

The One Big Union *Monthly*



PRICE 15 CENTS

PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

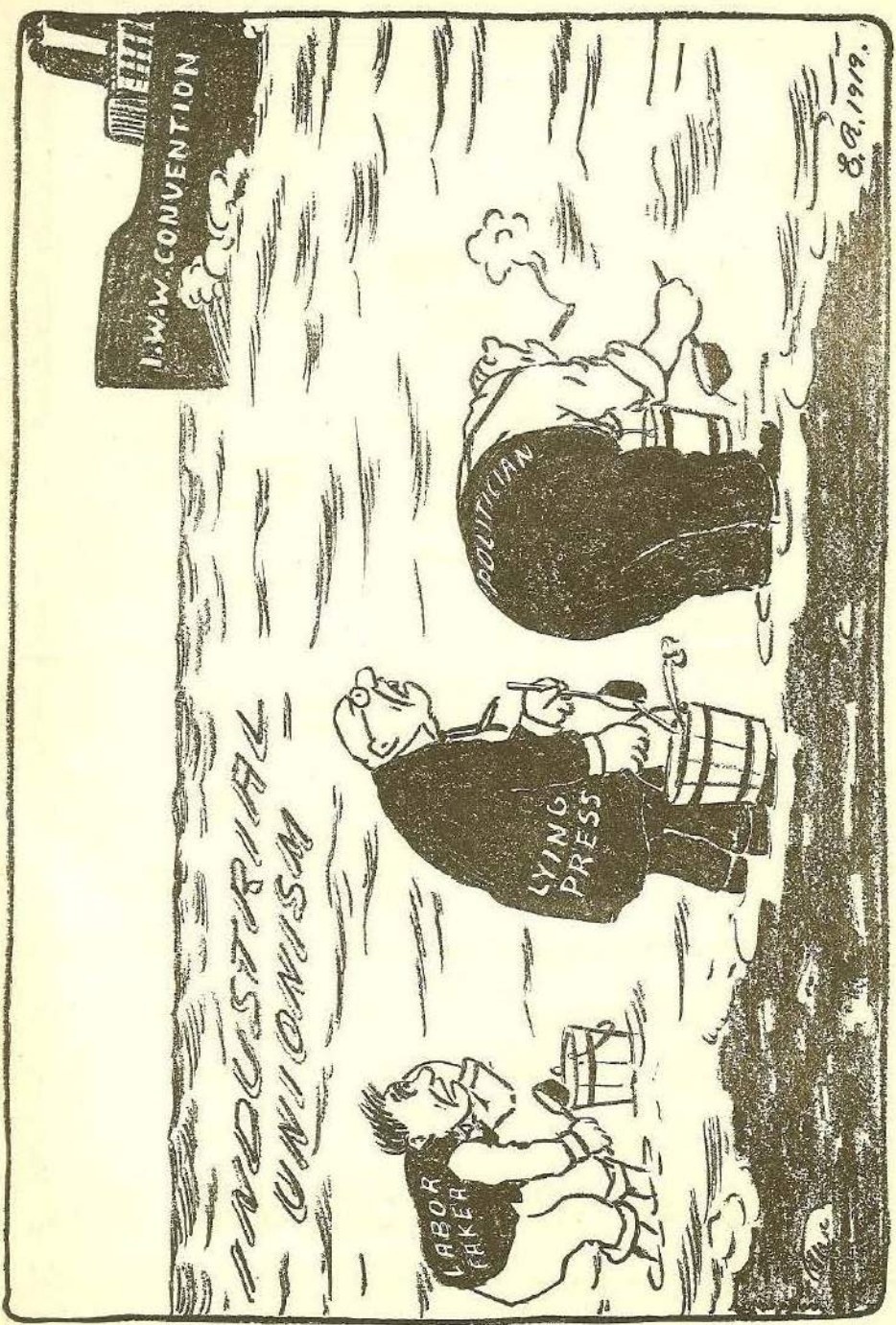
Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

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



CONTENTS

	Page
Preamble of the I. W. W.	2
Trying to put the I. W. W. on the rocks. Cartoon by E. Riebe.....	4
Declaration. By The Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W.	5
Editorials:	
Our Prisoners	6
Two Mayors. Which one is a real American.	7
The Bankruptcy of Capitalism	8
The Profiteers and the Patriotic Leagues	9
The Peace Treaty.	10
The Okranja	11
Deportation	12
Feeling the Harpoon	12
The Plans of the "100 per centers"	13
The Kept Press and the Ku Klux Klan.	13
Might is Right. By Harold Lord Varney	14
Our Uneducated Educators. By X. Y. Z.	15
Fake Bolshevism. By John Sandgren.	16
Life among the Bolsheviks. By Wilfred R. Humphries.	17
Upward and Onward. A call to servility. By Wm. Roberts Page	22
Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. By Roberta Bruner	23
"Hogging the Propaganda." By R. A. Cochran	26
Hogging the Eats. Cartoon. By E. Riebe.	27
The Law of Increasing Dependence. By Abner Woodruff.	28
Workers of the World! Awaken. By Rebecca Tenrosen.	32
"Sic-'Em." Cartoon by Matter	33
Psychology of Persecution in War Times. By John Gabriel Soltis	34
"Proclamation.".. By Ole Hanson.	35
The Imperative Need of Industrial Organization.	36
"The O. B. U. Monthly" Reaches England	37
The Revolution. Its Why.	38
The Story of the I. W. W. Chapter 4. By Harold Lord Varney.	39
Star Employees. By Covington Ami.	42
The Degeneration of America. By Harry Miller.	43
I, the Plutocrat. Poem. By Covington Ami.	44
The EndlessChain. Cartoon.	45
The Eleventh Annual Convention. By Roberta Bruner.	46
Report of Provisional General Executive Board to Eleventh Annual Convention.	48
Report of Railroad Workers I. U. No. 600 for April, 1919.	50
Report of Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800 for April, 1919	51
Report of Construction Workers I. U. No. 573 for April, 1919.	53
Report of Agricultural Workers I. U. No. 400 for April, 1919	56
Industrial Workers of the World Bulletin and Financial Report for March and April, 1919	59
Booklist	63
Periodicals	64



TRYING TO PUT THE I. W. W. ON THE ROCKS

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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A DECLARATION

Adopted by the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

We, the Delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the cause of the International Proletariat and reassert our profound conviction that the program of Industrial Unionism not only furnishes a method of successful resistance against the aggressions of a rabid master class, but provides a basis for the reconstruction of society when Capitalism shall have collapsed. We regard the great European war as convincing evidence of the ripening of the capitalist system and its approaching disintegration; and we hail the rising workers, republics in Russia and other countries as evidence that only the Proletariat through its economic force and by reason of its strategic position in Industry, can save the world from chaos and guarantee the fundamental rights of life.

We publish again the Preamble to our Constitution and call upon the working class of the world to unite with us upon the basis of the principles there declared, in order that we may, by our combined economic power, displace the wage system with its horde of parasitic exploiters and substitute for it the communist system known as "Industrial Democracy," thereby liberating humanity from its age long degradation and freeing it to go forward, not only to universal prosperity and happiness, but also to a high and noble culture.

Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose! You have the world and life to gain!

Our Prisoners

THE eleventh annual convention has sent telegraphic greetings to the Class War prisoners in fifteen prisons. Some of the prisoners have answered, and those answers are unanimous. All of them tell us that the only hope upon which the prisoners care to build is the industrial organization of the working-class. All of them repeat the advice given by Joe Hill, "Don't mourn, but organize!" The I. W. W. and its brother organizations thruout the world are the forces upon which they count to open the prison doors. But not only that. In reading the numerous letters we have received from them, we get the impression that it not only is their hope, but those organizations are for the prisoners the only thing that makes life worth living. It seems they will gladly submit to any suffering, if we are able to furnish them with the news of the progress of our movement.

Some of the prisoners in Leavenworth on the Chicago indictment have been admitted to bail and a few of them are now with us. In speaking to these liberated prisoners, we get the same impression. The long time they have already spent in prison has not in the least changed them, and if it has changed them, it has been in the direction of strengthening their will and determination to fight for the new social order outlined in the I. W. W. preamble.

But prison is prison. The mental and spiritual anguish our fellow workers have to go thru is frightful. It takes the strongest mind and the noblest characters to bear up under such pressure. Many of them have caught diseases in prison, which will put them in a premature grave, others are having their physical health undermined, and of course their life is one of unspeakable misery which only their stout hearts can make them bear up with, in expectation that we on the outside shall do our best to get them out.

For the present, we have two different ways of demonstrating our solidarity with these fellow workers. One way is to follow the standing advice of building up the industrial organizations for the purpose of creating a new society. This is a long and difficult task and requires the organized and combined effort of all of us, working according to a common plan and advancing in organized masses. The individual is here more or less submerged in the body of the organization.

The other way is of an opposite nature. It gives the individual all the play he wants and can possibly ask for. There are some

thirty prisoners admitted to bail, who are still in prison for lack of the necessary sureties to bail them out. Our organization consists mainly of woodsmen, farm laborers, railroad laborers, miners, sailors, longshoremen, textile workers, factory workers of different kinds, etc. Nearly all of them are utterly poor, having the means of existence only for a day, a week or a month, as the case may be. But, nevertheless, there are perhaps a few thousand within our ranks who are the possessors of Liberty Bonds bought by compulsion, or who have cash in the bank or who own some little real estate. Now is their chance to prove their solidarity with those who have fought for the principles they endorse. But even if we combed the whole membership, we doubt if we would be able to get the necessary funds for bailing out those now admitted to bail and those who will be admitted to bail in the near future, if we have the funds. For that reason, we do not hesitate to address ourselves even to such readers of this publication as are not members of our organization. We know there are a great many people reading this magazine who could and would assist us in getting our fellow workers out of Leavenworth and other prisons. This is the chance of their life to put their wealth to the service of their fellow human beings without cost to themselves. The Liberty Bonds or the cash deposited as bail will continue to pay interest, and real estate scheduled for the liberation of our friends will neither suffer nor deteriorate in any manner. By all means, let us hear from you. Get in touch with the General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

A CORRECTION.

To the Editor,
One Big Union Monthly.

In Varney's "Reply to a Reply," which appeared in the O. B. U. of April, referring to the Chicago I. W. W. defendants, he says, "Only one turned yellow." Varney designates Pete Daley as the yellow one, I understand. So that no further misunderstandings may arise and out of fairness due Daley, I ask that you print the following statement:

Daley did not go on the witness stand because of his unbalanced mental condition. He was at the time of the trial, and is now, suffering from insanity as a result of mistreatment at the hands of master-class hirelings. This should not be taken as an indication that he turned yellow.

Yours for the O. B. U.,
M. FRIEDKIN.

Two Mayors--Which One Is A Real American?

AS Most every reader of The One Big Union monthly knows, there are two American mayors who have sprung into notoriety of late, simultaneously and for opposite reasons, tho both of them acquired their notoriety thru their dealings with the I. W. W.

One of them is Mayor Wallace M. Short of Sioux City, Iowa, the other one is Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, Wash. What both of them did, they did with the claim that it was for the purpose of realizing American ideals. Both of them have millions supporting their claims of being real Americans. Which one of them is right?

A statement of the case will be sufficient to enable you to form your judgment.

The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400 of the I. W. W., had decided to hold their annual convention in Sioux City, Iowa. There is nothing remarkable in a labor convention; they have been held by the thousands in the years gone by in every important city in America. These conventions have always been peaceable affairs, regular schools of good citizenship, and it has been the custom for American mayors to welcome these conventions to their cities. Mayor Short, of Sioux City, was not going to make any exception to this general rule. He informed the I. W. W. that he was not going to put any hindrance in their way, but that on the contrary, he would personally welcome the delegates to the city. In his speech, Mayor Short gave expression to sentiments and ideas worthy of a citizen of this country and expressed his confidence in the delegates assembled, in their good will towards this country and to the people in general and said that they would, to the limit of his power, enjoy the protection usually extended to such gatherings.

For this loyalty to democracy and to old American ideals, Mayor Short has been exposed to the most conscienceless persecution that could be devised by the fiendish profiteers conducting the hundred percent American movement.

Not only has his name as a citizen and an individual been besmirched in thousands of newspapers controlled by the "hundred percenters," but the ignominy and the injury they intend to inflict upon this loyal citizen is further accentuated by the starting of a movement of recall, by which it is intended to brand him as an unsuitable person to hold his exalted office.

The other mayor is Ole Hanson of Seattle. This mayor, like Mayor Short, had only a

local reputation until he came in contact with the I. W. W. As will be remembered, there was a general strike in Seattle in the beginning of this year. With or without cause, it was stated the I. W. W. had engineered the affair. Mayor Hanson and his supporters, the lumber barons and other great financial interests of the Northwest, prefer to state that the I. W. W. was at the bottom of the general strike. Mayor Hanson gave it the color of a revolutionary outbreak that was checked only thru the timely and courageous efforts made by himself in putting the city in a state of military defense which awed the strikers to desist from their purpose.

Having put this color on the matter, Mayor Hanson was lauded to the skies in the press of the "hundred percenters" throuth the country, and when the Victory Loan campaign came on, he was considered a proper person to send around on a speaking tour. There has hardly been anything recorded of what he said, except his utterances in regard to the I. W. W. It appears that the mercenary applause of the kept press and the flattering reception accorded him by the exploiters of the people, have gone to his head. When speaking of the I. W. W., he threw away all the conventionalities and decencies traditionally belonging to his high office, and became an apostle of law-breaking and of murder. He stated that this is not a time to have conferences with the I. W. W., but to dig cemeteries for them. Entering into further specifications, he stated that if Washington didn't want to clean out the I. W. W., he was going to leave his office and at the head of a band of lynchers, start out thru the country and hang all I. W. W. men to the nearest lamp-post.

We leave it to the reader to decide for himself which one of these two mayors is the true American citizen, which one of them is a real American, which one could rightly be called a hundred percent patriot, which one deserves the love and the respect of the people.

Some fellow down in South Carolina wants Ole Hanson for president in the hope that he would rid the country of such "abominations" as the I. W. W. There are really some people in this country that would like to see a national lynching bee conducted from the White House. The various "patriotic" leagues and the self-styled "100 per cent Americans" who think economic development can be directed by lopping off its symptoms' will second the nomination of "the crazy Swede" for the highest office in the country.

The Bankruptcy of Capitalism

WHEN a private capitalist, for instance, a manufacturer of clothing, a builder, or a groceryman, no longer can fulfill the social service which he has undertaken, his business is getting poorer every day. This may depend on the fact that he is not using modern methods corresponding to the demands of the times. Some day all his capital is gone, he begins to run behind with his rent, and he can no longer honor his drafts. That is all that is needed to spoil his name in business circles. The next step is that he is denied credit. Without capital and without credit, his position is getting desperate. Persons in this position generally throw up their hands and go into bankruptcy, that is, turn their business and their property over to their creditors to be run by them or divided between them. Another method, not seldom used, is that the person in question tries secret manipulations in order to hide his real position, manipulations that would bring him into prison if they were known. Frequently, this kind of business failure ends in catastrophe, scandal, prison and suicide.

