

Mortimer Downing was first with his determined, "The I. W. W. has taught and will go on teaching that the worker shall control industry and tell the boss when and how and in what manner he will work." He assailed the prosecution, the witnesses, the quite evident perjury so pointedly that Dun-

can's neck turned purple. After little Freddie Esmond, the man the others had thought would not live through the trial, had attacked "these perjurers" even more definitely and scathingly, Prosecutor Duncan could stand it no longer. He stood up and wailed to the judge:

"Your honor, they are turning this court into a Wobbly meeting. I assure your honor that not one witness I put on the stand perjured himself, not one. I—" but the judge shut him up and the Wobblies went on. Eleven of them spoke in all, some of them saying just a sentence or two.

"I am a workman, and this is the first speech I ever made," said Frank Elliott, but I want to express my supreme contempt for the whole pot gang."

Phil McLaughlin said his say:

"We did not expect justice. Give us all you can. We'll do the same to you when our turn comes."

Then the sentences were read, the forty-three laughed, and they filed out, each striking up as he crossed the threshold:

"Hold the fort, for we are coming!
Union men, be strong!"



International News

IF a polar explorer were to return to-day after a 5 year-absence in the arctic regions, and if he, dying with curiosity, were to ask you: "What are the news of the world?" What would you answer?

You would answer: There has been a great world war that has cost 10,000,000 lives and 250 billions of money. There has been a great, big red revolutionary wave sweeping over the whole earth. All kaisers, czars and emperors are gone in Europe, about half a dozen kings, and about a dozen or more of lesser princely potentates. In the bigger part of Europe the last remnants of feudalism are swept away, and in the other European countries the thrones are tottering, and century-old institutions crumbling to pieces. Even the bourgeois republics stand on the verge of revolution.

After your arctic friend had recuperated from this shock, you would probably tell him that not only are feudal institutions being swept off European soil, but some of the institutions of private and collective capitalism as well. That in some countries that process had already gone quite far, as in Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Germany, Austria, and that the same change is impending in other countries.

By this time your friend would be thoroughly aroused, and he would gasp: "Has—has Socialism come?"

What would you answer?

You could not say yes, and you could not say no. You would probably have to say: It is mostly the socialists of different colors that are doing it, but

so far we have seen very little of the "co-operative commonwealth," even if some countries call themselves "socialist republics."

How is that? your friend would ask. Have the socialists fooled the people?

No, not exactly that, you would say, but it will be a long time before the peoples can have any pleasure of their socialist republics. They have overthrown the old rulers, and have gotten the old order of things upset. And a good thing it was, for it surely was a bad order. But there is one thing they forgot. They forgot to put up a new house, before tearing down the old one, and now they are in pretty bad shape without a social roof over their head.

People begin to see now how foolish they were when they pushed the I. W. W. program away from themselves. The I. W. W. men and women have now for a dozen years been dinning into our ears to "put up the frame work of the new society within the shell of the old," so that we would have something to move into, when the rotten old capitalist shack went up in the air. But here we stand with the shame, and without a house, except what little we have allowed the I. W. W. and the Syndicalists to build for us, and that is not much. I feel so ashamed of myself, that I hardly dare look an I. W. W. man in the face.

What new houses are you speaking of? your friend says.

Well, you see, the I. W. W.'s have advised the workers to quickly get together before the storm

they saw coming, and regroup or organize themselves into industrial unions, so that they would have something with which to take over production and distribution when capitalism could no longer deliver the goods. The call their social house **The One Big Union**, and that is what the workers should have had in every country, and production would not have stopped for a moment, when capitalism went down, and there would have been no suffering.

But I shall start to give you some details, as far as I can. What I give you will be glimpses of the picture I have in my own mind of the international situation, but this picture is very apt to be ludicrously distorted in places, being that it is put together largely from the news in the American capitalist press.

There is a strong censorship, and only such news are let through as are favorable to the manipulations of the highfinanciers and their tools in the governments of the various countries.

Here in this country they are now trying by all means to stop I. W. W. and so-called bolshevik agitation, and for that reason they are excluding all encouraging news, and what little is gotten through is garbled, so that we may have a very queer conception of the very things we feel cocksure of. As far as the Russian news is concerned, it is largely edited and inspired by Rothschild and the Paris bankers, as well as Wall street here in this country. They all want war with the bolsheviks, because they refuse to pay the czar's old debts, amounting to several billions of dollars. But as you will have noticed, if you have observed a big liar for a number of years, when you get used to his method of lying, you can pick the pieces together and get pretty near the truth.

Russia.

Beginning with Russia, I want to first refer you to a couple of other articles in this number: "Is Wage-Slavery Abolished in Russia," and "Life in Modern Russia," the latter article being written not by a traveling correspondent, but by a fighting bolshevik. The Bolshevik government has complete political control over a wide area, partly by denying citizen privileges to non-workers, partly by disarming the same people and arming the revolutionary workers. This is what constitutes the dictatorship of the proletariat. This political control the bolshevik government seems to be extending for every day. Their troops are lately victorious on all fronts, except on a small section in the Baltic provinces. Like the Arabians over a thousand years ago, the bolsheviks are saving mankind with the sword. And be it recorded that wherever they come the poor greet them with tears of joy, while the parasite class generally flees in terror.

Whatever we may say about the bolsheviks and their revolution, one thing seems sure, and that is that they have practically completely overthrown and exterminated the exploiting class, leaving the poor workers masters of themselves, to get along as best they can. This does not seem to be such a great boon from an economic viewpoint, what-

ever it is from a libertarian viewpoint. Neither agriculture nor industry seems as yet to have become organized properly, though they may be on the right road, the road of industrial unionism, according to Lenine's own statement.

We have cause to feel a little uneasy about the Russian agricultural situation, because we have been in the habit of getting millions of bushels of grain from the Volga plains, and mankind cannot very well get along without it, being that the population is increasing so rapidly. It is to be hoped that the Russian peasants, now that they are free, keep in mind that we are hundreds of millions who have no soil and can get none, and still we are feeling as useful to mankind as themselves.

Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria there was a popular uprising that swept away czar Ferdinand and a good deal of other things besides. News are kept back from Bulgaria for some reason or other, so there is nothing to be gathered from the press recently, but from well informed Bulgarians the Editor has personally learnt that the revolution was largely political, that one or two socialists got into the cabinet, and that it is now seriously considering to restore the monarchy. The nearness to Russia, exchange of products, the racial relationship and some similarity of language will probably in due time pull Bulgaria in the wake of Russia.

Roumania.

The Roumanians had their little kinghunt the other day. The papers state that the king was shot and seriously wounded. The uprising that gave start to this hunting party is said to be more deeply rooted in bolshevism than the corresponding affair in Bulgaria.

Finland.

Then we come to the awful tragedy in Finland. Here the revolution was crushed with the aid of German troops, one of the last ghastly deeds of the big criminal on the throne. Briefly told, the story is this: 13,000 workers killed in revolutionary battles; 10,000 red prisoners shot; 10,000 red prisoners dead in jail from starvation and misery; total 33,000 of our friends murdered; 44,000 put in jail for from 1-20 years. About 1,000 labor temples confiscated or destroyed. All organization broken up. Now that the German troops are withdrawn, the Finnish "white guard," as these blackguards call themselves, are awaiting Nemesis, in the meantime perpetrating all the dastardly deeds that they can. In Finland, as everywhere else, conditions have changed so that private ownership will no longer satisfy the people's needs, so Nemesis is apt to take charge soon.

Austria-Hungary.

As we all know the realm of the old Habsburg dynasty has fallen to pieces after more than 6 centuries of iniquity. The German element, about 8,000,000, want to join Germany; the Magyars have made an independent Hungary; and the Slavic portions of the empire have gone up in their re-

spective ethnological units, Checko-Slovakia and Jugo-Slovakia. News from these parts are strongly censored, but recently we learned that the bolsheviks of Vienna are planning an armed revolt against the present government. They are reported as being about to deliver an ultimatum to the government, demanding that it immediately turn over the power to the communist leaders. Should they be successful we may expect that they will carry out the same economic program as the bolsheviks of Russia. As neither of the Austrian countries has the workers organized industrially, they have no organs ready with which to take possession of production and distribution. That is why they have to threaten with bloody battles. If they had industrial unions, the present government would be hanging in the air, where it could be left to dry in the sun.

Germany.

In Germany the people united in overthrowing the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty and the junkers. The remaining syndicalists and the bolsheviks, of course, were those who bore the brunt of the battle, but Social Democracy was too strong for them. Gradually the social democrats have gotten control and elected their leader, Ebert, president of the New German republic. As you will know the social democrats have no fixed economic program. What they wanted was political jobs for the leaders. Social democracy has little to offer the workers. Probably there will be government ownership to a larger extent than before, but wage-slavery is not abolished in Germany, nor will it be before the German syndicalists gain the upper hand. Having murdered the bolshevik leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the social democratic leader will now try to settle down in the soft places on top and rule the people with an iron hand.

The German syndicalists took the first shock when the war was declared. Many of them were shot, their papers were immediately suppressed, and their "traitorous" organization broken all to pieces by junkerdom. They showed up several times during the war, notably in Kiel mutinies and, of course, in the revolution. And they are showing up yet in the manner we have reason to expect. With their hands unstained, they recently sent out a manifesto to the world's workers, calling upon them to join hands in a last, determined attempt to establish a world society of industrial communism. They have now remodelled their organization, and call it "Allgemeine Arbeitervereinigung, Address Fritz Kater, Kopernikerstrasse 25, II, Berlin, O, 34, Germany. Their new paper, "Der Syndikalist," is published at the same address.

When the Ebert government shall have collapsed for its inability to solve the social problem, it will with necessity be the program of the German syndicalists that will be the salvation of the German people.

Holland.

Repeatedly we have seen notices that the "revolution" in Holland was imminent, that the government could not hold out much longer. The syndi-

calists of Holland, the only ones with a workable economic program, are not numerous enough to take control, though they seem to wield a great influence in some cities. The people of Holland seem to be as stubbornly opposed to industrial organization as the people of other countries. Those that own property, even if ever so little, are anxious to keep it, though the heavens fall down upon them and destroy everybody.

Sweden.

Sweden has been having some lively times lately. The bolshevist agitation was so persistent, that the coalition government of social democrats and liberals was compelled to throw a bone to the workers. Only a bone though, containing no nourishment. They extended the suffrage to men and women without any limitations whatsoever, except the age limit, and promised "legal enactment of the 8 hour day later." The politicians knew that the workers were about to take the eight hour day, so they thought they might as well get in and get the honour and credit for doing it. The workers, knowing the value of the promises of politicians, went right after what they wanted. Big strikes have been in progress of late, notably the great sailors' strike, and now recently the railway workers strike, which tied up 19 railroads in the southern part of the country. All of a sudden news about the labor situation has been cut off. Our friends, the Swedish syndicalists are doing well, expecting to have a daily paper very soon.

Denmark.

Social democracy is firmly entrenched in this country. The social democratic leaders have done their revolution, and they do not want any more changes than they can help. Should the workers get control, they would be the losers, so they fight the workers in conjunction with the police. At the recent demonstrations in Copenhagen 20,000 workers stormed the exchange and threatened the royal castle. Unemployment and hunger were the main cause. As a proof of the temper of the crowds it may be mentioned that they broke the windows in the house of the paper "Socialdemokraten," where the police were quartered and got refreshments between the attacks on the workers. About 300 workers and 100 police were injured. The Danish Syndicalists issue a daily and a weekly paper. The editors of both are in jail.

Norway.

Since the spectacular event some time ago when the Norwegian syndicalists captured the Social democratic party and drove most of the old leaders into oblivion, there has been nothing of importance to record, except steady progress.

Great Britain.

The events in England are of great importance. In the strike of the last few weeks several hundred thousand men have been engaged, and negotiations are now pending involving 1,500,000 workers. Among them are 800,000 coal miners asking for 6 hour day and 30 per cent increase in wages. The English situation is full of possibilities.

Ireland.

Ireland has declared its independence and has had for weeks a strike in Belfast that is one of the most notable affairs in labor's history. The workers took complete control and supplanted the civil authorities.

The English government has interfered in every important strike district and driven its war tanks through the streets, but there is one thing in these English and Irish strikes that no war tank can efface namely that these strikes have had for their aim among other things to remodel the old unions on an industrial union basis for the purpose of taking over the industries.

France.

France is full of armed soldiers. The labor movement is awaiting its chance. In the mean time reports are constantly reaching us of an increasing radicalism in all places. Jouhaux, the secretary of the C. G. T. is now considered too conservative to speak at labor meetings. The French workers are gathering thought and power for the coming conflict, and so are the workers of Italy. As they are largely syndicalist in both countries with the word "take over" in their program we may hope for good news.

Spain.

The Spanish radicals in the Northeastern corner of the country chose a novel way of making revolution. They separated from Spain to the number of over 2,000,000 and formed a republic of their own. Of their later fate we have no dependable information.

South America.

In Buenos Ayres and Montivideo there were revolts by the syndicalist organizations of trainmen and harbor workers and other bodies. The strikers or rebels held control for some time. About 800 were killed and about 5,000 wounded.

In Peru a general strike of some 30,000 workers for the 8 hour day was successful. Great strikes are also reported from Bolivia and Chile.

Australia.

From Australia we learn that "The One Big Union" idea is gaining ground at an unheard of rate. On January 11 a congress was to be held in Melbourne, and interesting news are due by first mail.

There we have the red revolutionary wave in a sketchy outline.

The great economic upheaval is yet to come.

The Chicago Trial

The story of the great I. W. W. trial in Chicago has just been received from the printer. This book is by Harrison George, who is known as a master of the English language. The trial lasted four and a half months, and there were many dramatic moments during its course, yet the author has sketched them with faithful accuracy.

George was one of the defendants in that historic trial, and is now serving a term of five years in Leavenworth as a result of the verdict. As the work was written during the trial when every point was fresh in mind, the author has succeeded in making every page throb with life, and portray such a composite picture of the battle between the workers and the paid retainers of capitalism as is seldom equaled. Yet though the view was at first hand, there are none of the non-essentials that authors so frequently write into history. Every point in its 205 pages is vital.

This book is one that every worker should read, as it shows the forces that were aligned against each other in the stupendous efforts of the industrial masters of America to break all opposition to their game of robbery. The price is 50 cents per copy, postpaid. Orders and remittances should be sent to

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

If a person screams "revolution" and does not want to organize a new society right now, look out for him. He is an emissary of politicians, or capitalists, or both; or he does not know what he is talking about.

The Orange Pickers Strike

From way down in Southern California, the land of sunshine, fruit and flowers, come the inspiring news that these downtrodden migratory workers have asserted their dignity as human beings, united for common action and taken up the battle for human progress against organized oppression. According to last information in our hands about 2000 orange pickers and packers are out on strike in Azusa, Charter Oak, La Verne, San Dimas, Pomona, Monrovia, San Gabriel, Durate, Glendora and other places around Los Angeles.

The strikers have organized themselves into "Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W.," which fact is significant of their spirit. Small as the strike is in numbers we consider it of importance as an indication of what we have the right to expect from the I. W. W. spring drive in this year's harvestfields.

The strike has already developed some spectacular features, among which is the deporting of 40 Russian workers in an auto truck, followed by a cavalcade of armed ranchmen and professional gunmen.

The strikers are mostly English speaking, but a considerable numbers are Mexicans and Japanese, who seem to take to the I. W. W. just as well as the native American workers alongside of them.

Here is hoping not only that they will win, but that the whole of that part of the country will fall in line before this year is over.

When capitalism can no longer deliver the goods, Industrial Unionism will have to take its place.

The Artist at The Cross Roads

By DUST

The greatest attraction my business had,
Apply all your talent with patient care,
Make this a masterpiece that none will compare!
Put forth your genius in rythm and zest
That the world may know my goods are the best."

"And when you have finished this picture grand
Against the blue sky your work shall stand,
Beyond a meadow, on some quaint hill
Where the quest of a buyer its sight will instill.
Paint me this picture," the patron sighs
"And my profits will head to the skies."

"I know what you seek," the artist replied,
"I learnt when I starved and almost I died.
You with your slogan: buy or sell
Have made of this Earth empoverished hell
I will paint your damned picture," the artist said,
"But I will paint it in scarlet red."

A Voice From the Past

The Story of the Spartacus Rebellion in Ancient Rome

Told by GUST. ROHRBACH

Card Number 247770

The bugler called us again to the fray
Some to victory and some to our doom
To satisfy the lust of blood
Of the master class of Rome.
We stood out on the Arenas sand
Drawn up in battle array,
With hearts beating high and muscles tense
While the crowds were cheering and gay.
They had come to see us fight and die;
They had come to see slave kill slave,
But to-day was the day we had set to try
To gain our freedom or grave.
Well were we trained in the use of arms,
And greatest of all was Spartacus
Who now was to give the word
To lead us to freedom or lead us to death,
And we stood like hounds on the leash
Eager to see our weapons turn red,
To cut soft patrician flesh.
And the signal came, we scaled the wall,
We scattered Caesar's clan.
The mercenaries they flung in our way
Could not fight us man to man.
Many of them had to dies that day
Before we reached the open field
For masters beware when you teach the slave
The use of sword and shield.

We gained our freedom, our numbers grew;
Slaves came from far and near
Deep scars on their backs and hate in their hearts.
They never showed mercy or fear.
We gave no quarter, expected none,
As we fought the legions of Rome.
And the victors of battles of Egypt and Gaul
At the hands of slaves met their doom.
Spartacus led us, beloved by all,
By men of each color and race,
Blond barbarians and Nubian blacks
And men from Greece and Thrace.
For it mattered not where a slave was born
Nor the color of skin and hair.
If he bore the scars of shackles or lash
We asked him not when or where.
Their bodies were hard from relentless toil,
They gripped swords with calloused hand.
And woe to the veterans of hard campaigns
In many a foreign land
For we fought for the greatest of Man's Ideals
For freedom of body and mind.
Picked legions deserted when led against us
And we jeered at them and their kind.
But they gathered their armies from everywhere
Where Roman eagles stood
And they swore they would drown the slave revolt
In a sea of Roman blood.
For days we fought and held them at bay,
But their numbers were too great.
We faced them, hemmed in by the sea
In a battle of life and death.
Spartacus fell and thousands of us
Died on this day so black.
But there was not one of the dead of the slaves
Who died from a wound in his back.
Hundreds of us were brought down and disarmed
And to Rome in bonds we were led.
Oh! the misery of being a slave again
Denied a freeman's death.
They marched us in chains through the streets of Rome
But our heads were proud and high
For we knew that all they could do to us
Would be to make us die.
And they led out to the Appian way
Where crosses were waiting for us,
And we all were glad they had lost their chance
To crucify Spartacus.
They drove the nails through our quivering flesh
And they left us hang to die.
Our cause is lost and the masters no more
Will fear our battlecry.
But our spirit will undefeated march on
And ringing through centuries of time
Our message will go to the slaves of the Earth
In every land and clime:
Throw off your shackles and break your chains
Unite and fight for your right.
Stand shoulder to shoulder all over the World
To crush the master's might
Till you gain the World from those who toil.
But mark ye, remember us,
Remember the fate of the slaves of old
Who fought under Spartacus.

Some Items from the Butte Strike

FELLOW Worker John Korpi, members of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. who has just come down to Chicago from Butte, stepped in to our office for a few minutes, and we took the chance to ask him about the strike.

In addition to the news contained in other articles in this issue, Fellow Worker Korpi gave us a few interesting items.

At his last report the Workers Council had seated 65 delegates from 25 different unions.

The Southern Cross mine, near Butte, employing 2-300 men had closed down completely, even the pumps.

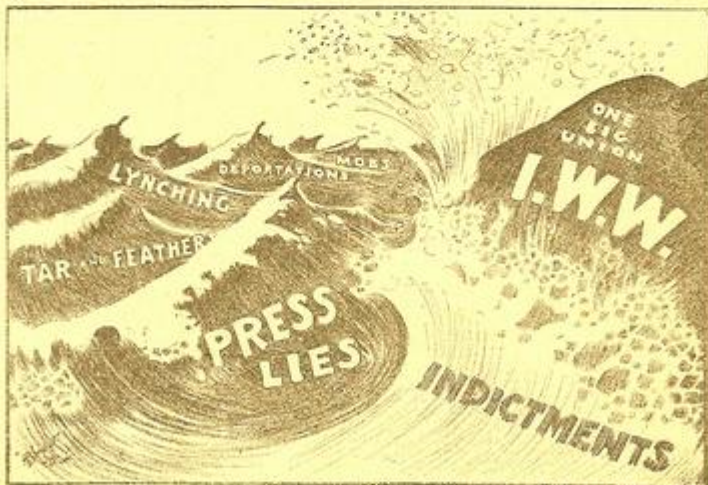
In Great Falls the unions had unanimously endorsed the Butte strike. The strike is spreading to other parts of the state. The Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly sent 25 delegates to the Workers Council in Great Falls, and The Great Falls Councils has sent 2 delegates to the Council in Butte.

The Jerome strike is 100 per cent. effective. The miners unions from all over Arizona, (Miami, Globe, etc.) have sent delegates to the Workers Council in Phoenix. There are Workers Councils in most cities in Arizona.

The newsboys struck in Butte to help the miners. This put the three company dailies out of business on the streets. The papers were sold by police officers with very few takers. The only paper going was the I. W. W. paper, The Butte Daily Bulletin, which appeared with a morning and evening edition of together 24,000 copies, containing the workers' side of the story; that is, the truth.

When the bakers and butcher wagon drivers went out, the question arose, how to feed the people. It was decided to take care of children and of the sick, and, of course, of the strikers, but not a mouthful for the enemies of the miners. "They can starve," was the decision of the meeting.

In Butte the returned soldiers were soon penniless and hungry. They went to the Red Cross and to the Y. M. C. A. and asked for relief, but were told there was none to be had. Then they went to the mining company, and they fixed them up—in usual style. They got the Hotel Florence for the destitute soldiers, who were told to go ahead and eat and sleep, but—they must join the militia, or get out. When the strike came, they were told to go and scab, but they voted by a great majority to stand by the strikers.



The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY.

CHAPTER ONE.

LABOR REACHES A CRISIS.

AT the beginning of the 20th Century, the American working class found themselves confronted by new and immense problems. Startling changes in their economic status had occurred or were pending. The comfortable complacency which had been bred by years of static labor conditions was assailed by new and menacing developments. Traditional attitudes were being shattered. New relationships were shading off the working class into a myriad of divergent groups. Class feelings and class consciousness were looming large upon the horizon.

The American labor movement had always been uniquely American. It was the spontaneous outgrowth of native conditions. It had been singularly free from those waves of labor unrest which had so frequently swept over Europe.

The great change which first began to be apparent in the opening years of the 20th century was the outgrowth of four simultaneous influences.

Two of these influences can be roughly grouped together. They can be indicated as the sudden crystallization of labor into a class by the absolute limitation of opportunities for the worker to rise out of that class. This arose, first, from the exhaustion of western land, second, from the development of the trust system. The third factor was the development of machinery, the fourth was the influence of immigration. When we have examined and understood the significance of those four great industrial influences, we will understand why labor, at the opening of the 20th century, was ripe for a great experiment.

Class consciousness, as it existed in Europe, had always been unknown in America. Labor had never been imbued with the feeling that it represented any fixed and definite layer of American society. In the American point of view, every laborer was a potential capitalist. Equal opportunities, in theory at least, placed all upon the same level. The harshness of class distinctions was softened by the impermanence of these classes. The worker of today might be the plutocrat of tomorrow. To the American worker, wagedom may have been a prison, but it was a prison whose doors were always ready to swing open to independence.

The most immediate mode of escape from the factory was the opportunity to go upon the land. The great uncultivated wilderness of the west had always been the safety valves of the labor movement. They were antidotes against hopelessness. Were wages low and conditions desperate in the factory,—the worker needed only to join one of the numberless caravans of pioneers and migrate to the west. There, he found land, rich in fertility and unlimited in abundance, his for the taking. From the servility of factory life he was transformed into the independence of a proprietor of land and the owner of a homestead. All this was his, merely by changing his residence. Small wonder then, that the worker of previous days sought the solution of his labor problems, not by remaining and organizing upon the job, but by abandoning the job altogether.