Capitalism is a great international business firm, which at present is in this precarious position. The big shareholders and chiefs of the different departments in this giant business complex are men such as Morgan, Rockefeller, Armour, Rothschild and others. These shareholders and chiefs have enriched themselves at the expense of the firm to such an alarming extent, that the capitalist business enterprise is about to collapse and go into bankruptcy.

We are induced to make these observations because the other day somebody was ridiculing us when we talked about the bankruptcy of capitalism, asserting that never before had the capitalist class been so rich. Our critical friend was right when he asserted that the capitalists are rich; that is exactly what we have said above, but the enterprise is nevertheless bankrupt. The chiefs of the firm have appropriated the resources of the business for their personal use, and the firm is bankrupt.

For the benefit of our critics, we shall enlarge a little upon this point. The capitalist world firm, the capitalist system, has by hook or crook secured a monopoly of the right to furnish the whole world with what it needs of food, clothing and lodging and everything else that is necessary. It has succeeded in a way for a time, but it can no longer fulfill the task it has undertaken and is jealously guarding as a private monopoly. The swindler methods of the chiefs of this world firm cause hun-

dreds of millions of people to starve or go undernourished. Hundreds of millions suffer for want of clothing and proper lodging, and the whole great mass, with the exception of the few chiefs and those near to them, are compelled to live in an oppressive state which is killing both body and soul. In all the corners of the world, life is becoming almost unbearable, almost a burden. The monopoly firm, the capitalist system, cannot fulfill its obligations to the citizens of the world, in accordance with the terms of the monopoly. Their firm was ready for bankruptcy long ago. Already the people have for decades demanded that the capitalist world firm should turn over its property and its business machinery to the people itself, organized in a new "firm" built on better principles. But, instead of loyally and voluntarily stepping aside, the chiefs of the firm are using their last resources to maintain a government by force which shall keep the suffering and betrayed creditors at a distance. The firm had undertaken to fill the needs of the world, but instead it has organized itself to plunder mankind of everything, like an armed band of robbers is plundering a village or a town. The armed band is now establishing itself as autocratic ruler of the world, and is tyrannizing and oppressing the people.

This is what we mean when we say that capitalism is bankrupt.

Production and distribution can now only be carried on at the point of the bayonet and within range of the machine gun. The mass of the people is crying to the "firm" to close its doors and go out of business and give somebody else a chance, but that is as far as the mass has come. Impatient ones are inciting the suffering crowd to so-called mass action. This mass-action is, on the whole, comparable to the mass action of the hungry mobs in San Francisco the days after the earthquake, when the store windows in some parts were broken and the goods taken possession of. The mass is too ignorant and too indolent to organize itself for the purpose of taking over the business of the bankrupt firm.

Only the I. W. W. and the One Big Union movement generally throughout the world is tackling this question of replacing the bankrupt firm with a new economic administration, rational and practical and just enough to deserve the confidence of mankind. At the same time, we are doing it in such a manner as to safeguard humanity from the possibility of again falling into the hands of the bandit crowd.

The Profiteers and the "Patriotic" Leagues

AT various times, we have pointed out in this magazine the existence of self-styled "patriotic" leagues, boasting that their members are "hundred per cent Americans." These leagues and organizations are The National Security League, The American Protective Association, The American Anti-Anarchist Association, The Inter-Racial League, The Knights of Columbus and now recently, The American Legion and several others. Hardly yet established, this latter organization comes to the front with an anti-I. W. W. program as one of its main points, showing that it is only a branch of a general movement with the same aim, conducted from—where? Well, where do you think a movement of that kind would come from? Naturally, from those who own everything or nearly everything in this country. The various leagues are only the different branches of a general movement or organization, branches that are given different names as they operate within different layers of the population. All of them claim to be upholders of the American constitution, of law and order, the sanctity of private property, etc. As a matter of fact, they are none of the things they claim. We know them through their press and through their actions. Through the press they control, they are encouraging and advising infringements upon the constitution, such as the checking of free speech, free press and free assemblage; they are organizing Ku-Klux bands for the purpose of interfering with our public meetings and thus with free speech. The press is lauding such illegal acts and holding them up as samples of American hundred per cent manliness. They advise the suppression of our press, but being unable to do it by aid of the law, they are doing it through sabotage and are successful to such an extent that we can estimate our losses to about thirty-three per cent. When one of the most prominent men in this "hundred per cent" movement, Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, closed the I. W. W. halls, he said they didn't have the laws to do it with, so they used nails, and for such acts he is trotted around the country as a hero and a patriot. Not only that, but through their press and in their speeches they openly advocate and endorse acts of violence against individuals. When the same Mayor Hanson declares that if Washington doesn't clean out the I. W. W.'s, he will leave his office and start out through the country with his friends and hang the I. W. W.'s to the nearest lamp-post, the press controlled by these patriotic

leagues is applauding to the limit, in fact, some of their papers go so far as to say that "hanging is too good for them." The sanctity of private property they are prating about takes expression on the one side in covering up the scandalous profiteering of the war "patriots," and on the other side in raiding the halls of the poor workers and stealing or wrecking their pitiful property. All this is done in the name of law and order and in the pretended solicitousness for American ideals.

For our part, we do not hesitate in calling these self-styled patriots bluffers and impostors, and some of them can best be characterized as cut-throats, inasmuch as Ku-Klux clan work seems to be their specialty. These unfair and unbrotherly elements in American society have been taking advantage of the war sentiment in order to crowd themselves to the front, but as soon as they get to the front we know what we have to expect. These selfish groups are the un-social groups that will, with necessity, have to be kept down in any and every society unless that society shall go to pieces under anarchy, arbitrariness and oppression. For these very self-styled upholders of law and order are in reality the greatest enemies of an orderly society that could be found. To leave them alone to carry out their plans would be to pave the way for a bullying autocracy of the kind they had in Russia before the revolution. It will silence the voice of truth and justice, and the poor and defenseless will be exposed to merciless oppression while vulgar brutes without social responsibility revel in power and plenty.

It is high time for all serious-minded Americans who really have the old American ideals at heart, the ideals of freedom, the ideals of equality, the ideals of fair play, the love of law and order, the love of justice to the under-dog—it is high time for these elements to gather their forces against the vulgarizing and brutalizing influences of these bluffing patriots.

"Scientific Freedom" is at a discount. All over the country teachers are being silenced. They are threatened with having their bread taken away if they tell the truth as they see it. Some who have preferred starvation to intellectual prostitution, have been summarily dismissed from their positions. But 99½ per cent of them are kissing the tail of the golden calf.

The Peace Treaty

EVERY respectable magazine editor should, of course, at this season have an orienting article about the peace treaty, and the editor of *The One Big Union Monthly* does not want to be a slacker in that regard.

Of course, it is too early to speak with editorial authority about peace as long as the war is still going on on eighteen fronts, and as long as the peace conference has come no further with its work than to drafting and presenting a copy of the peace terms to one of the belligerent nations—Germany. But a few general observations might not be out of place even if we are perfectly sure that they will not have the slightest influence on the negotiations.

From the peace treaty drafted for the acceptance of the German people, we are justified in concluding that the general tenor of the whole peace document will be of the same nature.

It may be said, that we have nothing to do with it, but then again, we have everything to do with it. Though we are only poor wage workers, organized in a persecuted organization, the world's affairs belong to us as much as they belong to Clemenceau, Orlando, Lloyd-George or Wilson. The war was a capitalist affair, the peace will also be a capitalist affair, it appears. The capitalists started the war, let them now conclude peace but they cannot alter the laws of life. The world moves according to economic laws superior to the will of individual men. If the present rulers of the world conclude a peace which is in harmony with those unwritten laws, it will be a permanent and blissful peace, conducive to prosperity and happiness for all mankind. If they draw up a peace treaty which runs contrary to those laws, it will fail of its aim of establishing peace to the same extent that it deviates from those laws.

All students of social development, who are not bought up or suppressed, will readily agree with us that the whole trend of social development in general and economic development in particular, go in a direction opposite to the one indicated by the peace treaty. We are therefore inclined to believe that the peace treaty will not be the olive branch of peace, but a glove of challenge thrown in the face of mankind.

At a time when the dominating thought of the masses is to try to work out a form of ownership and management of the means of production and distribution that would do away with private ownership and capitalism in general, that would do away

with the system that is the cause of the misery of mankind, the victors in the world battle are making a desperate attempt to entrench capitalism for all time to come in the hope of continuing the parasitical form of society now existing. It is apparent from all their efforts that not only are they laying plans for having the world's workers create and thereby pay the interest on the old industrial world capital, but thru and during the war, they have in the course of four years saddled upon humanity an additional indebtedness of more than two hundred billion dollars on which we shall not only pay the interest but which we shall also pay back in full in the course of a few years. If capitalism was unbearable before the war, it is simply impossible after the war. To double the burdens on a humanity already tired of the burden it carries and prepared to throw it off, is nothing short of criminal. It is bound to throw the world into chaos, turmoil, and dissolution. The League of Nations may succeed for a few years in holding the world in the straight-jacket of extortion, but it stands to reason that every attempt to dam up the rising flood of discontent and the struggle for emancipation from capitalism, by means of military coercion, is bound to end in disaster that is almost cosmic in depth and breadth.

The peace that will come from Paris will be the "peace that reigned in Warsaw." It will not be peace by mutual consent, it will not be a peace of good will and of brotherly feeling. It will be the peace that reigns in jail, because the prisoners are in control.

Regardless of the terms imposed upon Germany, which we do not even care to discuss, the whole "peace program" is a failure. The peace it will establish between nations is of the same nature with the peace that would exist in a village if one or two or three of the neighbors banded together to expropriate and enslave all the rest, thereafter patrolling the village streets with loaded guns, thereby enforcing submission and imposing a state of slavery upon the majority.

The peace treaty of Paris is a piece of Bourbonism fully comparable to the attitude taken by the French ruling class before the memorable days of 1789. Like the Bourbons of old, the capitalists have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and the result will be the same.

Mankind will in a few years by force of nature rise and nullify the "peace by force" and replace it with a real peace based on human solidarity.

The Okranja

NO sooner had the revolution in Russia placed the army officers in a position where they had either to serve the revolution or stay out of the country, before the army officers en masse offered their services to the various allied countries and encouraged them to military attack upon their own country. No sooner had the treaty of armistice been signed with Germany before the papers reported that the German army officers were looking for employment in the American army. By these acts, the military class demonstrated that to them the expressions "Fatherland" and "People" mean absolutely nothing, that they are only empty jingo phrases and that they themselves are at heart traitorous to the mass of the people.

But when the Russian revolution broke out, there was another large body of men and women that lost their footing in society and that was the immense **secret police of Russia**, the Okranja. Great numbers of them were already in foreign countries, in the pay of the Czar, and as many as could get away fled over the border at the outbreak of the revolution. Like the army officers, they used the expressions "Fatherland" and "People" only as camouflage for their beastly deeds in the service of crookdom. These Okranja people scattered all over the world, but had no means of supporting themselves, except by offering their services to the ruling class in the countries to which they came. Already before the revolution there were thousands of them in the United States watching the subjects of the Czar. Numbers of new arrivals increased the unemployed Russian secret police in this country. We cannot prove it, but from the actions of the secret police in the United States during the last two years it appears that a good many of the old Okranja found employment in the service of Uncle Sam or in the private secret police of the Standard Oil, the Steel Trust, the Copper Trust and so on, as detectives or gunmen. The recent sending of bombs through the mails bears all the ear-marks of an Okranja job. So does the proposed wholesale blowing-up of buildings in Chicago, which was said to be planned a couple of months ago, but which plans miscarried because we discovered them and unmasked them. It is not improbable or impossible that the bomb thrown in San Francisco, for which Mooney was to be hung, came from the same source. The Kukulux work against the I. W. W. as exemplified by the raiding of I. W. W. headquar-

ters in Springfield, Mass., on January 19, and by the raiding of some fellow worker's rooms during the present convention in Chicago, acts which are publicly disowned both by local police and federal secret service, point to the existence of an American Okranja either in the pay of private capitalists or unofficially in U. S. service.

The motive of the secret service people in committing deeds unspeakable in devilishness is the same as the motive of the Russian Okranja. The question for the Okranja was to live and prosper. Unless it could make the rulers feel that they were necessary for the protection of parasitical society, they were apt to be laid off and thrown upon the labor market with no particular ability for any kind of work except crime. In order to make the rulers open their purses, they had to stage spectacular revolutionary affairs, pogroms, bomb explosions, murders, etc., which kept the ruling class in a state of terror and fear of the masses, and they did so without any scruples. If necessary, they did not hesitate to sacrifice the very persons who were paying them and if we have once discovered that they will go to that length, then it is easy to explain most every deed that comes within this class. The unemployed army officer and the unemployed Okranja man, or woman, as well as millions of other foot-loose persons without a conscience, without a sense of decency or social responsibility, form together a formidable force in the pay of the masters that oppress us. Seldom the master himself will take the trouble and risk of dealing with us personally. He hires this kind of people to do it for him. It is a social force with which we will have to deal in the future, a force that is past redemption, a force that can hardly be utilized for the purposes of the new society. Knowing that their spirit has now its last chance to live, these people are doing their worst to suppress the workers' efforts and to maintain the putrid atmosphere of parasitism which is the only one they can breathe.

There is no other body in the country that gets so much free advertising as the I. W. W. Of course, it is mostly lies, but it is advertising just the same. The thing for us to do under the circumstances is to take advantage of our involuntary notoriety to spread real knowledge about our principles and aims. People only have to really know us to become our friends.

Deportation

SPURRED by their employers in the "Wall streets" of the great American cities, the kept and dependent press is bellowing at the top of its voice "deportation," "deportation for the I. W. W. They are 90 per cent foreigners. There is no room for them in this country."

At the same time there comes a terrified letter of warning from an association of bankers, urging the powers to stop the foreign hords from swamping the ocean liners in their desperate rush to get away from this land of freedom and democracy, as they would carry with them too much of the ready cash.

Another warning comes from far-sighted mass-employers of workers. "What this country now needs is plenty of plain men who will do plain work and live under plain conditions." (And work for "plain" wages, of course.)

What is needed seems to be a conference of the 100-per cent paytriot, the bankers and the mass-employers. As it is, the concert is rather discordant on the question of deportation. At the present time the 100-per centers (or more) and the bankers seem to have their way. The "bolsheviks" are leaving as fast as they can voluntarily, but emigration has been surrounded with so many difficulties that the "bolsheviks" have to spend most of their pitiful savings in overcoming them. Furthermore the price of the tickets has been more than doubled, so that most of them have to leave all their money on this side.

They came here to seek freedom, useful work and a chance to live without having their spirit outraged. Failing in all these respects they quite naturally seek to get away.

In the meantime the 125-per centers are nagging the government to "detain for deportation" all such I. W. W. men of foreign citizenship as will not break away from their union. This "detaining" is so cleverly done that most of them have to spend up to 14-16 months in jail while the authorities are looking up the law paragraph they need or until Congress eventually makes the laws that are necessary. Should Congress fail to make the laws desired by the 125-per centers—so much the worse for the I. W. W. man.

They may lose their health or their mind in the hell holes of the prisons, or they may some day be kicked out of jail without compensation—but then, they will have gained a deep insight in the "ideals" of the 135-per centers.