So long did this wave of western migration persist, that it became ingrained as a fundamental feature of economic life. It stood athwart the progress of any movement toward class consciousness. It was a sure and automatic relief in the crises of unemployment. So boundless was the

acreage of the west that none anticipated the day when it would be exhausted. But the limit came. The unbridled piracy of railroads and land speculators had something to do in hastening that day. But it would have come inevitably, sooner or later. The final chapter in this great pioneering romance was written with the partitioning of the Indian Reservations and culminated in the settlement of Indian Territory in 1906. But the limit had already been gauged within bounds, years before that date.

With the exhaustion of free land, the greatest gate of opportunity was closed to American labor. This influence, alone, did more to stabilize the working class than all other influences combined. So long as land was plentiful, class consciousness was impossible. Every worker found a solution for his labor problems in an individual rather than a social means of escape.

The second limitation of opportunity which suddenly gripped the working class was similar in its effects. The close of the 19th century saw the final destruction of all small-scale production. It is unnecessary to go into this subject in detail. It has been adequately covered in numberless treatises. The small partnership had given place to the company, the company to the corporation and the corporation to that gigantic product of our times, the trust. All competition in industry was ruthlessly crushed. Between the millstones of monopoly, the small producer was squeezed to death.

From time immemorial, the worker had been spurred to efficiency by the hope that some day, he could enter business, himself. The guild age passed this instinct down to the early years of the capitalistic era. The ambition to rise from the ranks of the exploited to the class of the exploiters had ever been the soporific to the development of class consciousness. The most intelligent workers looked forward toward a future, not within the working class, but of escape from the working class. The less intelligent workers were then, as they have ever been, incapable of action.

American life offered unusual and wonderful opportunities to the selfmade man. The period following the Civil War was a halcyon epoch. It was rich with the stories of workers who rose from the depths to the very summit of affluence. Some of these stories are as thrillingly romantic as the adventures of an Alladin. The psychology of the working class of that period was formed by such stories. Every worker felt that hard work and faithful subservience to his employer would lead him to the princely munificence of a Carnegie. And there was a germ of possibility there which prevented such dreams from being purely fatuous.

But, just as the agrarian mode of escape ended forever with the exhaustion of the land, so the hope of becoming capitalists was shattered by the development of the trust. Competition ended. The doors of opportunity clanged together, forever. Labor was again thrown back upon itself. It was forced to recognize that it was fixed in a class from which there was no egress.

It is these two influences, the exhaustion of land and the destruction of small business which, more than anything else, have created the psychological possibility of a labor movement in America.

If it was the limitation of individual opportunity which circumscribed the workers into a distinct class, it has been the invention of labor-saving machinery which has defined and transformed the nature of that class. Among the multitude of causes, which have induced the peculiar psychology

of the 20th century worker, the machine mode of production has been one of the most intimate. It has forced an entirely new grouping of labor. It has been the cause of a complete rift within the ranks of the working class. While it has been the means of making possible a scientific labor organization, it has also created a subdivision of two classes within the broader class of labor.

The advantage of possessing a skilled trade has always been a protection, in itself, to workers. Skill is the one commodity which labor brings into the market, which makes it possible for labor to demand more than an existence scale of wages. The necessity of unionism as a weapon for the attainment of a higher wage is necessarily blurred in the mind of a worker who can successfully demand that higher wage by the sheer scarcity of his skill.

This individualism of skill disappeared with the displacement of handicrafts by machinery. The former skilled tradesman was forced to organize in order to preserve even the status which he had already attained. The first unions of the new age, however, carried over the handicraft spirit in their form of organization. Although labor was forced to a consciousness of the need of unionism, it still clung to an individualistic, or craft point of view, in forming its organizations. The worker still reasoned from the standpoint of his craft although machinery was fast wiping out its identity.

Thus, the first movements of labor toward unionism were craft-conscious rather than class-conscious. There was no hint of any revolutionary purpose behind them. They aimed to be nothing more than organizations of self-protection. They accepted the justice of the wage system and encouraged their members to be contented, rather than rebellious. We must accept them for what they were, labor's first amateurish gropings toward unionism.

Eventually, the idea of a more unified movement developed and these separate unions federated into a general federation. They still retained their identity and autonomy. Their federation was one of name, rather than spirit. This idea of a federated union of autonomous crafts has persisted down to this day. Although the idea has passed through many vicissitudes, and has borne many different names, it still exists as the present American Federation of Labor.

The inadequacy of such a form of unionism was perceived early in the capitalist era. The necessities of the time were crying for a great mass unionism which could mobilize all the forces of labor for simultaneous battles of self-defence. But the craft unionists strenuously denied that they had interests in common with other members of their class. Every attempt to correct the defects in their unions was met by the insuperable obstacle of craft loyalty. The coming of machinery, if it was the impetus which originally gave birth to the labor movement, was also responsible for a fundamental schism in the ranks of labor. It divided the workers into two sub-classes, the skilled and the unskilled. The skilled workers possessed unions, the unskilled were without organization.

Fully as much energy was used by the unions to combat their unskilled brothers, as was employed by them to combat the employers. Although the unskilled workers stood in a numerical relationship of more than 2 to 1 to the craftsmen, the latter refused to admit them to the union. Year by year, the class of the unskilled was swallowing up an increasing number of the craftsmen. Machines were invented in some trades, which displaced 90 per cent of the mechanics. One of these trades, glass bottle blowing, was almost completely wiped out by the invention of a single machine. The disparity between the organized and unorganized workers was growing at an alarming rate. In 1900, out of 15,000,000 wage workers, only 1,700,000 were mem-

bers of the A. F. of L. Confronted by the problem of the inevitable, the A. F. of L. set itself directly in the face of the logic. The faster machinery displaced the craftsmen, the more resolutely they clung to their antiquated machinery of resistance.

At the beginning of the 20th century, this situation was fast moving toward a crisis. A wave of restlessness was agitating the unskilled. Several abortive experiments were being made to found a new unionism. A minority of protest was developing among the craft unionists, themselves. Thus machinery, the third of the great factors, was automatically sowing the seeds which were soon to flower in a class conscious movement of rebellion.

This movement was hastened by a final factor, immigration. The old community of interest between the employer and employee—a community engendered out of childhood friendships and lifelong associations—did not affect the foreign element of labor. And this foreign element was increasing at a startling rate. New and strange nationalities began to pour their surplus workers into the United States. The Anglo-Saxon immigrants were succeeded by the Germans; the Germans by the South Europeans; the South Europeans by Slavs and Jews.

Great industrial cities began to spring up, peopled by these foreign born workers. Everywhere, they swarmed into the unskilled labor class and permeated all industry. At first, they exerted little or no influence upon the American born workers with whom they worked. They were scoffed at as "Wops," as "Hunkies" or as "Kikes." Gradually, however, the foreign and native workers drew together. The common feeling of mutual labor interests broke down the barrier of language. The American and the European workers began to talk to each other about their job conditions. And the American was amazed to learn how far ahead of him, the European working classes had forged in the development of their labor movements.

In this sense, immigration has been more than an economic phenomenon. It has fertilized the mind of American labor with a stream of European ideas. It has supplied the American labor movement with the intellectual substratum which it has always lacked. The immigrants came from countries where socialism, anarchism, the general strike and such kindred ideas were the ferment which agitated the entire proletarian mind. Many of these newcomers, the Germans and Russians in particular, were exiles from their countries because of their activity in these European movements. As such, they labored hard to transplant these movements upon the new soil.

It is characteristic of America that neither the socialist nor the anarchist movements which sprang up in this country during the seventies and eighties, were of native origin. Neither of these ideas were indigenous to American life. Both were the product of the activities of foreign agitators and immigrants. They did not spring up as the spontaneous product of a clearly sensed economic need. They were mere ideas; vague isms. For almost a generation, these ideas were singularly repulsive to the native born worker. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that this wall of indifference began to break down. Not until the helplessness of his economic condition had been driven home to him with a cruel insistence, not until the last frail bridge of hope had been shattered behind him, did the American workman turn to the collectivist ideas which were already traditional in Europe. The results of years of fruitless propaganda were crowded into the first decade of the 20th century. An economic organization was created which embodied all the peculiar needs of American life, tempered by the currents of European thought. With the three other parallel influences which I have indicated, the fruits of foreign immi-

gration converged to form a new labor movement at the beginning of the 20th century.

Another factor existed which was not peculiar to America, however. This was poverty. Poverty has always been present in every equation of labor unrest. It is the most fundamental of causes.

In America, at this time, the bitterness of poverty was becoming all the more galling to labor, because the workers were becoming conscious of its non-necessity. Poverty can be endured cheerfully when the poor realize that there is no escape. In America, this was not the case.

Even the simplest mind was forced to wonder when it saw the productivity of labor enhanced a hundred times by new machinery without any corresponding increase in the wages of that labor. The invention of labor saving machinery had been heralded, at first, as the coming of a day when labor would be reduced to a minimum and laborers would all be rich. Its actual effects, however, were the deadly intensification of labor and the increasing poverty of the worker. For this phenomenon there must be an explanation. The worker found it in the swollen fortunes of the plutocrats. The sensation-mongering press of this period trumpeted broadcast the imperial opulence of the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts and the Morgans. Labor compared this gigantic wealth with its own unutterable poverty. The traditional American contentment gave place to a bitter social rage. The workers began to identify their real enemies. This realization was another link which bound the workers together in a common class consciousness.

Thus, the evils of the capitalist regime began to produce the precursors of its destruction. But discontent was intellectual rather than practical, in this period. It exhausted itself in blind gropings and ineffectual experiments. The workers began to perceive the symptoms of social rotteness but they were still at sea when the necessity arose for a tangible remedy. They lost themselves in the mazes of political action. The 19th century had produced many major and minor prophets.

The first solution which presented itself, was a return to economic individualism. Its advocates reasoned somewhat as follows: the evils that curse this age are all the by-products of machine production and the trust system; we wish to destroy these evils; therefore, let us destroy their cause, the trust system. This naive syllogism, though absolutely unsound, possessed a simplicity which appealed to the mob mind. Somewhat similar must have been the reasoning of the Luddites in the early years of English capitalism, who tried to smash up all the new machinery in the hope that, when machinery was annihilated, they could return to the old system of life. In America, this longing to "go back" expressed itself in many political waves. The most successful of these efforts was the Populist party. In the early nineties it swept the west with an almost religious magnetism. Most of the pioneer Populist party. Based, as it was, upon an economic minds of the labor movement were swept into the fallacy, this party soon forgot its purposes and was lured to destruction by the eloquent voice of a Bryan.

The same elements then trooped into the new Socialist party. This party was a mere compromise of dissenting panaceas when it was first formed in 1898. To this day, it still retains a fatal vagueness of purpose which it effectually disguises by an over-stressed idealism. This weakness is primarily caused by the non-proletarian character of its membership. It goes without saying that the policy of an organization can be nothing else than a reflexion of the economic interests of its membership. Thus, the National Chamber of Commerce represents the economic needs of big business; the Farmer's Alliance or Grange reflects the interests of the agriculturist; the Railroad Brotherhoods are eco-

nomie expressions of the railroad men. Each of these organizations has a definite realization of its purposes because each represents a definitely defined economic group. The mistake of the Socialist party lay in its failure to organize along similar lines. Claiming to champion a working class philosophy, they built an organization in which the working class was conspicuous by its obscurity. Professional and small business men predominated. We cannot question the sincerity of many of these members but it was obviously impossible for non-wage workers to formulate a purely working class philosophy. The Socialist party soon revealed its incapacity to become the great labor movement which the workers were clamoring for. It began to show tendencies of drifting away from the class struggle. Time and again, its activities were swamped by irrelevant outside forces. A constant struggle went on within the Socialist party, between the working class element and the middle class element. And to add to the confusion, intellectuals developed the disconcerting habit of attacking intellectualism, and working men a corresponding tendency to champion it.

Thus, confusion only bred confusion. Multitudes of workers who would perhaps have thrown themselves into the Socialist party, were repelled by its seeming inadequacy. About the same time, a wave of anti-parliamentarism set in. Many workers who accepted the tenets of Socialism, rejected the political method of obtaining it. The anarchists had always been anti-political. A large number of socialists now reached a similar position. For this class of socialists, there was no organization to enter. Although they were primarily unionists in their point of view, the A. F. of L. offered them no scope for activity. Many of them were unskilled workers who were ineligible. All of them were disgusted by the supine attitude of conciliation which the A. F. of L. displayed. The A. F. of L. emphatically denied the class struggle and was a bitter foe of socialism.

What this new group sought was a class conscious union, broad enough to include all workers, battling without compromise, burning with all the concentrated rage of the class struggle. Such an organization was, as yet, unformed. But the idea had long been projected. Both theoretically and practically it had been worked out, in the one case by Daniel De Leon and his S. T. & L. A. associates; in the other case by that blundering giant of the west, the Western Federation of Miners. We will study, first, the work of that remarkable figure, Daniel De Leon, the man who may well be hailed as the intellectual forebear of the I. W. W.

Seeing Things

THE man with a vision is greater than the man with his nose in a pig-sty. Be visionary! Dream dreams of a society by, for and of the workers. And, if you must be practical, organize to see the dream come true.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," advises Emerson. But be sure it is not a falling star. The star of capitalism is falling. The star of industrial democracy sweeps the heavens of humanity and hope.

Self-determination for small nations is a fine idea. But a greater idea still is self-determination for the world's workers. That comprehends all determination.

A bundle of sticks tied together cannot be broken like a lot of sticks that are separate. Don't be a lot of separate sticks. Unite, and refuse to be broken for any capitalist purposes.

He who would be free must think for himself. Cultivate the power of thought! Think! Think! "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Think the thoughts of freedom! Be a free man!

THE SEER.

An International Conference of Marine Transport Workers

Conference Committee:

James Scott,
J. J. McMurphy,
W. I. Fisher,
John Burke,
John Korpi,
Tom Doyle,
Pete Stone,
John Sandgren, Sec'y.

Address:

1001 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Fellow Workers:

The undersigned Conference Committee is elected by the Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers, of The Industrial Workers of the World, and as we speak in behalf of tens of thousands of Marine Transport Workers, in this and in other countries, we request your respectful attention for the following proposition.

Already before the great world war the promptings were constantly pouring in on our main office, asking our organization to take the initiative in calling a conference that might lead to a world union of our industry, a union built on such modern principles that it could count on support from the most advanced elements of Marine Transport Workers.

The war temporarily ended all efforts in that direction. But no sooner was the war over, before the same persistent demands began crowding upon us again. Men of all nations are now clamoring for us to take the initiative in such a move for a modern world union of Marine Transport Workers.

In taking this step and sending out this call, we do so in connection with the calling of a general conference of our own delegates from the North American continent, proposing to take advantage of this conference and make it an international conference, as far as the short time intervening will allow.

We hereby issue a formal call to all organizations of Marine Transport Workers in the United States, Canada and Mexico, and all other countries which this call

reaches to send instructed delegates to a conference to take place in **Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.**, on April 28th, 1919, with the object of elaborating plans for such a world union of Marine Transport Workers.

In view of the concerted attack of our masters upon our ranks, it is to be hoped that every organization, local, district or national, that possibly has a chance to send a delegate will do so, in order that our deliberations and decisions may rest on the broadest possible basis.

The attendance of as many foreign delegates as possible is desirable, in order that we may work out a plan for a world-wide organization. We have positive proof that such an organization and such co-operation is demanded all over the Earth. It is only a matter of finding the best forms for this co-operation, and the longed-for World Union of Marine Transport Workers will become a living reality, instead of a sailors' utopian dream.

The place in Chicago where the conference will meet will be decided on later, and will be made known to all concerned. In the meantime we suggest that you immediately enter into correspondence with The Conference Committee, and beg to remain,

Yours for world-wide solidarity,

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE,
per John Sandgren, Sec'y.

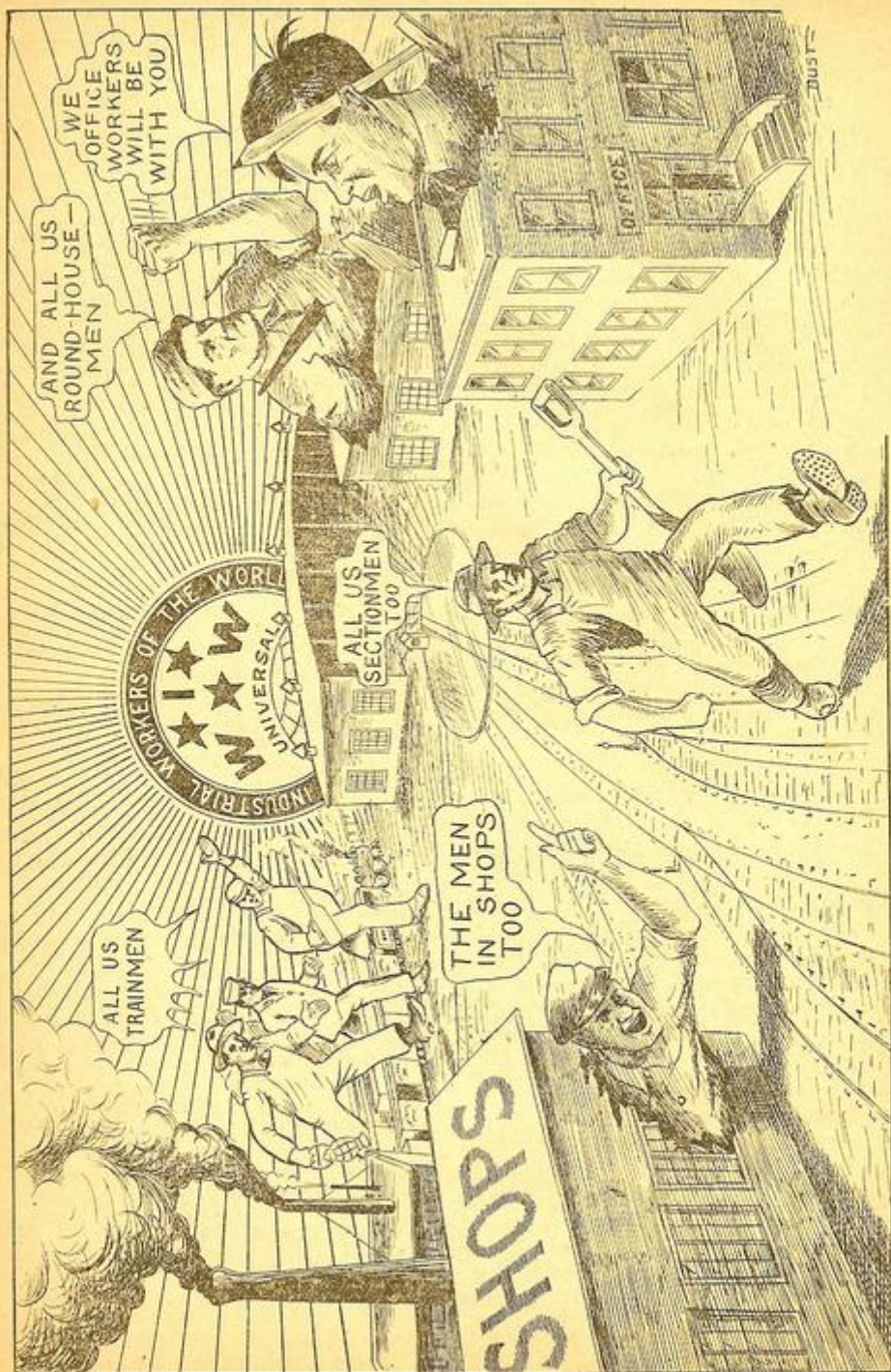
Address all communications to The Secretary,

1001 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.

Do not expect to get an answer to your letter from the editor. He is too busy to correspond. He thanks you by mental wireless for your help and co-operation, or you may find the answer to your letter deeply imbedded in some article.

Unused manuscripts and cartoons will be returned if you say so.

Shop representation is one of daggers that is going to be used by employers to stab unionism with.



All Railroad Workers for I. W. W.

Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600

I. W. W.

Bulletin No. 5.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 12, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

Beginning March 1st, 1919, the Acting G. E. B. members will issue a 64-page monthly magazine entitled "The O. B. U. Monthly." This magazine will contain a great variety of articles pertaining to the Labor Movement and will be illustrated with cartoons and photos. All members should subscribe, as the magazine will give the complete text of bulletins and financial reports of the various industrial unions, also of the general organization. The magazine will be edited by fellow worker John Sandgren, who is also editor of the new Swedish I. W. W. paper, "The New World." All literary and artistic contributions solicited. Address your subs and remittances to "The O. B. U. Monthly, 1091 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill." **Subscription price is \$1.50 per year and 15 cents per single copy. Bundle orders, 10 cents per copy. Write today for bundle orders.**

HOW ABOUT THE UNEMPLOYED? The Chicago papers of recent date stated there are over 10,000,000 unemployed in the United States. Some have asked, "How are we going to take care of them?" The best answer we have is to cut the work-day down to Six Hours with the same pay we are now receiving. We should do all in our power to get the Six-Hour day and thereby create jobs for the unemployed.

Just received letter from a member of Lodge No. 695, I. A. of M., Silvis Shops, Rock Island, Ill., which lodge has a membership of 500. At a regular meeting, held Jan. 22, 1919, the following motion was carried: "That this lodge send resolutions to various Central Labor Bodies of Europe that will be represented at the coming International Labor Conference, to the effect that Samuel Gompers does not in any way represent our views on the International Labor question. Also, to send out letters to other labor bodies of this country urging similar action." Looks like the workers in Rock Island have seen the light.

JOB NEWS.

MONTANA—Job out of Vandalia. The foreman transferred a delegate to another job three days before pay-day after having heard he had the crew ready to line up pay-day. He has no use for agitators or delegates. Any delegates going that way should stop here as sentiment is strong for the O. B. U.

CALIFORNIA—Members are getting active in California again. One new member from there last

week. The powers that be staged a raid on the home of a worker in Los Angeles looking for I. W. W. literature and supplies. These persecutions are always followed by any activity on the part of the workers to get better conditions.

ILLINOIS—A fellow worker from Bloomington has just been discharged from the army and is taking up the work of the O. B. U. again. Says he is stronger for the O. B. U. now than ever before. We have several members there now, also a few delegates. Jobs in the shops for skilled or unskilled workers. Good place for live delegates.

Rock Island—The members have the bosses guessing and worried, also, the officials of the Five Big Craft Unions are completely baffled. The members are getting good co-operation from non-members. They just asked us to increase their bundle order for New Solidarity to 125 copies. Also getting out quite a bit of literature into the hands of the workers.

WASHINGTON—Received order from Seattle last week for 50 blank credentials and a large order of supplies. Members in Washington are reviving interest in the O. B. U., especially I. U. No. 600. Any member in that state who wishes credentials should get in touch with this office. A member whose home is in Washington and who is now in an army camp writes, stating he is getting anxious to get back into harness again.

WISCONSIN—Received order last week from Wisconsin asking for 10 blank credentials and large order of supplies. Members are on the job in this state.

ARKANSAS—Just received letter from a member in Little Rock asking for credentials and supplies, as he has several workers there who want to join the I. W. W.

NEBRASKA—Officials on the U. P. R. R. are trying to force the slaves on the extra gangs to join their Maintenance of Way Organization, but the workers are favorable to the O. B. U. and are not fooled by the Union which the boss wants them to join. The U. P. R. R. has quite a number of extra gangs working now, paying 40 cents per hour. The company board is better than most of these jobs furnish. Delegates should get on this job.