Feeling the Harpoon

"THAR' she blows," the look-out sings from the bow of the whaleboat as he sights the spouting whale.

Then everybody pulls at his oar with all his might, the harpoon-man gets his lines clear, so they will run out without a hitch, and there the big whale rests leisurely on the waves, unconscious of the approaching danger.

Such a drowsy whale resting in placid waters has the capitalist class been these many decades. He has never met with an enemy that was dangerous to him. Like the Greenland whale is the lord of the ocean, for whom the feeling of "danger" does not exist, so the ruling class felt secure for generations and scoffed at the word "danger."

But in his fragile wooden shell comes the harpoon-man. He approaches within range—and still it is all meaningless to the whale.

But all of a sudden there is a stinging pain deep in the flesh, close to the heart. The harpoon has caught with its cruel hooks, and now begins the struggle to get rid of it, a struggle that ends with death. The whale "sounds" and comes up again. He whips the waves with his giant tail. He jumps clear out of the water and "sounds" again. But one after one the bullets pierce his vital parts. The water is colored red, and finally the struggle ends, and the big monster is heavily towed to the ship's side. The lord of the ocean is transformed from a sovereign ruler of the water to barrelfulls and bundles of commercial products.

The Greenland whale of capitalism, the capitalist class is no longer placidly basking in the sun, unmindful of the porpoises and fishes that dart around him. The working class harpoon, **industrial unionism**, has already sprung open in his flesh.

The stolid beast has become a terrified, raging monster, that lashes the waves of society in a futile attempt to tear himself loose. He rushes at the boat to break it but is met with another volley of industrial unions.

He musters the police and the soldiery, he gives the chiefs of the okranja the keys to his safety vaults, he organizes "patriotic" leagues, he takes control of the politicians, he terrorizes the government and the people, he **pumps** money into the sewer of the prostitute press, he lynches, he imprisons, he tarrs and feathers, he prays through the mouth of priests, he orates through the mouth of politicians, he deports, he exploits and he oppresses—but firmer and firmer the cruel hooks of in-

dustrial unionism grip his heart strings.

His desperate rage, his furious activity are not signs of strong life. They are the death-struggle of the monstrous beast.

Steady on the oars, boys! Another volley or two of **industrial unions**, and we shall tow him alongside by our stout harpoon-rope—**solidarity**.

The Plans of the "100 Per Centers"

WHAT the plans of the I. W. W. are, most everybody knows. And if there is anybody who does not know them, we want him to call us up for information. Briefly they are: to organize the whole working class industrially so that it will be able to take over production and distribution as soon as possible.

But what the plans of the self-styled "100-per cent Americans" are is not quite so plain. We have the open declarations of the self-styled "patriotic" leaguers that they want the deportation of all foreign I. W. W.'s. In regard to the native American I. W. W.'s, who by far outnumber the foreign members, their plans seem to vary from plain imprisonment to life-time imprisonment and to hanging at the nearest lamp post, as their eloquent spokesman, Ole Hanson, "the crazy Swede," as he is called, openly advices in a circular letter to all mayors.

The 100-per centers seem to have plenty of the motive power "cash" behind them, and as long as that motive power holds out, we have reason to expect a lot of fervid patriotism that seeks the ecstasy of mass-lynching in the realization of American ideals.

Is it not about time that some less noisy Americans, with or without war uniform, showed these Ku Klux democrats their proper place. We are sure that these clamorers for prison and for blood are a minority, but the majority is so far voiceless.

Returning to their plans, we think these are only in the making so far. The prison and murder propaganda the 100-per centers now carry on in the press and from the rostrum is probably the precursor of the "man on horseback," which they hope to put in charge of this country to make a reality of the American ideals emanating from Wall street.

THE DETROIT I. W. W.

The new I. W. W. hall in Detroit, Mich., is located at 215 Gratiot Ave. Educational meetings every Wednesday night at 8 P. M. Everybody welcome.—H. Van Dorn, Sec'y.

The Kept Press and the Ku Klux Klan

THE lodgings of the fellow worker who was the chairman of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W. in Chicago were "raided" by some persons displaying police stars at 5 o'clock in the morning on May 6th. The same thing occurred to another fellow worker employed in the I. W. W. office, at about the same time. In neither case did the "raiders" show any warrants. Both the police and the Federal secret service deny any knowledge of these "raids."

On Jan. 19th the headquarters of the I. W. W. in Springfield, Mass., was "raided" under similar circumstances and considerable property was taken away. In this case also both police and federal officers denied that any warrants had been issued for a search.

It is evident that some of the many "patriotic" leagues now operating are taking the law into their own hands. The kept press is encouraging that kind of deeds. Not a word of criticism of such acts has appeared. On the contrary, all the capitalist papers are joking about it as quite the thing to do. If the police is doing anything to discover these law breakers, it has failed to come to our notice.

However, this is no joking matter. It is a most serious one. If one set of people in society are encouraged in these acts, it is very near at hand to assume that it is about time for us to take matters in our own hands and defend ourselves next time a "searching" party appears. And then it might be a legitimate search, and the officers of the law will suffer because we cannot tell if they are only the same kind of impostors as in the three cases mentioned.

The very same people who have developed Ku Klux Klan tactics far enough to forcibly enter private lodgings at night to make illegal search and carry away property, will be apt to make a call some day with the same intent as they had when they called on Frank Little and beat him to death and hung him, or as the murderously inclined mob that tarred and feathered our fellow workers in Tulsa, Okla.

If our government is not strong and honest enough to deal with such revolutionary organizations as the above, who are setting the law of the land at naught, if the government cannot or will not protect us from them, we have no choice but to protect ourselves, even though there is the risk of making a mistake in so doing. For the results we are not to blame.

Might Is Right

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

PROBABLY the most pitiable figure in the world today is Woodrow Wilson. He returns to us from Paris, a beaten, repudiated man. All his programs have been shattered. All the magnetic, enticing phrases which gave such loftiness to his figure, in the days of the war, have shrivelled into ashes of contempt.

There is something epic and colossal about this collapse of Wilson. For the height he fell from was sublime. William Marion Reedy, in writing of Wilson's trip to Paris, several months ago, phrased it most felicitously. "Wilson is as one who dwells on a high mountain," he wrote. "A mountain of pure ideals. He is above the world and its petty futilities. He moves in sublimer atmosphere, and he dominates all beneath." In other words, Wilson, in the popular belief of a few months ago, represented the idealistic, as opposed to the sordid—in international politics. He stood for principles, not for materialism. His figure stood out, in the mind of the world, as the personal embodiment of political IDEALISM.

And now he has fallen. Like a gutted, stricken ship, he staggers home from Paris—discredited and despised. He who went to Europe to rebuild the world from his cold ideal "mountain," has been laughed into oblivion. His defeat has been crushing and utter. Not even one small crumb of victory has been saved for him from the ruin. His Fourteen Points were all tabled. His anti-Imperialism was blotted out in the most arrogant imperialistic debauch known to history. His Self-Determination faded into Mandatories. Even his Democracy—his slogan of the war—gave way to a hideous Plutocracy. Wilson went to Paris to match Right against Might: but Might beat him. He opposed Idealism to Materialist Diplomacy, and his Idealism was crushed and extinguished.

All Liberalism is mourning now at Wilson's fall. In the world of bourgeois, idealistic reformers, Wilson was the "white hope." Paris was to bring the Millenium—(of shop-keepers!). The League of Nations was to be a covenant of lofty, spotless Right—(whatever that may mean). All those muddled minds who had looked to words, and to thin ideals, and to quibbling formulas, as their political varieties, were plunged in despair with Wilson, when Liberalism was expunged from the Peace Treaty. The New Republic is sobbing. The Manchester Guardian is dumb. The Wilson "Socialists" are stricken. For Paris has given the lie to their belief.

Poor Wilson! Literature has his counterpart. Don Quixote, we remember, also had his "ideal" of what the world should be, and he rode out sublimely to realize it. But when he tried to battle the windmills, he found that all the power of nature was against him, and he fell. And Wilson with his Lib-

eralism, fighting Materialism in a world which will always be Materialist—seeking to introduce ideals in the No-Man's Land between the trenches of class struggles—is but the pitiful Don Quixote of our age. He is battling natural law: he is attempting to dike back the natural forces of the ages, and he has perished in the struggle.

This significance of his defeat, is not the personal one. For Wilson is but one of Many Don Quixotes. It is not so much Wilson—it is Idealism itself which has been mortally wounded at Versailles. No longer can we speak of Justice and Right ruling the world. No longer can we invent sweet-sounding phrases to decorate our wars. With a ruthless hand, the diplomats of Paris—the Clemenceaus, the Orlandos and the Georges—have stripped away the rag of illusion. There are no more ideals. We see clearly now, and we know that the world is but a sordid battle ground of economic brigands. That war is but a struggle for a market. That history has been a vicious circle and it has whirled us round and round, in an eternal swine-trough of Materialism.

But revolutionists do not mourn the wreck of Paris. We know that the Peace Conference did the true thing—it followed economic law. It was not Wilson who represented the spirit of the age at Paris—it was Clemenceau or Orlando, or Lloyd-George. These followed the law of their class. And since their class was the dominant economic class, they re-made the world by making it "safe for profits." They possessed the might: therefore they sanctified their deeds with the halo of right. And so it has always been.

Ideals are pale things in this world of cold, ruthless materialism. Idealism in politics never was. We, who are revolutionists, know that the crimes of this age will only be ended by Might. The criminals of this age who have written the Paris treaty, will only be mastered by those who are economically stronger. All the ideals in the universe will not budge them. But a class organization will sound their doom. Labor must fight capital by the same weapons. They on top and we below—both are materialists. We want the world, not because we love justice, but because we love ourselves. We fight revolutions not for Idealism but for self-interest. Such is the law of life. Why, like Wilson, pretend that it is otherwise?

The power of the I. W. W. comes from our realization of this materialism. We are not fogged by illusions of right and wrong. We do not bow at the shrine of tender phrases. Might is right. Let us learn the lesson, and organize until we are the mightiest.

Our Uneducated Educators

(For teachers)

By X. Y. Z.

A GREAT many years have passed since Locke wrote, "It is truth alone I seek."

When public schools are established for the education of children, it might seem that the primary object in view would be to communicate truth to the tender minds given to the care of teachers. Is it? No doubt you are familiar with the policy of boards of education thruout the country in accordance with which teachers are prohibited from discussing working class problems in the schools. We ask you to accept this proposition, if any part of I. W. W. teachings is true then you are forbidden to teach truth, for remember, the prohibition is not against false capitalist economics but against all true working class economics.

If any of you have ever done any thinking on your own account, you have probably wondered why this should be the policy of any one who lives in this century and looks back upon inquisitions as things of the dead past. This article is written to tell you why you must lie to children, but before doing so, we quote from two logicians in order to set you upon the path of truth.

In "The Principles of Logic" by Atkins at page 12 he says, "When any one discusses the question at issue on its own intrinsic merits he is said to reason to the point, or, as the old logicians would say, his is an Argumentum ad Rem, but when one party to a discussion takes advantage of the weakness of another and tries to persuade him that something is true by appealing to his wishes or emotions he uses one form of the Argumentum ad Hominem. Since the essential purpose of this so-called argument is to leave a person in a certain mood which will affect his judgment, it makes very little difference how it is done. It may be by gentle or inflammatory speeches or it may be without speech at all—by feeding him or embarrassing him or getting him out in the moonlight."

We may also say by threats. On page 97 of his "Logic" John Stuart Mill says, "Take any attribute whatever, and if some things have it, and others have not, we may ground on the attribute a division of all things into two classes * * *"

The Industrialists claim that modern society is divided principally into two classes—the class that sells labor-power and the class that buys it. We may observe that the buyer, the owner of capital, does not bear the same relation to capital that the laborer bears to labor-power. Capital is not a part of a capitalist, neither is a capitalist a part of capital. Labor power is a part of the laboring man. Did you ever hear of labor power existing apart from a laborer? It is safe to say that you did not. Well then, let us see if we can draw an interesting conclusion from this. If labor power is an inseparable part of a laborer and the laborer sells his labor

power, then he sells himself. In other words he is a commodity. Being a commodity, his wages are governed by the same law of supply and demand that governs the price of any other commodity. For instance an overstocked shoe market and few buyers will mean cheap shoes. A great many buyers and few shoes will mean dear shoes.

Twelve jobs and four men looking for them will mean high wages; four jobs and twelve men looking for them will mean low wages.

Another fact of Socialism follows from this. A laborer being a seller and a capitalist a buyer, the interests of laborers and capitalists are in direct conflict. The more the buyer pays for labor power the less he has left and vice versa.

When a laborer tells this to his employer he then begins to hear some fallacies. He will be told that his ideas are radical—that he is un-American. In short, he will be answered by moonlight logic. Logic tells us that we should not reason thus. Yet isn't this exactly what we do when we call a person radical, un-American, etc.?

An un-American laborer is still a commodity; a radical laborer is still a commodity. Those epithets do not contradict the propositions of the I. W. W. It is instructive to take the common arguments against our philosophy and determine to what class of fallacies they belong. We do not hesitate to say that your board of education and all other capitalists will never give you an Argumentum ad Rem against the I. W. W. They cannot, but they can advance a great many fallacies. If their fallacies cannot persuade you, they have another means of persuasion. You will be dismissed. We are not trying to tell you teachers pretty things about yourselves. We leave that for your capitalist boards of education. If you doubt the class struggle, just ask your bosses for a raise in wages, ask them to promote your "identical interests" and see what will happen.

You teachers are simply educated commodities and most of you are not that.

If you can be educated up to the level of class conscious ditchdiggers, then there is some hope for you and logic will not have been written in vain.

Would you like to know why you are forbidden to teach Industrial Democracy when its teaching is made compulsory by the Russian Constitution? Would you like to know that there are no landlords in Russia and why? Would you like to know why capitalists are called "Parasites" by the Industrialists? Do you want to get rid of moonlight logic? If you do, then read the Russian Constitution and the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World. You can then truthfully say with Locke, "It is truth alone I seek."

Fake Bolshevism

or

THE ASS IN THE LION'S SKIN

By JOHN SANDGREN

FOR some time past a certain spirit in the Political Socialist movement of America has been exploiting bolshevism, its victories and achievements, to bolster up the bankrupt affairs of political socialism in this country. Throwing away all the old principles of the Socialist Party, by which they in the past have more or less successfully duped people into worshipping them as their saviours, they are now trying to begin life on new lines that are "awfully radical." The political quack and impostor has disowned himself and his yesterday, and he is today a "flaming" revolutionist, a revolutionary mass actionist, a—"bolshevik."

Altho the change is so recent, that we still recognize the old voice under the new mask, this impostor spirit is already getting bold enough to go round with a big club and threateningly asking people: "Are you a bolshevik, yes or no?" The inference is that if you answer "yes" you indorse him and his new fledged program, hair, skin, claws and all, and if you answer "no" you are a traitor to the working class "a betrayer of the proletarian revolution," etc. In their public speeches these "bolsheviks" do not hesitate to insinuate that everybody who is not rallying under their red ink banner on the spot and acknowledging them as leaders and saviour is "a dirty tool of the masters class" and such like. Tho having changed their color only yesterday, they want us to believe in them implicitly and unquestioningly. They are like the Coney Island barker outside a "bum" show, who tries to stampede the gaping crowd into his tent by mystification and bullying insinuations.

Before us on the table lies an anonymous circular issued by this spirit. It reads as follows:

"ARE YOU FOR OR AGAINST?"

Anti-Bolshevism—

65% of the wealth of America owned by 5 per cent. of the people. 35 per cent of the wealth of America owned by 95 per cent. of the people. 30,000 millionaires. Unemployment. Insecurity of existence. Starvation wages. Industrial tyranny. Child labor. Inability to marry. Prostitution. War. Profit to the rich. Death and misery to the workers. Are you for this?"

(Of course none of us is for this.)

"Bolshevism—

Jobs for all. To the workers all they produce. No rent to the landlords. No interest to the banker. No profit to the boss. A government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. Are you against this?

Are you for or against? Think it over!

America for the working class of America."

Of course none of us is seriously opposed to any

of these points, altho the program of the organized workers is much grander than this, but what we object to is that these politicians come round and try to bully us into accepting a dilemma of this kind from **them**. They always have been politicians and they are nothing else now, although they have changed color like the chameleon to harmonize with new red ground they are crawling over. As such they can procure none of the relatively good things they are tempting us with. They are fake bolsheviks. They know that only thru industrial organization can the workers secure all these things and much more besides, but like the impostors they are, they are trying to get in on the good thing by throwing themselves in front of the workers' grand procession and are trying to bluff the workers into accepting them as leaders. What they want to lead them into is some sort of "revolutionary mass action," into some sort of "revolt" that will lift them into prominence and keep them with a meal ticket, without the necessity of going to hard labor and doing some real fighting on the job with the boss. That is too strenuous for these "flaming" revolutionists, who exploit every grand achievement, every heroic deed by sincere men and women for boosting their own schemes.

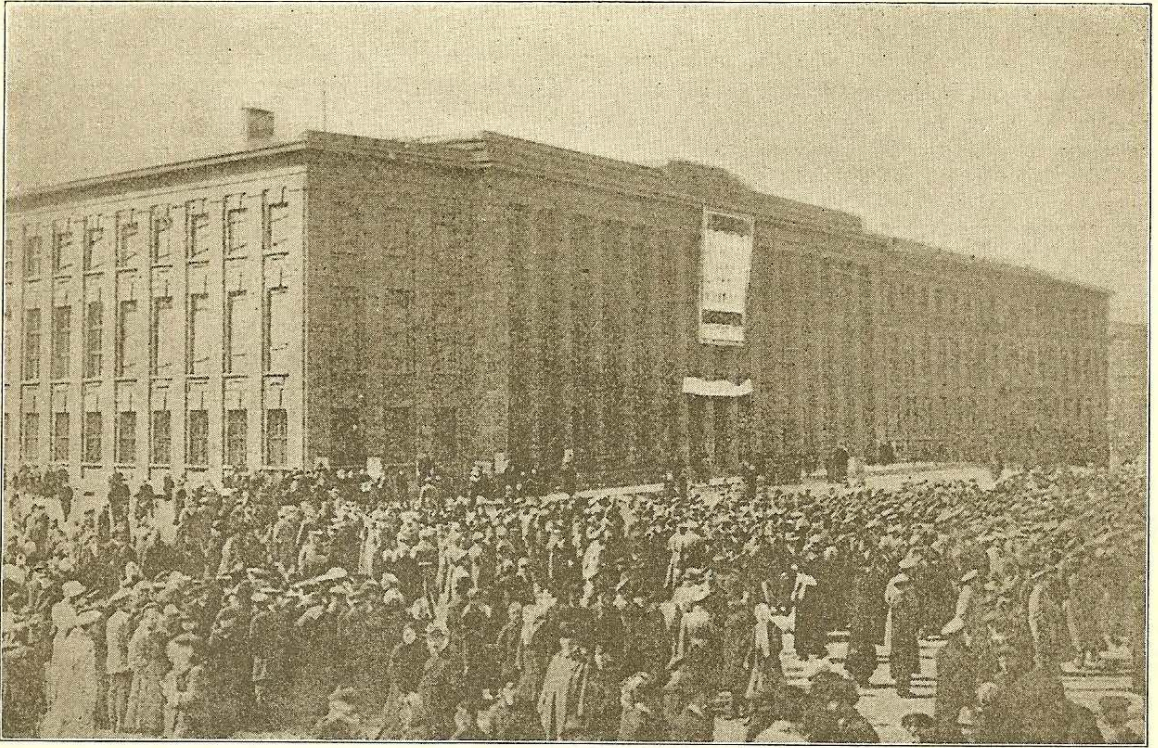
We of the industrial union movement absolutely refuse to accept any dilemma from these fake bolsheviks. We refuse to acknowledge your impostor leadership. We refuse to be bullied by the club you are holding over us by asking us if we are "for or against." We are the sincere friends of the bolsheviks of Russia, of Hungary and other countries, because these movements are bona fide revolutionary movements of the people, but we are against you, fakers and impostors, abusing the name of bolshevism to further your own petty political schemes.

We have asserted our independence of such elements in the past, and we will do so now. And what's more, we want to put other people wise to the real character of your revolutionary propaganda. Get out of the road you adventurers and shysters who would exploit the revolution.

You are fake bolsheviks. You are the old American Socialist politician who betrayed us in the past and worked with our enemies. You are the old political ass in the real bolshevik lion's skinn.

Your cry for "unity" is intended to lure the workers from the straight path of industrial organization into the political swamps where you can prey upon them.

No man likes to be represented by an impostor. That is why we decline to be represented by A. F. of L. fakirs and politicians. We repudiate them.



Russian Revolutionary Soldiers Mingling With Civilians

Life Among the Bolsheviks

By WILFRED R. HUMPHRIES

(Reported by Amy Oliver)

"I SAW more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee-deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," said Wilfred R. Humphries, worker for the American Y. M. C. A. and later for the American Red Cross in Russia during its reddest months. Humphries, young, unaffected, eager-eyed, of the college organization worker type, was giving his first lecture on Russia at the People's Institute, 1256 Market street, San Francisco, Thursday evening, April 10, and in the course of it showing slides of Bolshevik scenes that he brought with him when he left Russia four months ago. "Besides the opera, there were Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy, Shakespeare's plays and vaudeville. In two weeks that Maeterlinck's 'Bluebird' ran, I never succeeded in getting in line early enough to get a ticket. In Moscow, I went to night school three evenings a week to learn Russian, and other evenings attended political meetings at Smolny Institute and other places. And every evening I saw women coming out of theatres in twos and threes, unattended by men, starting out across the city, streetcarless and dark, with no fear whatever. At this time schools were being organized all over Russia. I remember in Petrograd seeing a poster announcing the opening

of a kindergarten that said the children would be served with a hot lunch. This was the chaos and anarchy you read about.

"I heard stories of chaos and anarchy in Russia too. From the time I landed in Vladivostok—where then the red flag was flying—through the seven thousand miles of the journey to Moscow, we were met by the fleeing bourgeoisie and regaled with stories of terror and atrocity, hunger, typhus and murder. Typhus was killing a thousand a day, said the fugitives. Three-fourths of Moscow was burned to the ground. The Kremlin was destroyed. First we heard that Kerensky had thoroughly defeated the Bolsheviks. As we came nearer, the story was that the issue of the battle was still in doubt. Nearer—the Bolsheviks seemed to have the advantage, temporarily. When we got there, the six days of fighting was over and Kerensky was fleeing.

"I saw the 'destroyed' Kremlin—with a piece of statuary at the gate broken and holes through two of the churches—otherwise intact. I found the origin of the 'three-fourths of Moscow burned.' Five buildings had really been destroyed.

"Outrages—of a sort—I did see. On one of my departures from Petrograd, at the Nicolief station, I saw three Russian officers, epaulettes off of course,

carrying passenger baggage to the train. For the standard fee, since no tips were allowed, they duly carried my luggage for me. I saw a portly Russian gentleman in an expensive fur coat selling a bourgeois newspaper. After a particularly heavy snowfall, the Petrograd Soviet ordered everybody out to shovel snow, with the order that no one physically able to shovel might hire anyone else to do it for him. And house committees enforced the ruling.

"One more outrage I saw. Soon after the Soviets came into power, the bank clerks and civil servants, encouraged and supported by the bourgeoisie, went on strike. Lenine countered suddenly and cruelly by seizing all the banks and ruling that no matter if a man had millions deposited, he could withdraw no more than one hundred and fifty rubles (fifteen dollars) a month for each member of his family. This meant that the bourgeoisie could get no money to support the strikers and the result was that the strike was broken. But the touch that added insult to injury was the order that each depositor must stand in line to draw his monthly allowance. He couldn't send anyone for it. I saw in that line a plump, deeply-furred, bediamonded woman with genuine tears coursing down her cheeks at the indignity she was suffering.

"What impressed most impartial observers in Russia, I think, was the tolerance, the considerateness, I had almost said the gentleness of the Soviets and their policies. You have heard much about their suppression of bourgeois newspapers. The only ones suppressed, however, were those that were printing absolute and outrageous lies about the Bolsheviks. If a Russian newspaper said in glaring headlines that the Bolsheviks had massacred all the prisoners and cut them in small pieces, that paper would be closed down. But newspapers might print all the argument against the soviet system that they pleased. I saw a perfectly orderly and unmolested procession of priests, marching through the streets with banners of protest against the division of church and state.

"The Social Revolutionists had planned a great demonstration in protest against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to be held January 5. The soviets did all in their power to persuade the Bolsheviks to keep away from the streets where the procession was to pass, so as to avoid any chance of disturbances. There was danger of an uprising, so the soviets arranged that all public buildings be well guarded. The manner of this was to ask all the people in the building, including the janitor, to aid in defending it. Besides this, the soviets had emergency armored cars with Red Guard groups, placed at strategic points about the city.

"Another evidence of this large tolerance is the fact that nothing was done about the dastardly attempt to assassinate Lenine, who was shot at by a member of the Social Revolutionist Party. At one time when the Social Revolutionists seemed bent on starting a reign of terror, the warning was sent out to them: 'For every Bolshevik leader killed,

we shall kill one hundred of the Social Revolutionists.' That was enough. There was no more trouble except one attempt by an Anarchist girl.

"Trouble between the Anarchists and Bolsheviks never came to any more than battles in a few cities just at first. In the early days of Soviet rule, many Monarchists who wanted to oppose the new government and also wanted to make a living without working, announced themselves as Anarchists and seized houses and goods. But of course the real Anarchists denounced them and now the majority of the Anarchists are supporting the Soviets.

"Now there are about ninety per cent of the population participating in the government—and I don't believe that percentage of people vote in America. All those that do useful work with hand or brain—and that means now about ninety per cent of the population—have representation in the Soviets. The teachers send delegates, as do the medical associations composed of doctors and nurses. What was in the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat—with action begun as it always must be begun, by a militant minority—is now a true democracy. Those sabotaging against the Bolsheviks in the early days when they thought that the government would not last six weeks, are giving up their opposition as they realize that this is a government that has come to stay. I was in Samara when the teachers association met, split into a left and right wing, the majority reorganizing the association and electing delegates to the Soviets, the minority going out of the association altogether. A considerable section of the Intelligentsia were with the Bolsheviks from the first. A glance at the Bolshevik cabinet will prove that. I think one might say that it is the most cultured cabinet in Europe. Many of the rest of the Intelligentsia have been honestly converted since then.

"A minority objects to the centralization of industry—says there is not democracy enough and that the industries should be immediately and completely handed over to the workers.

"But remember that the Bolsheviks do not claim that Russia is wholly socialistic. They say that the co-operative commonwealth is not immediately possible, especially in a country as industrially backward as Russia. They say that Russia will have to develop the stage known as State Capitalism, with concentration of industries and formation of trusts. Mmm. Kollantax said: 'We can't fully socialize Russia all at once. You other nations have a much better chance to socialize your countries, as industry is already partly socialized with you. You can begin where we leave off.'

"But centralization of industry under proletariat rule is a very different thing from centralization under bourgeois rule. Russia has not nationalized all her industries. Some are still under private ownership, modified by Workers' Control. Committees of workers audit the books of the industry, seeing that there is no watered stock; limit the profits to five or six per cent; require the owner to reinvest in the industry a good portion of his receipts; and regulate hours and wages.



“Mass Action” Before The Winter Palace

“Lenine says the policy of the Bolsheviki is to take over these industries that have reached the monopolistic stage, and then the others as fast as the new government can swallow them. It may be said that the industries not now owned by the workers are controlled by the workers.

“Under Workers’ Control the number of stores and shops has largely decreased, naturally enough, with the vanishing of competition.

“Another result of control by the workers, combined with the peasants’ ownership of the land and the taking up of work by the parasitical element, has been the ‘back to the land’ movement. Petrograd and Moscow have materially decreased in population, chiefly as a result of the agitation to go out and take up land, agitation that arose because Petrograd and Moscow were the two places where it was hardest to get food on account of the crippled railroads. But even in those cities during the worst of the railroad demoralization, it cost no more to live than in San Francisco. In Moscow I got dinners of soup, meat, vegetables, coffee and sometimes dessert for from five to ten rubles, that is fifty cents to a dollar—and of course conditions have much improved since then. Through

the darkest days, from the time the Bolsheviki got control, I am sure there was not one starving person in Moscow.

“They had begun to organize the distribution of food in a most fair and thorough manner from the time I arrived in Russia, when the great army of twelve million was still demobilizing itself. Even while happy groups of soldiers with their gas masks and tea kettles hung on their backs were trooping home, I saw armed guards handing out leaflets that announced a moratorium on house rents. ‘Rentals under one hundred and fifty rubels a month are not payable for three months,’ the leaflets said. ‘Rentals above this amount are payable as usual.’ This and the rationing of food was a godsend to the poorer people. Of course this was in the early days of Bolsheviki rule. Later it could not be said that the working people were poor people. Their wages were more than adequate—that is, they could live well and save too. When the White Guard overthrew the Bolsheviki in Siberia and re-established capitalism there, the guard complained during the first few weeks that they could not force workmen back to work because they had too much money saved up.

"We were as generously treated in other respects. At Omsk we asked for a monastery for the housing of the refugees, and would have received it except that it was already full of other refugees, as was the whole city. But the Omsk soviet sent a celebrated man of the city, a doctor, along with us to help us get settled in the next city. He accompanied us and helped us for ten days, and when I offered him reimbursements for his work and time, he refused it. Afterward, when the White Guard had overthrown the Bolsheviki at Omsk, I saw him under quite different circumstances, a pitiable figure being taken to prison to be hanged, and I was glad to be able to effect his release by telling his captors how he had aided the American Red Cross.

"Another proof of the remarkable efficiency of the soviets was the tremendous campaign of propa-

"Whenever there was a shortage of anything, sugar, bread, whatever it was, the Bolshevik government monopolized it and rationed it out, issuing food cards to make sure that no one could buy more than his share. Sugar was scarce all over Europe. The Soviets set the price at fifteen cents a pound and allowed each person a monthly allowance of from a half-pound to a pound, depending on the locality. At first for a short time there was a little sugar for sale in isolated markets and the rich people were buying it at the rate of \$1.50 a pound.