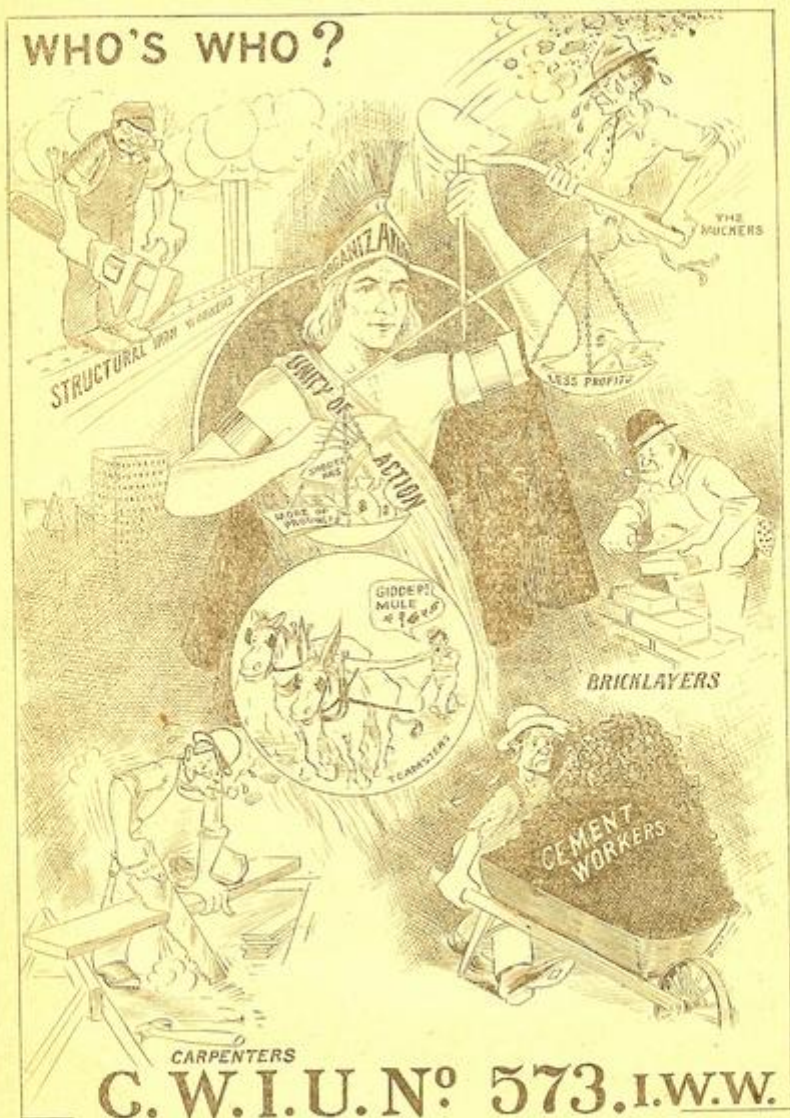
WRITE FOR CREDENTIALS AND SUPPLIES TODAY!

With best wishes, I am,

Your for the One Big Union,

C. N. OGDEN,

Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem., R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.
1091 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573, I. W. W.

Financial Statement, Month of January, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

| | |
|---|------------------|
| 225 Initiations | \$ 450.00 |
| 3390 Dues | 1695.00 |
| General Defense Stamps | 127.50 |
| Organization Stamps | 76.00 |
| Relief Stamps | 496.00 |
| Day's Wage Stamps | 60.00 |
| Misc. Defense Donations | 4.90 |
| Buttons | 25.00 |
| Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, Etc. | 140.40 |
| Money paid on account by branch secretaries and delegates | 1722.56 |
| Subs to Solidarity | 8.50 |
| G. R. U. Pro Rata on Expenses | 15.00 |
| No. 325, Pro Rata on Expenses | 5.00 |
| From John O'Connor | 13.25 |
| Misc. Receipts | 1.50 |
| Moneys refunded | 1.00 |
| M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues | 3.00 |
| S. B. I. U. No. 325, Dues | 2.50 |
| A. W. I. U. No. 400, Initiations | 4.00 |
| A. W. I. U. No. 400, Dues | 1.00 |
| L. W. I. U. No. 500, Initiations | 2.00 |
| L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues | 78.50 |
| R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues | 3.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 700, Dues | 8.50 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues | 4.00 |
| G. R. U., Dues | 2.00 |
| Total Receipts | \$4950.11 |

DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| P. Stone, per capita | 1048.00 |
| P. Stone, on account supplies | 43.50 |
| Seattle Def. Com., G. D. Stamps | 46.50 |
| Seattle Def. Com., Jail Relief Stamps | 336.00 |
| Seattle Def. Comm., D. W. Stamps | 14.00 |
| Genaro Pazos, for Relief Stamps | 5.00 |
| Br. Secys. & Dels. Wages & Commissions | 792.58 |
| Mileage | 313.22 |
| Moneys held by Br. Secrys & Dels. | 2155.90 |
| Main Office Salaries | 168.00 |
| Rent, Light, Heat (Branches) | 89.61 |
| Stationery & Fixtures | 50.23 |
| Postage, Express, Wires | 52.30 |
| Allowance on supplies | 71.00 |
| Subs. to Solidarity | 2.50 |
| C. W. Connor, to C. W. P. 3 Stamps | 3.00 |
| Joe Selzer, Dues to C. W. P. | 4.00 |
| Literature | 14.05 |
| Misc. Expenses | 5.15 |
| Total Disbursements | \$5214.54 |

RECAPITULATION—

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Total Receipts | \$4950.11 |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1919 | 3184.51 |
| Grand Total | \$8134.62 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Total Disbursements | 5214.54 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919 | \$2920.08 |

Cash Receipts & Expenditures Main Office No. 573, January, 1919.

| | |
|------------------------------|---------|
| Jan. 3, Leo Korhonen, Report | \$ 6.50 |
| Leo Korhonen, Report | 10.87 |
| J. K. Mitchell, Report | 27.00 |
| 7, Poo Monoldi, Report | 7.35 |
| Harry Trotter, Report | 5.00 |
| Jesse Sigal, Report | 4.00 |
| W. W. White, Report | 4.00 |
| Gust Alonen, Report | 6.75 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| 8, Henry Danielson, Report | 3.00 |
| Henry Tonn, Report | 13.00 |
| 9, J. L. Jackson, Report | 1.50 |
| M. K. Fox, acct. No. 400, Report | 101.75 |
| W. W. White, Report | 3.00 |
| 10, C. F. Bentley, Report | 28.29 |
| 11, Wm. Chance, Report | 14.00 |
| J. H. Mitchell, Report | 8.00 |
| 17, J. L. Jackson, Report | 1.50 |
| 18, Henry Danielson, Report | 5.50 |
| T. Whitehead, office receipts | 13.25 |
| Wallace Wheeler, Report | 13.15 |
| C. W. Connor, Report | 384.78 |
| 20, John Engdahl, on acct., Report | 600.00 |
| 23, I. Schwartz, Report | 10.67 |
| 24, Henry Tonn, Report | 14.50 |
| C. F. Bentley, Report | 27.41 |
| 27, P. Monoldi, Report | 9.00 |
| 28, Wallace Wheeler, Report | 11.10 |
| J. L. Jackson, Report | 4.25 |
| 30, Jas. H. Kelley, Report | 22.25 |
| Thos. Whitehead, Office Report | 129.00 |
| Henry Tonn, Report | 13.50 |

Total Cash Receipts \$1503.67

CASH DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|--|----------|
| Jan. 3, Harry Trotter, on account | \$ 75.00 |
| 4, Pat McGovern, on account | 90.00 |
| W. White, on account | 50.00 |
| John Burke, on account | 25.00 |
| T. Whitehead, wages | 28.00 |
| T. Whitehead, mileage Sioux City | 39.24 |
| 7, Harry Trotter, on account | 25.00 |
| 9, Express to Milwaukee | 0.32 |
| Sub to Solidarity | 1.00 |
| Postage Stamps | 21.00 |
| 11, Hungarian Papers | 1.50 |
| J. Terrell, acct. K. C. Br. Expense | 30.00 |
| F. H. Bohn, on acct. Org. Comm. | 35.27 |
| P. Stone, acct. Omaha Br. Expense | 28.00 |
| T. Whitehead, wages | 28.00 |
| Int. Ptg. & Typesetting Co. | 15.00 |
| 13, J. H. Kelley, on account | 51.77 |
| J. H. Kelley, M. O. | 0.20 |
| 16, Thos. F. Ryan, on account | 11.50 |
| Labor-Defender | 3.00 |
| 18, F. H. Bohn, wages | 28.00 |
| T. Whitehead, wages | 28.00 |
| Int. Ptg. & Typesetting Co. | 8.45 |
| 22, H. Danielson, on account wages | 8.00 |
| Int. Ptg. & Typesetting Co. | 5.81 |
| 25, F. H. Bohn, wages | 28.00 |
| T. Whitehead, wages | 28.00 |
| 27, P. Stone, on acct. per capita | 1000.00 |
| 28, Wm. Clark, on account | 24.04 |
| 29, Neil Guiney, on acct. No. 500 report | 27.00 |
| 30, H. Danielson, on account | 15.70 |
| Express to Milwaukee | 0.80 |
| Postage Stamps | 6.00 |
| Sub to Solidarity | 1.50 |

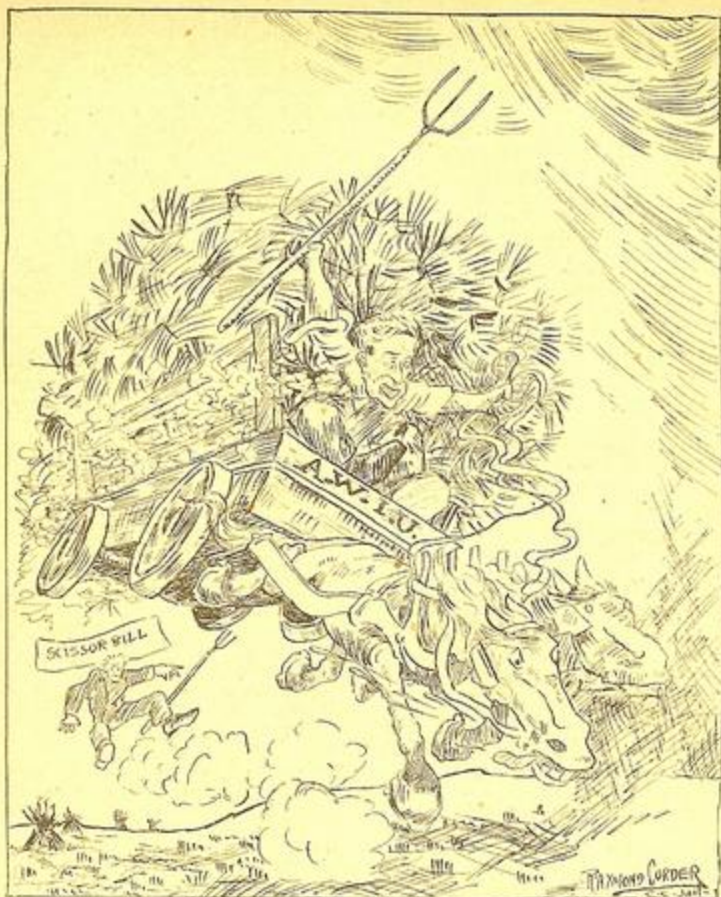
Total Cash Disbursements \$1768.10

RECAPITULATION—

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Total Cash Receipts | \$1503.67 |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1919 | 3184.51 |
| Grand Total | \$4688.18 |
| Total Cash Disbursements | 1768.10 |

Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919 \$2920.08

THOS. WHITEHEAD,
Secy.-Treas., C. W. I. U. No. 573.



Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 I. W. W.

Fellow Workers:—With this first issue of the O. B. U. Monthly we are publishing the first of our monthly bulletins; they will appear in every issue of the magazine along with the financial report.

During the past month there has been very little activity among the agriculture workers; mainly because very few of the members take on monthly work and many follow other lines during the winter.

However this has been an open winter all over the country and the farmers, especially through Idaho, Washington, Iowa and Minnesota, will soon be able to start in on ditching, so members in these localities should get ready to start in on a campaign of organizing in these states.