"I had a capital opportunity to see the efficient working of Soviet food control, for in taking twelve hundred Serbian refugees across Siberia for the American Red Cross, I had normal business relations with more than one hundred soviets over three thousand miles of territory. These were refugees



One Of The 10,000 Schools Started By The Bolsheviks

ganda carried on up to the German revolution. Boris Rheinstein, the Socialist Labor Party delegate from America to the proposed Stockholm conference, was and still is the head of the English-speaking department of Foreign Propaganda. Petroff, one of the two men released from English jails on the demand of the Soviet Government which ruled that no Englishman could go into or out of Russia until they were freed, is the right hand man of the chief of all the propaganda. Two dailies in German with a half-million circulation were printed and shipped to the German front, some by airplane, some by hand, through Russians who had become acquainted with Germans during the fraternization period. An illustrated paper for the benefit of the uneducated Germans was also got out. One of these showed the photograph I am showing you here of the Ger-

who had fled to Roumania, then to South Germany, then to Samara in Russia. Raymond Robbins got an appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars with which to take them out and colonize them until there should be a chance to take them back to Serbia, and I was loaned to the Red Cross to take care of the job.

"I found how ready the soviets everywhere were to help the refugees. They sold us food at the same rate as it was sold to the Russian people, prices that might interest you, particularly as they were little more than half what would be charged in this country. Butter was from two to four rubles a pound, that is twenty to forty cents; eggs were two to two and a half cents apiece; bread three cents a pound; and at one place we got whole roasted chickens for thirty to sixty cents apiece.



A Russian City Street In The Days Of The Revolution

man Embassy building, with an inscription something like this beneath it: 'See the building of the German Embassy, with a banner above it bearing the words of a great German. Is it Bismarck? No. Is it the Kaiser? No. It is the immortal Karl Marx, and his words are: 'Workers of the World, Unite!' Now we throw back to you the words of your great countryman and ask you to unite. We Russians have taken the words seriously and all power is now in the hands of the workers. How long will it be before a German Socialist will come as Germany's ambassador?' Besides these, pamphlets were got out in English, French, Swedish, Turkish, Musselman and Chinese. I came in close contact with these propaganda workers while I was working for the American Y. M. C. A., getting out and distributing copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech. The Russians liked that speech and agreed with most of its fourteen points, but they were a little sceptical as to whether the Allies would stand by it.

"I got up to Petrograd in time to spend six interesting weeks seeing big things happen there, with John Reed, Louise Bryant and Albert Rhys Williams. I was at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee when it decided to let the Constituent Assembly meet for one day as a demonstration of class line-up. And I saw the Assembly dissolved early one morning by a sailor who did it simply by telling them that the Red Guard was tired and wanted to go home.

"I saw one whole Sunday of bourgeois protest meetings in Moscow. These were carried on in a very sensible way. Two hundred or more groups of two or three bourgeois men and women formed about the city, each group engaging a few soldiers

in an argument. There was no disorder, the Russians are so amazingly reasonable. But no one succeeded in convincing the soldiers that they had done wrong in taking the power away from the 'natural rulers,' as the bourgeois put it.

"'Why don't you trust the educated people to lead you, instead of putting faith in this Lenine, this German agent?' some bourgeois men asked one soldier.

"'We are dark and ignorant, I know,' the soldier replied, 'but there is one thing we do know, and that is that the educated people have always deceived us.'

"I saw some of the 'dark and ignorant' Russian people at their new work of governing. In one place I saw the village soviet meeting, half a dozen stolid-faced earnest workingmen and peasants discussing ways and means of forming a farmers' school and using a calculating board with bobbins on a wire to help them with their adding and subtracting.

"And I saw everywhere the village and city schools the soviets opened—rows of earnest children presided over by an eager-faced womanly teacher or two.

"The soviets seem to be guided by common sense and the spirit of co-operation. There is no truth at all in the constant rumors of splits between Lenine and Trotzky, for instance.

"The Bolsheviki have, as you have heard, turned many of their munition factories into factories for the manufacture of agricultural machines. But not all of them. They knew that they must aid the first nation that had a revolution, so they kept a necessary number of the munition plants going.

"I saw in Samara the poster announcing the

socialization of women, and making it appear that this plan was given out by an Anarchist society there. Enemies of the Soviets knew they couldn't make people believe that the Soviets would authorize the socialization of women, so evidently their idea was to imply that the Anarchists would soon overthrow the Bolsheviks and put such practices into effect, so that on the whole it would be better to go back to Czarism. The Anarchists came out with a vigorous denial, of course. I have a copy of the posters of denial they put up, reading something like this:

"From the Samara Federated Anarchists: Enemies, you are defeated and you show that you are

getting desperate when you employ such methods. Anarchists all over the world have fought and are fighting for freedom. Is it likely that we would now use our freedom to enslave women?"

"And I heard friends and enemies of the Bolsheviks express their opinion frankly enough. An American in Moscow said when he heard the Germans had opened a bank at Riga, 'Better German banks here than banks managed by them damn Bolsheviks!' And an American who was in Russia as a representative of the International Harvester Company and later was made an American consul, said to me, 'Yes, I hope the end of the war is near so that Germany and the Allies can come in here together and put down the Bolsheviks.'"

Upward and Onward

A CALL TO SERVILITY

By WM. ROBERTS

IN these stirring days of freedom and democracy, there are many golden trails leading to place and fame; but, to him who has sufficient elasticity of conscience to travel it, there is no easier and surer path to purity of reputation and wide renown than an attack on the I. W. W. Among the many thoroughfares to eminence, there is no other like unto it; it is paved with velvet and so easy to travel that any four-flusher may journey therein and feel no disquieting uncertainties of his ultimate reward.

All the days of your life may have been spent in the most vicious and degraded practices of vice and crime; join the righteous in their attack on the I. W. W., and all the scars of your sins fade away, your degraded past is forgotten, your shame is obliterated, and henceforth you walk among men as one of the perfect products of Jehovah's most painstaking efforts.

This enchanted way to glory is open to all,—thug, thief, gunman, pimp—all degenerate humanity, from pick-pockets to real-estate men, may find absolution and restitution between its flower lined borders. And now is the accepted time—he who hesitates shall mourn forevermore his loss of this golden opportunity.

Are you seeking the highway to equality? Here in this magical path you may find the guerdon of your quest. Among the wayfarers who went its winding way, a free and joyous comradeship prevails; social caste is forgotten and moral demarcations are unknown.

In this brotherly and sisterly commingling of attuned souls, the macque and the prostitute, the drug-purveyor and the procuress, hail the clergyman as pal, and he in his turn salutes them as the most cherished of his beloved.

The peteman and the banker—each finds much to admire in the other; thru their comradesly devotion in this path of high endeavor, each has discerned in the mental and moral inclinations of the other a striking resemblance to his own. Because of the sympathetic understanding engendered by

their common passion for pure Americanism, they have come to realize that with an exchange of environments the banker would be a peteman and the peteman would be a banker.

Those who venture with these safe and sane crusaders, will journey thru most pleasant lands, across which the bracing breezes from the mountains of boundless profits are forever wafting, and where the air is constantly perfumed with the essence of never failing springs of hooch and dope. Truly a joyous pilgrimage, with a gallant and care-free company among whom honesty and truthfulness are the markings of a rube, and subornation and perjury are admirable.

In this great enterprise for the preservation of democracy, men who govern famous universities find their moral affinities in the persons of illiterate barrel-house bums; and boot-leggers, sand-baggers, and porch-climbers, hold jovial discourse with officers of the law, to their mutual edification and profit.

Are your aspirations those of a free and untrammelled soul—do the restrictions of common decency irk you? Come, join our better element in this unleashed fraternity where everything goes and naught but an I. W. W. is vile. Fear not that your saffron streaks debar you; tho you are hued like unto a canary, yet fourteen thousand city-editors will acclaim you as of the mighty and valorous. The in old Gomorrah your leechery would have made of you a parish, yet the godly will take you to their bosom, their spiritual shepherds will proclaim you of the blest, and a jeweled harp will await you in their paradise beyond.

Eventually, as an appreciation of your loyalty, you undoubtedly will be decorated with "The order of the Swiftly Swung Boot," and thenceforth, as your reward, you will have the consolation of duty nobly done, and the proud distinction of having marched in the ranks under Macey, Gompers, Schwab, and other great warriors in the army of Upward and Onward.

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Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

By ROBERTA BRUNER

PART III, TOMORROW.

YESTERDAY I constantly asked myself and today I am being asked these questions: "What of tomorrow?? How will the revolutionized tomorrow be achieved? Granting that hunger and want may be eradicated among the millions of working people and that the class composed of the few employers shall have been eliminated, what course can be followed to prevent reversion back to the present order?" The questions are pertinent and deserve consideration.

What of tomorrow? What of that ideal state when there will be no unemployed, no child labor, no hunger, no want, no class distinctions, no social isolation, no strife for hoards of money or for control of resources, no wars, no incentive for crime, in short none of those grievous defects so apparent today? What is expected of the ideal tomorrow? Just this: a chance for all of us to breathe, to live, to grow, to enjoy the abundance of the beautiful and useful about us—a chance for us, the workers, to have leisure and to learn how to spend it. The tomorrow of society will be a direct antithesis to the hateful conditions existent today.

Quickly following the admission that all this is ideal and most desirable comes the query, "How will it be brought about?" The dogmatic skeptic says, "Impossible" and is content with his egotistical disposition of the matter. The fearful, while most ardently desiring a change, cringe back from thoughts of action and wait for a better opportunity, while the courageous minority are left to formulate plans and to act upon them.

Realizing the utter lack of common ground between the exploited laborer and the exploiting employer as well as the impossibility of establishing any such ground, these few thinkers (and doers) have set out to break up and destroy all classes except the working class. This does not mean that the individuals in the employing class are to be executed as the capitalistic press says. The modern working class revolutionists seek to make impossible the employment of workers for profit, knowing that thereby the employing class will be destroyed. No individual's life or existence is aimed at, nor will a single individual's life be lost unless he prefers to enter into a martial amalgamation for the preservation of his class and, in consequence of his offensive action, forfeits his life.

It is true that many employers openly say that they will stop at no means to exterminate the belligerent workers, adding that "the mailed fist," lynching, and other murderous tactics should be adopted to accomplish their purpose. Inasmuch as they are the judges, these proposed plans are not "violent." On the other hand, when a group of wageslaves reach the inevitable conclusion that the working class must enter upon an industrial warfare and seize the machinery of production, without

force or violence, but rather by making demands upon employers in such rapid succession that those employers' businesses will become unprofitable, then those workingmen are "violent" and treasonable according to the same judges.

The howls of violence we ignore. How can we, the workers, advocate violence when the whole means of violence is completely under the masters' control? Do they not call out the army when workmen emphasize their unheeded demands by the strike? Do they wait for necessity to parade mounted machine guns in front of peaceful wage-slaves on strike? Have they not been known repeatedly to destroy property in order to make it appear that strikers had done violence? In spite of insinuations to the contrary, the capitalists control the arms, the munition factories, and all other aids to violent warfare. They sedulously seek to preserve this control because they believe they can maintain their present power and their worm-eaten social structure by means of violence. They little reckon that by such means they hasten the downfall of the already tottering edifices of capitalism.

The revolutionary industrialists take as little time to lament the masters' control of arms and the like, as they do to refute their defensive and offensive prevarications in regard to violence. Our concern is more vital and farther reaching. We are concerned with the useful in life, and we fail to see anything useful in wholesale violent butcheries, such as occurred in the recent world war in which the United States participated, according to the notorious American press, for the purpose of gaining domination of the world's commerce. We fail to see such potency in arms, therefore, as do our masters, the financiers; but we see in the loss of each human life in that great capitalistic war, the loss of that which is most useful, for each of those killed possessed a labor power capable of producing the useful for society. Our concern, therefore, is an industrial concern, not a martial one.—our belligerency, not a martial one—and we aim to exercise dominion on the industrial field. We know that when we shall have gained industrial supremacy, there will be no battlefields covered with the slaughtered bodies of our men.

We strive to gain industrial supremacy by operating in the plants of production. Our first offensive is education. We believe the working class should realize that they produce everything and are therefore entitled to everything. We are not willing to consider any wage "fair" for we know that, under the wage-system, when wages are raised, prices of commodities are also raised. We believe that until such time as the wage-system is abolished: that the working class should raise the standard of living on every hand; that they should not be content to live in poor, illy ventilated quarters

in unsanitary districts; that they should not be content to wear shoddy clothes and shoes; that they should not be content with a scant variety of food, poor in quality; but that they should demand the best homes, the best clothes, and the best food obtainable. We believe and teach that the workers should not be willing to work on a job twelve hours, ten, eight, or even six or four, if there is a single man in the world unemployed at useful labor. Instead we hold that workers should demand the shorter and shorter day until everybody who is willing to work has a chance to do so, and everybody who is unwilling to work at productive labor, like Rockefeller and Morgan, are compelled to work.

That is the ideal the I. W. W. has set out to achieve,—that everyone should do useful labor. That is why a lazy, exploiting element who love idleness and are opposed to work, knowing that we have them cornered, secure every available assistance including the prostituted free(?) press to startle the public with tales of the bogey man. Those tales succeed in frightening only the timid who could be of small help to either side in case of a conflict or crisis.

Further we believe in educating workers everywhere in regard to "the good things of life" that they and theirs do not enjoy and we treat with bitter contempt the doctrine that anything is too good for a working man. There is nothing too good for the workers and we look upon those who contend otherwise as enemies to our class and as aids and abettors to our oppressors.

To teach workers to demand higher standards of living is but the beginning of our educational program. We seek to teach the members of our class that all industries are interlocked, and, in order to control the industries we operate, we must have one big interlocked union. Owing to the fact that our very existence depends upon industry, we know we cannot control our lives—ourselves—unless we control industry. We know that since there is nothing useful to man except products of industry, that nothing except industrial action is necessary in the management of social affairs. We attempt to include in our educational program, therefore, the means of managing industries. We see the effects in Russia of the omission of this phase of education.

We have in America a highly developed industrial system and knowing that the time is near when the workers must manage for collective society, rather than permit a few thieving ravagers to manage for profit, we aim to gain complete mastery of industrial technique. We maintain that we who do the work know best how to manage that work and our self-education brings resentment that legislative or capitalistic bunglers should be empowered to enforce upon us conditions detrimental to our best interests. We rebel that the treatment accorded us is shortening the working man's life, and making that short part he is permitted to live an unbearable slavery. And we, who know these things, teach those other more sodden fellow-workers who

are not fully aware of the monstrosity of our wrongs—and we teach with a vengeance and shall continue to do so by every available means till a complete revolution of our condition shall have been wrought. We shall teach by word of mouth, through the workers' press, by means of books, pamphlets, educational meetings, technical training in school and shop, job agitation and by every and all other means offered. No power of violence, no intimidation measures, no threats and executions of long prison sentences on members of our class can stop us in our educational work. It must and shall go on. Though another thousand of the more outspoken should suffer the persecution accorded our honored pioneers, there will be ten thousand to replace them, for the time has come when the corruption which comes only from power has reached its zenith.

We believe in "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" and the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World tend to minimize the probabilities of exposure to inclement weather changes. The stressed phases of our work are those of construction rather than those of expropriation. We know that by building within, the old hull will be left like the outgrown shell of the chambered nautilus by "life's unresting sea." Capitalism, realizing that the crawling caterpillar is about to emerge a butterfly, cries out that wreck and ruin are intended. What really is intended, is a shelter to safeguard us when the inevitable storm comes. The senile ever abhor change but nevertheless the onward march of progress is unabated.

The end of this class education is the organization of the workers into one powerful union, with such departments and industrial branches as may be needed to administer the affairs of industry. (The details and structural analysis of such a union is tersely outlined in W. E. Trautman's "One Big Union of All the Workers." Andre Tridon's "New Unionism" gives the modes of operation and also the history of the growth of unionism in Europe and America.) When the workers are educated sufficiently to stand in solidarity they will take possession of the resources of the earth and of the machinery of production and naturally there will be no need felt for silk-hatted law-makers whose interest in labor is ever to exploit it and to keep it beaten down into submissive servility. This is the direct action that we place in opposition to political action of the powers of today. It is a more economical and saner means of administering the only affairs that need to be administered—industrial affairs. Direct action is the action of workers through the organized union at the seat of activity rather than in a far removed palace as in the political government of today. And this more efficient action is the form of social control of tomorrow. All that workers have ever obtained has come through direct action and all they ever will get will come that way. Think and see if the politicians ever did get anything for the workers. They cannot get the workers anything. The workers get

everything for the politicians and if that fraud cheats the working man into a feeling of having been rendered a service, the worker adds the fault of gullability to that of folly. Judging by the past we conclude that we can best meet our everyday struggles with capitalists by the most direct attack, and that by working on the same principle we can accomplish our historic mission of doing away with capitalism.

Then comes the statement: "Capitalism may be destroyed, and ought to be destroyed, but there would be people ready to collect and hoard again and we should soon be back in the same state as we are today." No matter how stupid the contention sounds in the light of the fact that historical evolution never goes backward, it must be met. With no buying and selling allowed as we have today,—that is for profit,—the greatest incentive would be gone. But how prevent buying and selling? Is not buying and selling an indestructible institution? By no means. Let us see just what takes place when a worker buys and sells. First he sells all that he has to sell, his labor, and receives in payment a certain amount of the medium of exchange,—money,—which has no real value. His employer admits that he does not pay him all his labor is worth, "For," says that employer, "I must have a profit for the money I have invested in this enterprise." Thus the laborer sells his work at a **discount**. Work is the only thing habitually sold at a **discount** and yet work supports the world! The discounted price received is exchanged by the worker for food, clothes, shelter and fuel on all of which he pays **profit**. Again the investment of intrinsically worthless money is claimed in justification of the profit demanded. Now observe that the **worker** sells at **discount**, while everybody but the worker sells for **profit**. Everybody but the workingman buys goods with the idea of selling again at a profit, while the worker buys in order to keep himself alive. He is cheated in both parts of the deal of buying and selling. He is "robbed at the point of production" and **looted** at the point of consumption. His class constitutes the great exploited majority, and does it seem at all likely that the working-class would tolerate any attempt on the part of the few who would be willing enough to do so—to bring about a renewal of the present system? Naturally they would not, and equally naturally the exploiters will seek to preserve the present system at all costs. If instead of buying and selling for profit, is instituted an exchange of commodities on the basis of the labor involved in their production, there will be no robbery possible and workers will get the full value for their labor. To establish such a system of exchange, the wage-slaves have had to take the initiative.

We do not consider **any wage** fair, and we demand an industrial democracy where, in lieu of work, we will receive a labor checking account. Non-negotiable checks drawn on labor pass books will be the sole medium of exchange and it is obvious that only those who work can check out for the necessities of life.

Where will that employing class be? They simply will not exist. They will be extinct. As individuals they may be alive if their madness has not killed them, but they will not be employers. They, like us who have been their slaves, will carry their labor pass books into the markets and obtain value received for work rendered. There is no reason to suppose that they will not have as good food and clothes as they have today to **use, but not to hoard**. What could be fairer? Yet those individuals constituting the employing class raise their voices with one accord to acclaim that the I. W. W. seeks to do them violence. They call being sent to work, violence. They must know some of the wrongs we suffer today, since they fear so to become part of our class, and they surely have scant vision of the new tomorrow else they would not so stubbornly resist. The great mass of people work. Why exempt any? Yet to obtain exemption those oppressors of ours would slay us by slow tortures, or by more speedy measures, by millions in order to keep under their feet the carpet of our trampled bodies. Still they cannot stop the coming of the new society even though they call out all their armies to butcher us. Down the pathway of industrial unionism we have caught a reassuring glimpse of the dawn of the new society.

In that society instead of many shops competing with each other in a community, there will be displayed all articles of a kind in one place. The price tags on those articles will be in terms of hours and minutes of labor instead of in dollars and cents. The article needed will be selected, price deducted from pass books and the transaction closed. Not having the incentive of today to put shoddy goods on the market, producers will tend toward the maximum standard of value in the product.

In the new society of tomorrow, useless labor, such as, for example, that done in our banks and in the advertising and sales departments of our manufacturing, will be eliminated. Those engaged in present day useless occupations together with the unemployed and the exploiters, will be recruited into the army of productive laborers. The working day will naturally be shortened to perhaps less than one third of its present length. Into even this short day young people will not be thrust suddenly by reversal of fortune, but a part time service will be given which will gradually come to the maximum day's work. As old age approaches the hours will be diminished according to a similar scale. Statistics will then show that Father Time approaches his children much more reluctantly than he does under the present plan.

Of course, the greater leisure not only made **possible** but also made **compulsory** for all, will increase the need for educational institutions and means of recreation. The number of productive laborers in these fields will be much increased.

Our schools will not then be dominated from above as they are today by universities dictating to high schools which in turn dictate to elementary schools. In an industrial democracy it would be as difficult to conceive of children being promoted

from grade to grade in order to prepare for the high school or university, as it would be to conceive of piece work in a factory. Then students will not be learning the "required for entrance" facts dictated by the university they seldom reach, but instead they will be dictating what shall be taught by the university which all shall have leisure to attend. The folly of trying to compel a person to complete a course of study for which he has no natural inclination or ability will be so apparent that to try to force him to do so will be as impossible as to try to hatch a colt from a hen's egg. The schools will train those musicians, painters, and entertaining writers we shall so greatly need, at the same expense as it will train the bricklayer, and the dignity of one shall be as great as that of the other. Why not? Is not a brick house as useful a strain of sweet music, and vice versa?

In addition to music, art, and literature the recreation of travel will be possible for all who wish it. A man could arrange to work extra time for a period equal in length to time he desired to spend in travel, for which he would pay his *pro rata* share of labor expense involved in the process of transportation. With profiteering railroad and Pullman companies removed there would be a notable re-

duction in travel expense. For shorter trips, the community garage will provide the means. Payment will be made in the usual manner. The community garage will not preclude the possibility of a man's privately owning his own machine, but will be instituted for the benefit of those who may prefer to use their labor checks for other commodities.

In such a social state parents will find time to love their children without being beset by feverish anxieties for their future, and children may love their parents without being constantly confronted with unsatisfied desires. Then parents will not have to sell children prematurely into wage-slavery nor will children have to stint in order to care for their aged loved ones.

This new society is not an idle dream for those who understand are acting. Such is our ideal that we strive to realize it by using "any and all tactics." Our woes are so poignant that we hasten the day of their assuagement. The increase of our own misery brings on the moment when we can endure no longer. On our banner are the unwritten words: "No quarter to them who would perpetuate our degradation." We are in the fight to the finish. We hail the new democracy that is being born! Long may it live! But not longer than there is something better to replace it.

Hogging the Propaganda

By R. A. COCHRAN

AFTER reading the articles of L. E. Ferguson in the April issue of the O. B. U. Magazine, I could not resist the temptation to well on one or two remarks made by the writer in question. He states that there is a tendency on the part of the I. W. W. to hog the propaganda in the U. S. A. which arose from the Russian Bolshevik triumph. The I. W. W. naturally will use and employ all methods in its general propaganda that is in harmony with its program of education and organization; nothing strange about that, a logical and natural procedure.

I do not question for a moment Fellow Worker Ferguson's sincerity in the cause of the proletariat, but I am rather inclined to think that his grasp of the real significance of the Industrial Union movement is yet a bit cloudy. Such is the case with a large per cent of "ballot box Socialists." Speaking for myself, I know what a long time it took before I could be indifferent to the breaking of the idols that ballot box Socialism erects for its devotees. It is almost as hard a job for the average Socialist party member to see in the Industrial Union movement the only hope of the American proletariat, as it is for the average Catholic to see the futility of supplication to the Virgin Mary. I want to remind our Fellow Worker that, the I. W. W. in its historical and evolutionary work of welding the workers into One Big Union, cannot consider for a moment the effects its onward march may have on other bodies in capitalist society, whether they call them-

selves revolutionary or not. What would be the Russian situation today had the Bolshevik representatives compromised with the Kerensky crowd? I venture to say that instead of having a Soviet form of government, which is as near to Industrial Democracy as was possible in Russia at present, the proletariat would now be chafing in a new form of harness with a powerful kicking strap attached, in other words, the workers there would be crippled and tied again for a long time, and most likely be given some of the treatment that was meted out to the German workers who revolted against Comrades Ebert, Noske, et al. Just a few more remarks concerning the fellow workers who faced those jackals and hyenas in Sacramento. I cannot restrain a feeling of pride that I am a member of an organization that attracts and produces such men; their calmness and philosophic composure after receiving heavy sentences was grand. By the Gods, it thrills me to write of it, if those puppets and hirelings connected with the trial of our boys had ordinary common sense or intelligence they would see in the attitude of their victims an inkling of something that is about to happen, i. e., the beginning of the end to their arbitrary and brutal rule. None but those who are blinded by a wolfish greed and degenerated by a rotten system of education could fail to realize that an organization whose principles could steel men of the proletariat to such ordeals without a whimper or expression of regret must finally triumph, and if there is such a thing as hogging the propaganda let such men do it.



Hogging the Eats

The Law of Increasing Dependence

By ABNER WOODRUFF

I.

THE terms we use in expressing the Materialist (Economic) interpretation of History are supplied us by Frederick Engels. Karl Marx always intimated the theory, but in only two places in his works do we find it in any manner expressed. First in a note on page 367 of volume II. of the English translation of Capital and then on page 324 and 325 of volume III of Das Kapital (in German).

The note says "A critical history of Technology would show how little any of the inventions of the 18th century are the work of a single individual. Hitherto there has been no such book. Darwin has interested us in the history of Nature's Technology, that is, in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of organs that are the material basis of all social organization, deserve equal attention? And, would not such a history be easier to compile, since, as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this, that we have made the former, but not the latter. Technology disposes the mode of man's dealing with nature—the process of production by which he sustains his life—and thereby, also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations and of the mental conceptions that flow from them. * * * Every history, of religion even, that fails to take account of this material basis is uncritical. It is, in reality, much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion, than it is, conversely, to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestialized form of those relations. The latter is the only materialistic and therefore the only scientific method. The weak points in the abstract materialism of natural science—a materialism that excludes History and its process—are at once evident from the abstract and ideological conceptions of its spokesmen whenever they venture beyond the bounds of their own specialty."

Here Marx declares Technology to be the key to our social relations and tentatively links it up with Darwinian theory. The theory of the law of Evolution suggests that man's differentiation from the ancient tree-dwellers, began with the development of the thumb upon his hand. This made him a tool and weapon using animal, capable of having a myriad of experiences that could never effect the other animals. They were physically—structurally—limited; he was unlimited except by the borders of the Earth, itself. Dietzgen, the father of modern psychology, teaches that ideas arise from experiences—are a product of the environment.

If now we agree that Darwin and Dietzgen are true teachers, we may readily perceive that Marx, in his note, has suggested the mechanism by which the whole structure of human society has been initiated and developed. Man, as a social creature,

may be fully explained and all his institutions along with him.

A careful study of Technology leads to the conclusion that an ability to use tools and thereby produce artificial things from the raw materials of nature is not enough to explain fully the development of civilization. There must have been an incentive—something that made a technical advance worth while. The wording of the Materialist (Economic) Conception of History by Engels, gives us a clue to this incentive. He says that, all the social institutions found in any epoch of the world may be reasonably and fully explained upon the basis of the method of wealth productions and exchange existing at that time.

Now exchange can only occur among those who are associated in some manner. The opportunity for exchange only arises thru association, so it is quite evident that association of some sort must have been the incentive to technical progress and the development of a system of exchange.

We may readily disagree with Ward, who considers man, primarily, an unsocial creature. The principle of Mutual Aid is too firmly established in the animal world, to fail to apply to the arboreal ancestors of man. The gregarious characteristics of the anthropoids are well known and man, descended from a somewhat similar creature, must in his earlier days have possessed a distinctly social instinct. Association was the immediate result of the gregarious quality of the primal man—the principle of mutual aid without doubt assembled and held together the ancient hairy hordes.

With the discovery of the uses of fire man ceased to be a mere beast. It made the waters as much a source of food as was the land, gave a wider range to the habitat, established the family, prescribed certain separate economic functions for the sexes, broadened the scope of mutual services possible in so primitive a time and thus strengthened the bond of association by the addition of obligation or duty.

Due to natural causes woman became the priestess of the fire, the home-keeper, while the man continued on as the hunter and marauder. Woman was probably the first pottery maker, and doubtless she instituted herding and agriculture: all of which complicated life and compelled a great amount of mutual service. Indeed, the ancient communal tribes developed on the dual basis of a common property and a common necessity of large mutual service, which gradually displaced the self-sufficiency of the individual with a feeling of dependence on his fellows and thus materially strengthened the bonds of association.

During the time of the tribes, tools and processes developed to a great extent and the social life was quite complex; in fact, so great was the development that it became possible to separate the handicrafts by which the necessities of the tribes were produced and definitely assign them to individuals.

It was possible for the entire time of a man skilled in some particular craft to be given to the production of a certain class of articles and, also, quite advantageous to the community that his time should be so assigned. Hence it was quite natural that mutual production ceased in very many lines and individual production took its place. At first this individual production went into the common store or fund of the tribe, but later it came to be looked upon as the individual property of the craftsman and the producers **exchanged** their various productions among themselves.

Due to the improvement of tools and processes the method of common or mutual wealth production, use and ownership ceased and the communal tribal relationships were no longer possible. All the old institutions were thrust into a process of change in order to conform to this new private property idea. The improved processes of wealth production and the method of **exchange** which sprang up in conformity with the demands of the private property notion, became the basis of a new form of Association, with transformed institutions which finally became translated into **National** social life.