In order to cover the agriculture belt, as it should be covered, we must ourselves be organized in such a way that the message of the I. W. W. will

be carried to every man or woman who follows any part of the agricultural work; this can only be done by all the members in the A. W. I. U. who have been in the organization six month or over, and who are now in good standing, getting out credentials and supplies and agitating to the worker along side of him till he finally convinces him that it is also his material interest to get in to this union.

Members in the Northwest can get credentials and supplies at Seattle or Portland and with co-operation amongst the delegates we can soon build up a strong district of the A. W. I. U. around Spokane again.

Members in the middle west should get their supplies either from the Kansas City branch, Sioux City, Minneapolis or from the main office, and if all the members in this section of the country will get in to the harness we can be ready to put over

the biggest drive this spring and summer that was ever pulled by the I. W. W. or any part of it.

The Orange Glammers in California are having some trouble with the boss; they want more wages and as a result of same there are at the time of writing some two hundred of them out on strike; members in California should get their supplies and credentials from the Stockton branch and as there is lots of agriculture work going on in that state all winter there is no reason why we cannot build up a good strong district that will be able to dictate just what wages the Fruit Trust shall pay.

At the time of writing there are many of our members down in the Oil Fields of Kansas and Oklahoma, but things are not going very good, as there seems to be about five men for every job; however there are many new pipe lines opening up and the boys report that from now on we should look for better results.

The Ballot which will decide where and when the spring convention of the A. W. I. U. No. 400 will be held will be off the press March 1st; members who will not be able to attend same should get together and send in resolutions that they want the convention to consider; try to get them in to the main office by April 1st as the convention will either be about the 14th or 20th of April.

There will be many points of interest to the members to be brought up at the convention and we would like to have as many as possible attend; it is now about eighteen months since the last convention of the A. W. I. U. No. 400 so it is time that the members got together.

Best wishes, Yours for the O. B. U.,
WALTER SHERIDAN, MAT K. FOX,
Chairman Org. Com. Sec'y-Treas. A.W.I.U.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 400.

Financial Statement for the Month of January, 1919

RECEIPTS—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| 60 Initiations | \$ 120.00 |
| 987 Dues | 493.50 |
| General Defense Stamps | 77.00 |
| Day's Wage Stamps | 84.00 |
| Relief Stamps | 193.00 |
| General Organization Stamps | 52.00 |
| Freedom Certificates | 15.00 |
| Sioux City Snoker Proceeds | 145.22 |
| Misc. Donations for Defense | 76.05 |
| Buttons | 22.25 |
| Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, Etc. | 195.50 |
| Subs to Solidarity | 2.25 |
| Moneys refunded | 10.32 |
| Moneys pardon acct. by Br. Secys. & Delegates | 560.20 |
| Neil Guiney, expressage on trunk | 11.45 |
| Misc. Receipts | 3.50 |
| M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300 Dues | 1.00 |
| O. W. I. U. No. 450 Initiations | 32.00 |
| O. W. I. U. No. 450 Dues | 34.00 |
| L. W. I. U. No. 500 Dues | 9.50 |
| C. W. I. U. No. 573 Initiations | 4.00 |
| C. W. I. U. No. 573 Dues | 55.00 |
| R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 Dues | 15.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Initiations | 2.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Dues | 20.00 |
| G. B. U. Dues | 8.00 |
| Total Receipts | \$2241.74 |

DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Personal Deposit | \$ 9.40 |
| Headquarters on acct. supplies | 2.65 |
| Headquarters per Capita | 690.00 |
| General Defense acct. | 50.00 |
| New Solidarity | 100.00 |
| Labor Defender | 50.00 |
| California Defense Bulletin | 20.00 |
| Commission on Literature | 25.52 |
| Workers Soc. Pub. Co. | 553.00 |
| Subs. to Solidarity | 4.30 |
| Subs. to Butte Bulletin | 7.00 |
| Mileage | 25.68 |
| Dist. & Br. Secys. Wages & Comm. | 543.86 |
| Moneys held by Br. Secys. & Dele- gates | 778.13 |
| Main Office Salaries | 112.00 |
| Rent, Light, Heat, etc. (Branches) | 321.18 |
| Stationery & Fixtures | 63.29 |
| Postage & Express | 76.71 |
| Dues & Duplicate to Class War Pris- oner N. O. Kelley | 4.25 |
| Allowance on supplies | 14.75 |
| Misc. expenses | 1.15 |
| Total Disbursements | \$2905.40 |

RECAPITULATIONS—

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Total Receipts | \$2241.74 |
| Cash on hand, Jan. 1, 1919 | 3269.15 |
| Grand Total | \$5510.89 |
| Total Disbursements | 2905.40 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919 | \$2605.49 |
| Cash Receipts & Expenditures of Main Office A. W. I. U. No. 400. | |
| Month of January, 1919. | |

RECEIPTS—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| Jan. 2, Genaro Pazos, Report | \$ 4.00 |
| Del. F3, Report | 47.21 |
| 3, Wm. Clark, Report | 9.00 |
| P. M. Wiltse, Report | .75 |
| Del. No. 905, Report | 12.40 |
| 4, Del. No. 2009, Report | 6.00 |
| 6, Harry Trotter, Report | .25 |
| J. Eininger, Report | 2.00 |
| 7, Del. No. 771, Report | 25.00 |
| 9, M. K. Fox, Office Receipts | 2.00 |
| Neil Guiney, Exp. on trunk | 11.45 |
| J. H. Mitchell | 18.00 |
| Del. No. 290, Report | 22.35 |
| 10, C. F. Bentley, Report | 9.95 |
| Mike O'Maly, Report | 2.50 |
| Del. No. 2055, Report | 8.00 |
| 13, Del. No. 905, Report | 22.80 |
| 15, Del. No. F2, Report | 75.00 |
| Del. No. F123, Report | 35.20 |
| Del. No. F3, Report | 25.00 |
| Grummer | 3.50 |
| H. Hagenson | 3.00 |
| J. W. Marshall | .25 |
| Neil Guiney, acct. B. Weir-Fare | 25.00 |
| Del. No. F31, Report | 6.00 |
| 16, John Slightam, Report | .50 |
| 19, Olive Bohanon, Report | 3.00 |
| 20, R. L. Engerson, Report | 2.00 |
| 21, Delegate No. 2008, Report | 13.00 |
| 22, Delegate No. 2082, Report | 20.50 |
| Floyd Dyer, Report | 3.00 |
| Delegate No. 2009, Report | 2.00 |
| 24, Thos. Whitehead, Report | .25 |
| Geo. Keyes, Report | 1.00 |
| Al. Holzer, Report | .25 |
| C. F. Bentley, Report | 12.29 |
| Delegate No. 2082, Report | 19.00 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| 27, N. A. Rosenfield, Report..... | 11.00 |
| Chas. Baker, Report..... | 13.25 |
| 29, Delegate No. 905, Report..... | 14.00 |
| 30, M. K. Fox, Office Receipts..... | 26.55 |
| M. K. Fox, Office Receipts..... | 41.36 |
| Neil Guiney, acct. No. 500..... | 15.50 |
| John Szalach, on acct..... | 4.50 |
| Walter Wismer, on acct..... | 5.00 |
| Geo. Elsassner..... | .50 |
| J. Engdall..... | .25 |
| 31, H. Bradley..... | .25 |
| F. Scott..... | .25 |
| Joe Krinsky..... | .30 |
| Total Cash Receipts..... | \$ 586.11 |

DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|---|----------|
| Jan. 4, Tom Jenkins, advanced..... | \$ 40.00 |
| 6, M. K. Fox, wages..... | 28.00 |
| 7, M. K. Fox adv. to J. Fisher & telegram..... | 31.00 |
| 9, J. Terrell, advanced K. C. Br..... | 30.00 |
| 8, E. F. Moffitt, Cal Def. Bulletin..... | 20.00 |
| Labor Defender..... | 50.00 |
| New Solidarity..... | 100.00 |
| 9, Tom Whitehead acct. No. 573..... | 101.75 |
| Neil Guiney acct No. 500..... | 63.62 |
| M. K. Fox Postage..... | 30.00 |
| M. K. Fox stps. for Dup. Cards..... | 2.00 |
| 13, M. K. Fox wages..... | 28.00 |

| | |
|---|------------------|
| 14, Peter Stone, Stationery..... | 1.25 |
| 16, Joseph Grebach, acct. Relief..... | 15.00 |
| 17, New Solidarity, 2 subs..... | 2.25 |
| 18, M. K. Fox, wages..... | 28.00 |
| 20, Ed. Bryan, Industrial Unionist..... | 1.50 |
| 23, Henry Bradley, on acct. G. D..... | 25.00 |
| 24, Workers' Soc. Pub. Co., Papers to Mpls. Br..... | 5.53 |
| 25, M. K. Fox, wages..... | 28.00 |
| M. K. Fox, adv. to Cronin K. C. Neil Guiney, Mimeograph..... | 30.00 |
| 29, M. I. W. No. 700 on acct. Reports Neil Guiney on acct. No. 500 Reports..... | 1.50 |
| C. N. Ogden on acct. No. 600 Reports..... | 29.37 |
| M. K. Fox, Relief acct. H. R. Ryan, Portsmouth..... | 8.75 |
| Tom. Whitehead, acct. No. 573 Report..... | 10.00 |
| 30, P. Stone, Per Capita..... | 14.25 |
| Total Disbursements..... | \$1249.77 |

RECAPITULATION—

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Total Receipts..... | \$ 586.11 |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1919..... | 3269.15 |
| Grand Total..... | \$3855.26 |
| Total Disbursements..... | 1249.77 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919..... | \$2605.49 |

Metal and Machinery Workers Bulletin

In the past two months, organization activity has increased rapidly. New branches have been started, and some of the old ones have come to the front in fine shape. The job delegate system is meeting with great success thruout the East, and we are receiving good reports from delegates all thru this section. The unemployed situation is becoming quite acute in the East, and while we are meeting with a great deal of success, we still have a great amount of work ahead of us, for until we succeed in organizing that great army of unskilled workers which we find in this industry, we will not be able to accomplish much with the unemployed situation.

We have one organizer in the New England States, who is meeting with fine success and has established branches in the following towns:—Bridgeport, Connecticut; Springfield, Massachusetts; and Newark, New Jersey. The New York City branch has been reopened and is doing fine work.

Cleveland, Ohio.—New branch on the East Side, which is taking in new members every week. There is good prospects of having another branch there soon.

Toledo, Ohio.—Branch reopened with a live bunch of "Wobs" who are getting results. Have a fine, new hall, and expect to be doing big things before long.

Detroit, Michigan.—We all realize what a hard proposition the I. W. W. has to face in this city. Nevertheless, the boys there are going right ahead and getting the goods; sending in good reports, and from all indications they have the I. A. of M. guessing, as they (the I. A. of M.) have reduced the initiation for specialized mechanics in some instances to \$1.50.

Schenectady, New York.—Have a good, live Stationary Delegate there who is doing good work among the Italians. He needs plenty of good support, and any member going thru this city should pay him a visit, as the General Electric Company have their big plant there. Address Rona De Guerre, 1119 Duane Avenue.

Chicago, Illinois.—Will soon have a good branch going here. Need lots of good, live delegates in all the mills in South Chicago.

Out of the developments of the big strikes in the West which are now going on, we expect to have branches in such cities as San Francisco, Cal., Oakland, Cal., Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Wash.

As many members as possible should write in for supplies and credentials and get busy on the job as this method is by far the best way to build up a good, strong, fighting union.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

E. R. THOMAS,

Acting Secretary-Treas.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS
INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 300.