Now it is evident that there have been stages in man's development when the individual has been quite able to care for himself and successfully meet every natural exigency by means of his own unaided efforts. Men were by no means **dependent** during the greater portion of the tribal era. The tribe was a complexity of social customs of a very beneficial nature, but **not** absolutely necessary. They co-operated to a great extent and rendered many mutual services, but the mode of living was really quite simple, and the average tribesman could have become isolated and yet could have continued to live in comparative comfort. He would have been able to reproduce the most of the simple tools of the time and, thus equipped, would have got along very handsomely. But the **outstanding feature of the individual's progress under National civilization has been his decadence from the "self-sufficing" to the "dependent,"** and this is due to the method of wealth production and exchange on which the "private property" or National system is based. In the earlier stages of that system, the individual produced but one commodity of the group of commodities on which the community life depended, as Iron ore, food stuffs, or tools and weapons, etc., and must exchange that commodity for the other necessary commodities in order to satisfy his commodity needs. The others were equally dependent on him for the satisfaction of their needs in his line. The methods of production were not intricate, the raw materials were abundant and convenient and it was possible to change from one form of commodity production to another with very little expense if necessity required it. However, the individual was limited to one commodity at a time and, in that respect, he was no longer a self-sufficing individual—there were some commodities, which he regarded as necessary, that he could only obtain thru the medium of an exchange.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the development of industry thru its various forms. It is enough to mention the breaking up of the "guilds" by the subdivision of labor in the shops in Feudal times. The ancient journeymen produced a completed commodity, as, for instance, a shoe, but the guildmasters separated the process of manufacture into a number of **operations**, such as cutting, lasting, pulling over, heel building, etc., etc. and specialized the workmen in these operations for the purpose of an increased production and an enhanced profit. Thus that portion of production which the individual workman performed was further reduced and his dependence upon the co-operation of his fellows in the productive process correspondingly increased.

About 200 years ago, horse, wind and water driven machinery began to be introduced and less than 150 years ago came the invention of the steam engine. Following this came a flood of machine inventions designed to take advantage of these powers and substitute an automatic process for the skill of the craftsman's hands. Modern specialization in machine industry not only reduces the individual to the performance of a **single operation** but that operation is simplified to the mere pulling of a lever and the shifting of material. The highly skilled craftsman of Feudal times who practically produced an entire commodity might have found it very difficult to change to some other form of commodity production but the modern machine worker may change his occupation quite readily—the operations are comparatively simple wherever he may go. However, it is an utter impossibility that he should meet his requirements by a resort to his own unaided strength and skill. He has become entirely dependent upon the whole industrial process, and for that reason entirely dependent upon his fellows, who function in productive life with him—he is an associated and co-operating creature in spite of himself. No matter what the volition of the individual may be, the machine method of wealth production and exchange decides and regulates his status for him.

Kropotkin points out to us the principle of **mutual aid** in animated nature, and his followers urge the adoption of that principle in our human affairs through our voluntary recognition of its beneficial nature, but the development of Industrial Society has set up an economic law that transcends in force the principle of mutual aid. And that law is the **Law of Socio-Economic Interdependence**, or (abbreviated), the **Law of Dependence**, which may be expressed as follows: "**The more the industrial processes are subdivided—the more artificial society becomes—the more the individual must depend upon the industrial process and, therefore, the more he must depend upon his fellows.**" This law—this dictum of economic development—absolutely negates and sweeps aside every Anarchist contention that a man can be **free**, in the sense of being independent of his fellows.

We of the Industrial Workers of the World regard all men as indissolubly bound to each other

by this law and we hold that no man, not a parasite, can live unless he functions somewhere in the process of production and exchange. It is not possible for him to remain in Industrial society and meet the exigencies of his life without in large measure contributing to the Industrial process. If he would live to himself, he must remove to the wilderness and subsist on the savage's fare.

II.

In the first part of this article I have shown that the simple economic processes of tribal times—the crude tools of that period—decreed that the earlier method of association should be for the purpose of mutual service and its later form for service and commodity exchange. Out of the necessity for these things and the effort to make them constant and secure, grew all the social customs and institutions of the tribes. But, when the development of industrial processes and the improvement of the hand tools led to a better, a more efficient, method of wealth production, in that it separated the tribal crafts and industries and enabled the individuals to practice specialization, it brought about the system of commodity exchange and, with a relatively complete commodity exchange came the "Private Property idea."

The practical effect of this was that men no longer worked together to produce their common needs, but each produced a separate part of the common need and they exchanged these parts on the basis of the individual labor time necessary to produce them. The old idea of common service fled. Men's ideas became fixed, not in services, but in commodities. They thought in terms of the particular commodity produced and the exchange necessary to be made, rather than in the terms of service and the sum of all production. Each one became independent upon the production of his particular commodity and its successful exchange for the commodities produced among his fellows, and, in order to improve his living, he reached out for a larger production and a wider range of commodity exchange. This led to ever better methods of production and new contracts with other men, thru the ever widening circle of exchange. New associations were set up, new ideas acquired, new ambitions generated, and the necessity to strengthen these associations, to make concrete these ideas and gratify the ambitions brought about the completion of the "National" idea.

Under the influence of Nationalism and driven onward by the gradual perfection of tools and processes and changing methods of production and exchange, civilization has run the gamut through Slave Nationalism, Feudalism, Guildism and Capitalism, and in each succeeding era the chains of dependence have been more securely bound about the body of the individual. We have at last come to recognize the fact that we are associated and co-operating units, (tho often against our wills) and that we are in a completely dependant status thru this Law of Dependence which automatically results

from the separation of the Industries and the subdivision of labor in the shops.

The Law of Dependence is not our law—we did not make it—and, tho Professor Ely in his works on Economics has recognized the fact of dependence, it has devolved upon us to state it as a law. It has been left for us to point out that as the processes of industry become more and more subdivided and the individual is limited to a smaller and smaller part in the productive process, he **must** become more and more dependent upon his fellows who function with him in that process. The whole fabric of civilization, based upon the use of Machinery in production has become inextricably interwoven and we human atoms are completely enmeshed in the wonderful web. For us, there is no such thing as **independence** and, therefore, there is no such thing as that ideal Freedom which so many half-baked Anarchists rave about.

The ideas of some of these simpletons may be gathered from the following incident related by Victor Croughan, formerly Secretary of the Chicago Recruiting Union. Croughan says "A young, so-called Anarchist confided to me that a certain married pair had actually achieved **emancipation**. He dilated upon their ideas, their sparkling conversation and their completely unconventional actions. 'Why,' he exclaimed 'the other evening I called upon them and had a most enjoyable visit, and when it came their bed time they wound the clock and set the alarm and then, disrobing in my very presence, went to bed like two dear little babes in the woods. Oh! it is wonderful to think that they can be so truly emancipated.'" "Yes," dryly concludes Victor, "but they had to get up in the morning when that cussed clock sprung its alarm and rush down town to work ten hours and make a pot of profit for a boss." Emancipation indeed! It is a befogged brain that imagines that the kicking overboard of a few modern conventions constitutes emancipation.

Emancipation, independence, freedom are things of **Economic significance** and are highly relative terms. They must be taken in relation to the prevailing method of wealth production to be properly analyzed and understood.

Independent! When one cannot walk across the street without using something that someone else has provided for you. Free! When you cannot obtain a living for yourself until you have called into active co-operation a countless number of your fellow beings, upon whom you are absolutely dependent. No! The wide **freedom** these piffle spouters hail, can never be attained in a world of machine production.—"There ain't no such anamile." We may in time relieve ourselves of exploitation and the bitter oppression that flows from it, but we can **never relieve ourselves of our obligation to labor with our fellows in industry and conform ourselves to such conventions as will make that labor efficient.**

The Law of Dependence—our recognition of that law—constitutes one of the corner stones of the Industrial Philosophy and upon it, as well as on

Kropotkin's Principle of Mutual Aid do we predicate the desirability—the necessity—of **immediate** (conscious, willful) Association. Human Society—civilization, so-called—is, of course, a great association built upon the necessity of the people to exchange goods, services and sacrifices, as Jacques Novicow says, but to the great majority the idea of Association is quite **remote**, for the reason that they were born into this Association and have had no other experience. They accept it as a matter of course—in fact, are quite unconscious of the associated character of their lives—and to attempt to modify it by means of an **immediate**, conscious association is entirely beyond their present ability to think. A portion of the minority deny the need or efficacy of **immediate** association—they even make propaganda against it—because they affirm that such association robs the individual of his **individuality** and tends towards oppression by becoming **authoritarian**. To such (as to all others) we point out the **dependent** state of the individual under the present mode of production and the extreme unlikelihood that man will ever achieve a method that will make the individual independent of his fellows and, therefore, capable of living in a disassociated state.

We maintain that the machine process—the Industrial system—has so vastly increased the productive capacity of the individual that, in its possibilities, it represents the acme of efficiency and economy. Its present wastefulness and destruction of the individuality of the workers is due entirely to the system of exploitation to which it is subjected, and under which all its benefits flow into the lives of the ruling, or master class. We regard the Universe as a **mechanism** which maintains its stability by means of a system of compensations and balances—its actions and reactions are usually equal—and therefore nature usually strikes a very fair general average. Human society, to be worth while, should correspond to the great trend of nature and should guarantee to the individual an equality of opportunity to achieve the best that is in himself and equally enjoy the benefits that the Industrial system of production can bestow, always provided, that he makes an equality of effort with his fellows. This, we take it, is not an unreasonable demand and is consciously opposed only by those who have been allowed to take to themselves, for their own benefit, the direction of human affairs—the profit takers—the exploiters. But, so firmly entrenched are these in their places of power, thru the ignorance and supineness of the mass of the people, that the individual, already completely dependent on the Industrial process for the right to live, is utterly helpless to materially modify the prevailing condition of social life. His only hope lies in association with his fellows, who are equally as adversely affected as he is and who, therefore, have an equal incentive to strive for those changes that we believe would make civilization beneficent to all.

We contend that, while the great human association known as civilization is **remote** in the con-

sciousness of the people, it is real nevertheless, and not only renders the individual progressively more dependent upon the Industrial process, but, thru the operation of the wage system of exploitation, destroys both the individuality of the worker and his sense of **Social Responsibility** as well. Therefore, we propose an association, a civilization, which shall be **immediately** in the consciousness of the people—which shall recognize the Law of Dependence, and which, thru the abolition of wage-slavery, the adoption of Democracy in Industry, shall develop the sense of social responsibility in all men and restore to the individual his individuality.

Our ultimate goal is an **ethical transformation**—a transformation in the sense of duty—and, since men's ideas are determined by the way they obtain their living, our way to the ultimate of our purposes lies thru an **Economic transformation**, the substitution of **Industrial Democracy** for Capitalism. This Economic transformation can best occur (if at all) thru the association of the workers, the wage slaves, in **Industrial Unions**. Therein, they may be organized in terms of the **machine process** of wealth production and along the lines of their interests as a **class**—such Unions, alone, being capable of co-ordinating them with present Industrial development, and, what is more important, such Unions, alone being able to marshal, drill and discipline the workers for the duties of production and administration in the new society which we foresee.

I have often said that the word "Harmony" is the greatest word in language, because it means **complete adjustment and co-ordination of parts**. The Universe is in harmony; terrestrial nature is harmonious. Man alone stands at sword points with his fellows; and occupies this unique position because one portion of the world's population exploits, takes a profit out of the labor of the balance of the people. We live in a condition of inequality and injustice. There is a fundamental antagonism of material interest that produces continuous warfare within the social structure—an absolute in-harmony.

Among humans, there can only be harmony when there is **mutuality of interest**—when the "exchanges of goods, services and sacrifices" are mutually beneficial—and when there is a mutual, conscious recognition of social responsibility. We point to our **mutual interdependence** under the Law of Dependence and propose to make that dependence **beneficent**, rather than oppressive and destructive of manhood. Industrial Democracy, or Industrial Communism (if you will call it such) would **mutualize** the interests of mankind. It would co-ordinate our productive efforts and completely adjust us to prevailing industrial process. In fact, industry would then be a completely social process and, being such, would fully develop the sense of social responsibility; Which would mean that our world would be as it should be—in economic, in social, in ethical **harmony**.

Industrial Democracy then, is the aspiration of the working class and we contend that the way to it leads only thru the organization of that class in Industrial Unions. Only as the workers are Industrially organized can they be made truly conscious of their mutual or class interests, their class will be developed and their forces be properly united to achieve the class aspiration. Functioning at the base of society—in daily use and operation of the tools and machinery of production—they are the

only class that can guarantee the well being of society and in One Big Union only can they be truly harmonized and prepared to make good that guaranty.

World events drive on with a vast relentless logic. A great cycle of thought is completing itself. We come back again to the ancient idea of **mutual service** as the driving force in human affairs, and the practical translation of that idea into fact will be an **Industrial Communism**—more concretely, **The Industrial Democracy**.

Workers of the World! Awaken!

By REBECCA TENROSEN.

THERE are great events occurring in all parts of the world, happenings which make the hearts of those working to emancipate the wage slave, beat high with hope in all parts of the world, truly, but, alas! least of all in this country of America, for so many years reputed to be the Land of Liberty.

Of course, the reason is apparent to any sane and sober-minded man or woman. Here, the skilled worker has reached a stage where he receives enough money to make almost a decent livelihood, and, perhaps, even to indulge in an occasional luxury, such as taking a day off, or going to the theatre. This slight advance in his miserable state of bondage has had, it appears, quite the opposite effect from that expected. It is often said that, when once the slave begins to lift himself from out of the mire and filth in which he exists, in body and in spirit, he will no longer tolerate the atrocities perpetrated upon him by his master. Unfortunately, this has not been the case,—unfortunately, the worker here, being given a better chance, in many cases, to make his living than in the country that gave him birth, feels greatly pleased with himself and the "glorious" height he has attained, becomes smug and complacent and desirous only of not being annoyed—wants to be left in peace to enjoy the pittance doled out to him by the boss. Indeed, his one great aim and ambition seems to be to ape the masters and become a slave-owner himself.

From the four corners of the globe, we hear of the workers emancipating themselves. In militaristic Germany, monarchal Russia, in Australia, South America, Africa. From these places the news is inspiring; the spirit of revolt and ambition is spreading like wildfire throughout the lands, bringing with it a promise of better days to come, when there shall no longer be such an animal as a boss, nor such a weakling as a slave.

When will that time come for the workers here in America? One hundred, two hundred years hence? How distant is the date when there will be an Industrial Revolution in this country? This complacency of the workers, this weak-minded, ambitionless, spiritless apathy, must be done away with before they will awaken from the depths to which they have sunk. They need to be roused, and roused so thoroughly that never again can

they sink back into the slimy bog of stupidity and lack of self-respect in which they are now engulfed.

One could almost wish that the masters would commit some frightful wrong against these helpless creatures, would do that which they, no doubt, long in their hearts to do, so that a shock, quick, sudden, as an earthquake, might shake the workers to the very depths of their being, precipitately overturning them, so that their self-satisfaction might turn to FEAR. Until then, the workers of the United States are hopeless. Hopeless, indeed—unless—hearken, ye workers of the world!—hopeless—unless you become aware of this apathy, take alarm at it, begin to be anxious for your future prosperity, anxious and fearful to the point where you will strive to do away with your masters, and cease to be content with the dull, colorless, drab lives you are now enjoying.

When will you learn, you workers of the world, not to trust your masters? When will you wake to the truth? When will you cease to lick "the hand that's robbing you"?