November 14, 1918 to January 31, 1919

| | |
|---|---------|
| CASH RECEIPTS— | |
| Nov. 14, Geo. Carey, G. R. U. Report..... | \$ 6.29 |
| 21, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 2.00 |
| 23, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 2.50 |
| 27, Mrs. De Guerre, Papers..... | 1.50 |
| 29, Thos. Whitehead, 573, On Acct..... | 1.50 |
| 29, Henry Banach, Report..... | 2.00 |
| Dec. 3, Glenn B. Fortney, Report..... | 4.35 |
| 6, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 3.00 |
| 9, Chas. Stephenson, Report..... | 5.92 |

| | | | |
|---|-----------|--|-----------|
| 7, A Wob, Donation..... | 2.00 | Jan. 2, Pete Stone, Gen'l Office..... | 9.77 |
| 9, Lettish Br. Soc. P., Donation..... | 2.00 | 6, E. R. Thomas, Organizing, De- | |
| 13, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 1.50 | troit, Toledo and Cleveland..... | 81.00 |
| 14, E. R. Thomas, Report-Office..... | 10.50 | 15, Glen Roberts, Wages-Office..... | 10.50 |
| 16, Oliver Lowder, Report..... | 2.50 | Harry Trotter, Organizing, Day- | |
| 20, Henry Banach, Report..... | 1.00 | ton, and Cincinnati..... | 15.00 |
| E. R. Thomas, Report-Office..... | 4.00 | Gen'l Office, Rubber Stamp..... | 1.00 |
| 24, Harry Trotter, Report..... | 6.76 | E. J. Putney, Expressage..... | 1.52 |
| 26, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 3.10 | 31, E. R. Thomas, Wages 2 weeks..... | 42.00 |
| Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 7.50 | | |
| Al Holgar, Report..... | 2.50 | Total Cash Expenditures..... | \$ 233.21 |
| 28, Neil Guiney, 500, On Acct..... | 5.50 | Total Cash Rec. months end. Jan. 31, 1919..... | \$374.60 |
| 30, Thos. Whitehead, 573, On Acct..... | 1.75 | Total Cash Exp. months end. Jan. 31, 1919..... | 233.21 |
| 31, Harry Trotter, Report..... | 1.52 | | |
| Vaino Konga, Report..... | 1.00 | Balance Cash on Hand Feb. 1, 1919..... | \$ 141.39 |
| Jan. 4, C. N. Ozden, 600, On Acct..... | 1.75 | | |
| E. R. Thomas, Report-Office..... | 3.00 | | |
| 6, P. Stone, Gen. Office, Advanced..... | 100.00 | | |
| 15, Octave Barton, Report..... | 25.00 | | |
| Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 16.00 | | |
| 17, E. P. Wright, Report..... | 2.50 | | |
| Chas. Stephenson, Report..... | 6.87 | | |
| Clyde U. Smith, Report..... | 2.00 | | |
| Alex Scharzewsky, Report..... | 3.00 | | |
| Alex Schwarzenfeld, Report..... | 4.00 | | |
| 18, Glenn B. Fortney, Report..... | 4.10 | | |
| Marth Lenberg, Report..... | 13.24 | | |
| 19, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 4.50 | | |
| 20, Vaino Konga, Report..... | 12.45 | | |
| E. Szabo, Report..... | 11.00 | | |
| E. G. Quist, Report..... | 5.00 | | |
| Oliver Lowder, Report..... | 2.50 | | |
| 28, Al Holger, Report..... | 11.00 | | |
| 30, John Katona, Report..... | 25.00 | | |
| 31, Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 10.25 | | |
| M. P. Eargoff, Report..... | 2.00 | | |
| Martin Kalnin, Report..... | 5.00 | | |
| Rona De Guerre, Report..... | 4.00 | | |
| John Katona, Charter Fee..... | 10.00 | | |
| Oliver Lowder, Report..... | 3.75 | | |
| Neil Guiney, 500, On Acct..... | 1.50 | | |
| Glenn B. Fortney, Report..... | 3.00 | | |
| | | | |
| Total Cash Receipts..... | \$ 374.60 | | |
| | | | |
| CASH EXPENDITURES | | | |
| Nov. 14, Pete Stone, Gen'l Office..... | \$ 6.29 | | |
| Dec. 9, Pete Stone, Gen'l Office..... | 16.85 | | |
| 14, Pete Stone, Gen'l Office..... | 21.92 | | |
| 27, Pete Stone, Gen'l Office..... | 27.36 | | |

Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500

I. W. W.

Financial Statement for the Month of January, 1919

| | | | |
|--|-----------|--|------------|
| RECEIPTS— | | | |
| 383 Initiations..... | \$ 766.00 | S. B. W. I. U. No. 325, Dues..... | 9.50 |
| 7144 Dues..... | 3572.00 | A. W. I. U. No. 400, Initiations..... | 8.00 |
| Relief Stamps..... | 1491.00 | A. W. I. U. No. 400, Dues..... | 30.00 |
| Organization Stamps..... | 273.00 | No. 448, Dues..... | 6.00 |
| General Defense Stamps..... | 243.50 | C. W. I. U. No. 573, Initiations..... | 30.00 |
| Days Wage Stamps..... | 94.00 | C. W. I. U. No. 573, Dues..... | 131.00 |
| L. W. I. U. Referendum Stamps..... | 5.00 | R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Initiations..... | 4.00 |
| Freedom Certificates..... | 30.00 | R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues..... | 20.50 |
| Buttons..... | 62.25 | M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, Initiations..... | 26.00 |
| Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc..... | 219.15 | M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, Dues..... | 73.00 |
| Misc. Defense Funds..... | 45.25 | M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Initiations..... | 6.00 |
| Moneys refunded, Hall Rent..... | 178.38 | M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues..... | 63.00 |
| Moneys refunded—Misc..... | 8.50 | G. R. U., Initiations..... | 4.00 |
| Refund on adding machine..... | 98.00 | G. R. U., Dues..... | 23.50 |
| J. A. Powell, Typewriter..... | 10.00 | M. R. Fox, for mimeograph..... | 25.00 |
| Br. Sec'y's & Del. accts., moneys paid on account..... | 2873.06 | M. R. Fox, acct. No. 400..... | 29.37 |
| Misc. Receipts..... | .52 | T. Whitehead, acct. No. 573..... | 27.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 300, Initiations..... | 2.00 | T. Whitehead for check protector..... | 15.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues..... | 2.00 | M. K. Fox, joint acct..... | 199.76 |
| S. B. W. I. U. No. 325, Initiations..... | 8.00 | T. Whitehead, joint acct..... | 222.26 |
| | | Total Receipts..... | \$10934.50 |

DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Peter Stone, Per Capita..... | \$ 13.50 |
| Peter Stone, on acct. supplies..... | 2.50 |
| Peter Stone, on acct. C. W. Stamps..... | 1000.00 |
| Peter Stone, on acct. G. O. Stamps..... | 1000.00 |
| General Defense Acct..... | 1700.65 |
| Personal Deposit, T. J. O'Connell..... | 5.00 |
| Literature, Bulletins, Etc..... | 376.32 |
| Br. Seelys & Del. wages & com..... | 1372.99 |
| Mileage..... | 87.99 |
| Moneys kept in Dist. & Branches..... | 3504.44 |
| Main Office Salaries..... | 289.75 |
| Rent, Light, Heat, (Branches)..... | 236.01 |
| Stationery and Fixtures..... | 417.49 |
| Postage, Express, Wires..... | 158.73 |
| Joint Acct. Expenses..... | 598.63 |
| Allowance on supplies..... | 16.00 |
| Taylor Trunk Co. 2 trunks..... | 26.00 |
| Bank Exchange..... | .80 |
| Ed. Park, stamps bought of Del..... | 7.50 |
| J. Engdall, Hall Comm. Expenses..... | 62.50 |
| Dues to Class War Prisoners..... | 12.00 |
| A. S. Embree, acct. No. 800..... | 8.25 |
| C. N. Ogden, acct. No. 600..... | 8.00 |
| T. Whitehead, acct. No. 573..... | 98.00 |
| M. K. Fox, acct., No. 400..... | 15.50 |
| E. R. Thomas, acct., No. 300..... | 1.50 |
| P. Stone, acct., G. R. U..... | 17.00 |
| Lumber for crating filing cabinets..... | 11.50 |
| Joint acct. Expenses to date..... | 73.15 |
| Misc. Expenses..... | 1.29 |
| State Loan Bank, 1 trunk..... | 2.00 |
| Total Disbursements..... | \$11124.99 |

RECAPITULATION—

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| Total Receipts..... | \$10934.50 |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1919..... | 2912.21 |
| Grand Total..... | \$13846.71 |
| Total Disbursements..... | 11124.99 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919..... | \$ 2721.72 |

Cash Receipts and Expenditures of Main Office of
L. W. I. U. No. 500.

Month of January, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Jan. 2, Aug. Walquist, Report..... | \$ 100.00 |
| 3, L. A. Currie, Report..... | .94 |
| Wm. Wirta, Report..... | 45.60 |
| A. W. Thorn, Report..... | 9.50 |
| 7, Neil Guiney, Office Receipts..... | 7.00 |
| 8, C. Edwards, Report..... | 5.00 |
| 9, Jack Sailor, Report..... | 68.50 |
| 10, P. Irving, Report..... | 17.50 |
| A. S. Mackie, Report..... | 5.00 |
| 14, Aug. Walquist, Report..... | 100.00 |
| 25, Neil Guiney, Office Receipts..... | 7.00 |
| 27, Aug. Walquist, Report..... | 100.00 |
| 29, Neil Guiney, Office Receipts..... | 7.00 |
| 27, M. Daly on acct..... | 700.00 |
| Geo. Williams, on acct..... | 1000.00 |
| C. A. Rogers, on acct..... | 400.00 |
| M. K. Fox, acct. No. 400..... | 63.62 |
| Postage stamps sent in..... | .25 |
| F. Salmi, refund on expense paid..... | 2.45 |
| Postage paid..... | .27 |
| 29, M. K. Fox, for mimeograph..... | 25.00 |
| M. K. Fox, acct. No. 400..... | 29.37 |
| T. Whitehead, acct. No. 573..... | 27.00 |
| T. Whitehead, for check protector sold for No. 573..... | 15.00 |
| 31, F. E. Pronx, Report..... | 10.87 |
| M. K. Fox, joint acct..... | 199.76 |
| Total Cash Receipts..... | \$3168.89 |

DISBURSEMENTS—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Jan. 2, P. Stone, express..... | \$ 2.82 |
| 3, E. F. Serviss, express..... | .75 |
| 6, Western Union, Message..... | .60 |
| 4, P. Stone, Typewr. and Supplies..... | 2.00 |
| 7, Postage..... | 3.00 |
| Neil Guiney, wages..... | 28.00 |
| Western Union, Message..... | 1.20 |
| 9, M. K. Fox, Express on trunk to Spokane, Pd. by P.J. Gorman..... | 11.45 |
| 11, Neil Guiney, wages..... | 28.00 |
| Int. Ptg. & Typesett. Co. Bulletins..... | 6.14 |
| Mary Weir Filing Clerk, wages..... | 3.25 |
| 14, F. J. O'Connell withdr. from dep..... | 5.00 |
| 15, Postage..... | 7.00 |
| 16, Wm. Chance, Ballot Comm..... | 4.50 |
| Western Union, Message..... | 1.35 |
| 17, Bank Exchange..... | .80 |
| Wells-Fargo Express..... | .68 |
| 18, Int. Ptg. & Typesett. Co., printing supplies and Bulletins..... | 43.20 |
| Mary Weir, Filing Clerk, wages..... | 3.50 |
| Geo. Ricker, Clerk, wages..... | 4.00 |
| Neil Guiney, wages..... | 28.00 |
| F. Salmi, exp. on box to Seattle..... | 34.80 |
| 20, Workers Soc. Pub. Co., supplies, printed for Sup. Dist..... | 8.23 |
| Western Union, Message..... | .90 |
| 23, P. Stone, 3 seals..... | 3.00 |
| G. Ricker, on acct. wages..... | 10.00 |
| Postage..... | 15.00 |
| 25, Western Union, Message..... | 3.43 |
| Harriett Amos, Filing Clerk..... | 21.00 |
| G. H. Ricker, Bal. wages..... | 18.00 |
| N. Guiney, wages..... | 28.00 |
| 27, Taylor Trunk Co., 2 trunks..... | 26.00 |
| P. Stone, one 500 Br. Seal..... | 1.00 |
| 28, Western Union..... | 1.85 |
| 29, Joint acct. Expens., Jan. 1 to 29..... | 598.63 |
| A. S. Embree, acct. No. 800..... | 8.25 |
| C. N. Ogden, acct. No. 600..... | 8.00 |
| T. Whitehead, acct. No. 573..... | 98.00 |
| M. K. Fox, acct. No. 400..... | 15.50 |
| E. R. Thomas, acct. No. 300..... | 1.50 |
| P. Stone, acct. G. R. U..... | 17.00 |
| Rubenstein Lbr. Co., Lumber for crating filing cabinets..... | 8.50 |
| Lumber for crating cabinets..... | 3.00 |
| J. A. Foley, Hdw. Co., nails..... | .50 |
| Western Union, Night letter..... | .80 |
| 30, Young Typewriter Co., supplies..... | 1.00 |
| M. & B. Teaming Co., Drayage..... | 2.50 |
| T. Ryan, on acct. wages, carp'r..... | 5.00 |
| 31, Harriet Ames, Filing clerk wages..... | 10.50 |
| J. Patterson, acct. wages, carp'r..... | 5.00 |
| P. Stone, on acct. C. N. Stamps..... | 2000.00 |
| P. Stone, on acct. G. Org. Stamps..... | 45.00 |
| Workers Soc. Pub. Co. Litera ture purchased by Sup. Dist..... | 4.60 |
| Foley Hdw. Co. Nails..... | 28.00 |
| Geo. Becker, wages..... | 23.00 |
| Madge Law, Index Clerk..... | 7.00 |
| J. Patterson, crating files..... | 7.00 |
| I. Ryan, crating files..... | 28.00 |
| Neil Guiney, wages, 1-25 to 2-1..... | 0.75 |
| Foley Hdw. Co., Supplies..... | 2.00 |
| State Loan Bank, 1 suit case..... | 73.15 |
| Joint acct. to date..... | 0.75 |
| Foley Hdw. Co., Nails..... | |
| Total Cash Disbursements..... | \$3359.38 |

RECAPITULATION—

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Total Cash Receipts..... | \$3168.89 |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1919..... | 2912.21 |
| Grand Total..... | \$6081.10 |
| Total Cash Disbursements..... | 3359.38 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919..... | \$2721.72 |

I. W. W. Headquarters Bulletin

February 13, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

The present month finds us in the throes of universal strikes, the system "having sown the wind" is "reaping the whirlwind." In Seattle, Washington, we have witnessed one of the strongest instances of solidarity that has ever been demonstrated in this country. 70,000 workers came out on strike in sympathy with 25,000 Ship Builders, tying up the city completely for more than a week. The strike was called by the Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L., but, as one Fellow Worker puts it, "The air was full of class solidarity instead of craft solidarity." Even the Capitalist Press failed to come out, the Typographical Unions, showing their solidarity with the rest, refusing to print lies about the strike. Soldiers were finally brought in, and the strike was called off. However, the Ship Builders are still out. Having been fooled once by an arbitration board, they decline to go back now until they know what they are going to get.

In Paterson, New Jersey, 27,000 Silk Workers are out. Many of them are organized in the I. W. W. The strike was called for a forty-four-hour week. However, 11,000 Silk Workers in Passaic, New Jersey, went them one better and went out for a forty-hour week. We have the spectacle now of the mill-owners pleading with the workers to allow the War Labor Board to settle the differences. The silk Workers, although many of them are organized in the A. F. of L., declined. The last word received from there is that the strikers are holding firm, and a number of factories have granated the forty-four-hour week. Officials of the United Textile Workers' Union (A. F. of L.), attempted to induce the strikers to return to work on a forty-seven-hour basis. However, the rank and file refused to listen to them.

The Orange Pickers in California have come to the front, demanding an eight-hour day and \$4.00 a day, an increase of \$1.00 over the present scale. The same methods heretofore used by the employers of the Southwest are being used in this strike, i. e., deportations, gunmen, etc. However, the strikers are remaining firm and reports are that some of the Growers have granted the \$4.00 and eight-hour day. Funds are badly needed down there, as a large number of the strikers have been out two weeks. Donations should be sent to Warren Lamson, 504 Germain Budg., Los Angeles, or Peter Stone, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago.

Owing to the trouble in Butte, No. 800 has been unable to count the ballots and have their member of the General Executive Board elected in time, necessitating the postponement of the General Executive Board meeting until February 20th. The Board will meet at that time.

Perhaps one of the most important questions to be taken up at this meeting will be the date of a convention. A convention is quite necessary, and one will probably be held around the first week in

May. In the meantime, all Unions should be prepared for the call and have their books and accounts in shape to give the necessary financial reports.

Another question to be taken up by the Board is the election of officers for the General Recruiting Union. Through oversight and negligence this has been delayed. However, the General Executive Board will put out a ballot calling for nominations for officers for the General Recruiting Union. The Recruiting Union will then be placed on an Industrial Union basis. There has been demands from Branch Recruiting Unions that this be done. However, this action must be taken by the General Executive Board in order to make it in accordance with the Constitution.

Defense News.

At the last moment of filing the appeal, we are informed that it is now necessary to have the Assignments of Error printed. This necessitates a delay of two weeks. However, after we have waded through all the red tape, there is still a probability of no bail being set. The latest decision by Judge Evans in the St. John case states that setting the bail lays within the discretion of the Court, and is not a matter of law. It is claimed in the St. John decision that one of the things that is considered in setting the bail is the conduct of the defendant since his conviction. This probably is the cause of a recent newspaper story of a plot to kill President Wilson hatched among the Chicago prisoners in Leavenworth.

Wichita:

The Wichita case has been set for trial March 12. The same formula is being gone through, i. e., that of subpoenaing employees of the General Office as witnesses.

District Attorney Robertson has recently announced that he can prove that the Allies defeated the Central Powers on account of the arrest and imprisonment of those held on the Wichita indictment. By his own logic, Robertson can prove that he is responsible for saving the world for Democracy.

In the meantime, Krieger's case, which is closely allied with the Wichita indictment, comes up for trial on February 25th.

The number of cases that are coming up on top of one another makes it necessary that we use our efforts to raise defense funds to at least uncover their frame-ups before the general public.

It is also being announced that a large number of members are to be deported. This has been announced regularly each month since the beginning of the war. However, members have been held for periods ranging from one to fifteen months, and in some instances, two years, before any action to deport them was taken. Recently fifty-seven were taken from Seattle to Ellis Island. Our mission of fifty-seven to Europe will undoubtedly do great

good. We have already received reports of meetings held by members who have been deported heretofore.

In the meantime, the Organization is moving ahead at a rapid pace. Our papers are getting out in the fields; true, under difficulties, but still some have reached their destinations.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 has moved its general office to Portland, Oregon. It is expected that the Lumber Workers' Organization will again be the strongest in the Northwest, since they have established their headquarters again in the heart of the industry.

The Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Union is being re-organized and Ernst Holmén appointed temporary Secretary. All Domestic Workers should immediately get in touch with Fellow Worker Holmén, at 1001 West Madison Street, and use all of their efforts to organize this oft-neglected branch of industry.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

P. STONE, Acting Sec.-Treas.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

January, 1919.

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS

| | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Due Stamps | \$2,088.00 |
| Supplies | 345.00 |
| Rent, Industrial Unions | 200.00 |
| Literature | 435.26 |
| Papers: | |
| Russian Paper | 977.29 |
| New Solidarity | 627.94 |
| La Difesa | 440.63 |
| Bulgarian Paper | 359.75 |
| Swedish Paper | 247.19 |
| Jewish Paper | 239.85 |
| Spanish Paper | 79.83 |
| Contributions: | |
| Defense Funds | 5,111.12 |
| Relief Funds | 765.72 |
| Assessments | 2,673.50 |
| Re-Deposits | 8,000.00 |
| On Deposit | 1,148.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 46.80 |

Total Receipts \$23,816.88

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Office Expenses: | |
| Rent | \$250.00 |
| Light and Heat | 58.18 |
| Wages | 528.50 |
| Supplies | 395.90 |
| Literature | 145.39 |
| Printing | 10.50 |
| Telegraph and Telephone | 39.62 |
| Postage | 133.17 |
| Expressage | 716.60 |
| Bail Money Refunded | 120.00 |
| Water Tax | 15.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 12.40 |
| | \$ 2,426.01 |
| G. E. B. Expenses: | |
| Mileage | 25.00 |
| | 25.00 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| General Defense Expenses: | |
| Wages | \$ 135.50 |
| Supplies | 9.63 |
| Postage | 147.00 |
| Bundle Orders | 42.00 |
| Allow., Work People's College | 1,000.00 |
| Expenses | 116.00 |
| Counsel Fees and Expenses | 4,964.21 |
| Relief | 1,442.68 |
| | 7,857.22 |

General Recruiting Union Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Rent | \$ 100.00 |
| Wages | 105.00 |
| Bundle Orders | 53.00 |
| Mileage and Expenses | 489.27 |
| Water Tax | 15.38 |
| | 762.65 |

Hotel, Res. & Dom. Wrks I. U. Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Mileage and Expenses | \$ 40.00 |
| | 40.00 |

Industrial Union No. 800 Expenses:

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| Telegrams | .80 |
| | .80 |

Industrial Union No. 600 Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 84.00 |
| Postage | 15.00 |
| Mileage and Expenses | 5.00 |
| | 104.00 |

Industrial Union No. 300 Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 42.00 |
| Mileage and Expenses | 100.00 |
| | 142.00 |

Organization Expenses:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 223.00 |
| Mileage and Expenses | 135.30 |
| | 358.30 |

Educational Expenses:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| New Solidarity: | |
| Wages | \$ 171.25 |
| Supplies | 34.24 |
| Printing | 494.56 |
| Subs and Bundle orders | 2.00 |
| Postage | 3.70 |
| | 705.75 |

Italian Paper:

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 84.00 |
| Printing | 311.00 |
| | 395.00 |

Russian Paper:

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 90.00 |
| Printing | 449.91 |
| Postage | 15.00 |
| Expenses | .96 |
| Expressage | 9.42 |
| | 565.23 |

Spanish Paper:

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 84.00 |
| Printing | 223.95 |
| Expenses | 3.00 |
| | 310.95 |

Swedish Paper:

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 244.00 |
| Printing | 113.53 |
| Postage | 21.00 |
| Expenses | 42.50 |
| | 421.03 |

Bulgarian Paper:

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| Wages | \$ 42.00 |
| Printing | 94.10 |
| | 136.10 |

Hungarian Paper:

| | |
|----------|--------------|
| Wages | \$ 10.00 |
| Printing | 3.29 |
| Supplies | 1.20 |
| | 14.49 |

One Big Union Monthly:

| | |
|----------|--------------|
| Wages | \$ 40.00 |
| Printing | 8.40 |
| | 48.40 |

Total Disbursements \$14,312.93

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Balance Cash on Hand Jan. 1, 1919 | \$ 1,195.67 |
| Total Receipts, January, 1919 | 23,816.88 |
| | \$25,012.55 |
| Total Disbursements, January, 1919 | 14,312.93 |
| Balance cash on hand February 1, 1919 | \$10,699.62 |

New Publications

*The following is a list of new books published by the
General Defense Committee:*

The Everett Massacre

By **WALKER C. SMITH**

A clear, concise statement of Everett's Bloody Sunday and its aftermath.
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THE NEW SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST

Box 1873, Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00.

THE CALIFORNIA DEFENSE BULLETIN

222 Kearney Street, Room 204, San Francisco, Cal. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

THE REBEL WORKER

27 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.20 per year; six months, 75 cents.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENKA

(The Voice of the Laborer), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS

(Emancipation), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00.

SPANISH

LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD

(The New Solidarity), 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

ITALIAN

IL NUOVO PROLETARIO

(The New Proletarian), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year, six months, 75 cents.

SWEDISH

NYA VÄRLDEN

(The New World), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

BULGARIAN

PROBUDA

(Awakening), 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

JEWISH

DER INDUSTRIAELER ARBEITER

(The Industrial Worker), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Monthly until May 1st, 1919, thereafter weekly.

I. W. W. PAPERS PUBLISHED BY STOCK COMPANIES:

ENGLISH

THE BUTTE DAILY BULLETIN

Butte, Mont. Daily.

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI

(The Industrialist), Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.

LOUKKATAISTELU

(The Class Struggle), 58 E. 123rd Street, New York, N. Y. Monthly, 25 cents per copy.

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