I. W. W. INVITED TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

General Headquarters of the I. W. W. is in receipt of the following cablegram:

Amsterdam, Holland, May 17, 1919.
Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, Ill.

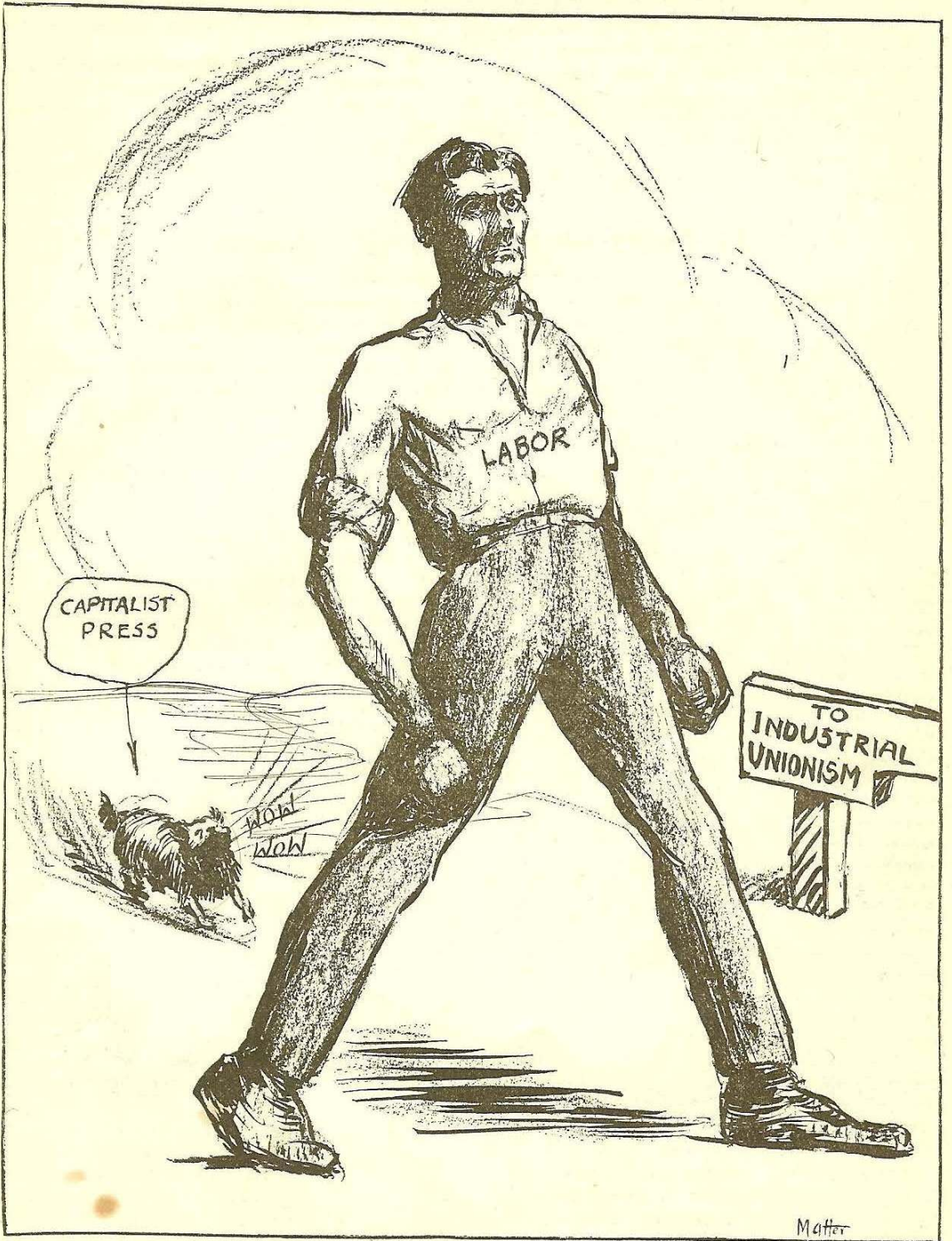
According to resolution taken at Berne, we have decided, in mutual accord, to convene international conference of all trade union centers, at Amsterdam on July 28 and following days. Each center may send ten delegates at a maximum. Wire to Oudegeest, Amsterdam, names of your delegates. Take immediate necessary steps for their passports. Letter giving full details and agenda are following.

OUDEGEEST,
JOUHAUX.

For a more detailed account of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the I. W. W. see special issues of "New Solidarity" of May 17th and 24th.

Complete stenographic report is being mimeographed and sent out.

Frank Conbog wishes to hear from Mike Morris. "Important."



"Sic-'Em"

Psychology of Persecution in War Times

By JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS

WHEN this country made war upon the German State the capitalists rejoiced, for two reasons. First, it meant to them an unparalleled opportunity to coin profits, of which they have taken, as history shows, full advantage. Secondly, the war provided the ruling class with a pretext and a camouflage to make war upon the revolutionary labor movements. All intelligent observers know, that our patriotic capitalists conducted the war against the class conscious workers at home, with more appetite and zest, than they did the one against the Germans.

War has been defined as being the continuation of a political policy of a capitalist state, by military means. Stating it in another way, if the Italian imperialists want the port of Fiume, which is not theirs, and they fail to get it by methods parliamentary, then, all other factors being equal, they declare a war against the Jugo-Slavs, in order to obtain the port. Thus they sustain with arms their political policy in the matter of penetrating the Balkans and the East, for blessed trade.

However, a capitalist state has not only foreign enemies, who present themselves as such, by virtue of a clash of economic ambition and interests, but it also has domestic social enemies, namely: the proletariat. Between the foreign capitalist enemy and the social enemy at home, the capitalist class is by far more intransigent against the latter.

When, therefore, the American capitalists declared war on the Germans, not because they cared one damn for democracy, but because, as Senator Harding has stated in the Senate, American commerce (owned by the capitalists, and robbed from the working class) was placed in jeopardy, a golden opportunity arose to crush class-conscious, revolutionary labor. Because a war lets loose the abominable passions of a mob, under the lash of pulpit and press, of which America is cursed with perhaps the most dishonorable and disgraceful in the entire world.

Before we had entered into the scientific slaughter of the masses our capitalists were very seriously alarmed over the phenomenal growth of the radical labor movement, and, in particular, the I. W. W. There was a movement on foot to destroy it. A campaign of slander and misrepresentation was pursued. There were also cases where the fundamental rights of the workers in the organization were ruthlessly violated. Nevertheless, despite it all, the organization made greater progress (I write of the West) than did its enemies. Had things gone on normally, it is certain the strength of the organization would have leaped over a million.

The persecution of the I. W. W., in the time of capitalistic peace, served only to demonstrate to the working class, how raw the capitalists are toward labor. This tended to draw help and sympathy

for the I. W. W. However, the war brought on a new set of conditions.

America has been blighted with strong currents of European labor, who, in this country have been more or less under the domination of nationalists. Let us take, for instance, the Slovaks. These people, who have emigrated here from Hungary, were made the prey of unscrupulous nationalistic agitators. They have lost, or rather been robbed, in the last 25 years, of over 5 million dollars by these Slovak "patriots," yet there is hardly a half a million of them here. When America entered into the mouth of hell, these people were made raving mad with patriotism, as the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks was made the supreme thing for them. Well and good. But their minds were inflamed, all the time, against the revolutionary elements within the nation and the world. What is true of the Slovaks, is also true of the Poles, the Bohemians and the Slavs in general, who, by the way, are not an inconsiderable factor in the labor world.

Therefore, the capitalist class, in its campaign of vilification against the revolutionary organizations, found plenty of assistance in non-American sources. It was easy indeed to impress large nationalistic bodies of non-American tendencies with the idea, that the I. W. W., an American organization from top to bottom, was pro-German. For these bodies snatched at anything that discredited an organization whose "nationalism" embraced all of humanity regardless of race, creed or color. The war, then, obliterated the potentiality of winning over to the I. W. W., psychologically, large masses of these Slavic workers, and transferred them, for the time being, into the camp of our enemy, where they did sterling service to the cause of black reaction.

When the war broke out the capitalists knew that if they could only convince the people as a whole, that the social-revolutionists were assisting the enemy, then a wholesale onslaught on them would win the sanction of the mixed populace. This they set out to do. It is, of course, clear that to engender the fury of the mob against the I. W. W., there must exist some interest which the mob has in the war, and which the organization is threatening to annihilate. As a matter of fact, the working class had no interest whatsoever in the war. But the capitalists invented one for it.

Democracy was at stake. Shall it perish from the earth? Certainly not! Well, then, we must fight. However, he who asks the nature of the democracy cannot be tolerated, and he who sets about organizing, within the nation, the workers to usher in a reign of Industrial Democracy, is a traitor. They did not say so plainly, but that was the substance of their attacks. Furthermore, these I. W. W.'s are endangering your dear ones at the front. They are attacking them in the rear, with the Germans in front. All these things were asserted, a million times over, to work up the pas-

sions of the populace. Once that blind rage is played up, then the case of the victim is lost, for the time being only, however. After the preparation comes the "coup d'état."

In the work of repression and persecution of the revolutionary elements, the capitalist class was gladly assisted by the traitors of the working class within the labor movements. To this end the "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy" was organized.

Thus the charges of the capitalist class that the social revolutionists were in the pay of the Kaiser, that they were on principle pro-Germans, and desired the defeat of America, were promptly and in parrot-like fashion repeated by the "friends of democracy," who were, we say unhesitatingly, in the pay of the capitalists. The effect that this traitor organization had on the minds of the mixed populace, was exactly of the nature that the capitalists

wanted. They could say and actually did, that so far as the I. W. W. and real Socialists were concerned, the "responsible" and "sober" labor leaders were organized against them, because of their "disloyalty." Consequently, the masses of people who knew practically nothing of the origin and history of the radical labor movements, were easily fooled and duped by the traitors to the cause of working class emancipation.

The curtain is now being raised; the workers can now see the cause of the persecution of the revolutionary movements. Their eyes are being opened, not so much by the revolutionary textbook as by the role the world-capitalists are playing at Paris. Slowly, the despicable part that the traitorous labor leaders played against our class, is becoming understandable to the rank and file of labor. The war has assisted greatly in the process of clarification, so urgently needed in the labor movement.

"Proclamation" by Ole Hanson

"To All Mayors in the United States

The events of the past few days, the sending of bombs to law-enforcing officials, the rioting and disorder in many cities in this country, has probably convinced the doubters that the menace of Bolshevism and I. W. W. is imminent and that all teachers of force and violence should be suppressed and punished.

In my sober judgment the "Reds" have a vast organization in every country in the world, and expect to overthrow all governments, including ours.

The Red Flag of anarchy cannot continue to wave on the same planet with our emblem of liberty and freedom. Make no mistake about that. One or the other must fall. Surely the Red Flag has no place in our country.

Then let us suppress it in every part of our land! I note that press dispatches state that an I. W. W. national convention is soon to be held. It seems unbelievable that our government will allow this outlaw organization to assemble en masse and plot its destruction at such a time as this. However, as mayors, we have our sworn duty to perform and we must be true to our American citizenship, therefore,

I request all mayors in this great land of ours to close all I. W. W. halls, throw the teachers of force and violence in jail, demand of the national authorities the deportation and punishment of all anarchists and the suppression of the Red Flag wherever and whenever it is found.

If this brand of Americanism does not suit some people, let them go back to the country from which they came.

We don't want them in the United States."

With the I. W. W.'s cleaned out, or on the way to that end, Mayor Hanson is now going to turn his attention to the proposal to furnish reclaimed land to returned soldiers and sailors.

As a land speculator Ole Hanson is said to be

more of a success than as a guardian of public morals and as a sample of civic virtue. Ole and his fellows are raising a lot of dust about the I. W. W., because there is a great scandal brewing that would come to public attention if there were a let-up in the anti-I. W. W. agitation.

The ignorance of the country papers on social questions is appalling. The subjects of I. W. W. and Bolshevism have now been discussed so long that one would expect at least editors to be acquainted with the A. B. C. of both. But they are not. As a sample of ignorance and viciousness we quote the following from the Sioux Falls, S. D., "Argus" (sic!):

"In Russia where Bolshevism prevails it is a crime to own your own home or your own farm. There the state is everything and the individual is nothing. The result is of course a tragic fizzle. The United States which has reached the climax of its career following the policy of individualism must not permit the I. W. W. to start anything resembling Bolshevism in this country.

Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle has been openly accused by the Central Labor Council in Seattle of being deeply interested in some real estate swindles in Wyoming. Hanson in answer hisses "I. W. W." and advises just as openly the consigning of I. W. W. agitators to the graveyards. America is a free and democratic country, all right, but the people have been taking a nap and allowed the power to slip into the hands of the cut-throat element, represented by such men as real estate shark Hanson. But mountebanks like him will not last long in public confidence.

The June issue of the O. B. U. Monthly will contain 27 cartoons from the pamphlet "The Crimes of the Bolsheviki," by E. Riebe.

The Imperative Need of Industrial Organization

THE need of industrial organization among the workers is being brought home to us all with irresistible power these days. This kind of organization has long been conceded to be a superior form of organization to the old craft union system, but it is not mainly for this reason that the industrial union movement has taken hold of peoples' minds as an article of creed. The main reason for the upward swing of industrial unionism is the second one of its functions, namely its adaptability as an organ for taking over production by the people itself, now that capitalism is collapsing.

The I. W. W. has always maintained that it would be necessary to create these organs for taking over production, but political socialists and anarchists as well as workers of the bourgeois frame of mind, have for years done everything in their power to discredit it as an organ of production in the future. The acceptance of this face of it would have meant the giving up of their respective pet theories of social reconstruction.

Experience in Russia and other countries where the old system of production and ownership have been overthrown, and where those in power as well as the workers themselves have been compelled to experiment with new organs of production, has shown that there is no other productive organ can take its place. At least not in a society aiming at industrial democracy.

However, in those countries the need of industrial unionism may not be half as apparent as it is in this country. Having no highly developed industries, the changes in the mode of production at the time of revolution were comparatively small and simple. But the more developed industry is, the more complex its organization, the more difficult it is to create new organs for taking over same.

In Russia the industrial workers, who were never far from the soil, returned to their relatives and friends in the country in large numbers and lived off the soil.

In America no such thing could take place. Any attempt at revolutionary mass action at the present time would of course be stupid; it would end in the most complete disaster for those who would be foolish enough to enter into such an adventure. But times are rapidly changing. The day is perhaps not far distant when the mass of the American people, the natives as well as others, are face to face with the same situation as the Russians and Hungarians. The pressure of poverty and economic insecurity may become so great even here that the mass rises in revolt and seizes political power. There is nothing illegal in discussing such an eventuality.

What will happen then? If we smash the trusts, the stock companies, and raise general havoc with the present owners of production, thereby destroying the present organs of production, who is going to do the work of the organs that we are destroying?

If we put the steel trust out of commission as

a productive organ, who is going to make the steel that we must have? "The workers, of course," you will answer. Yes, of course, but the workers cannot run the complex industry of steel making unless they are organized in that industry, so that they can take over the control and the operation of the whole industry, in such a manner that production will not be interrupted. Are the steel workers so organized now? No. You know that they are so far from it, that smashing the steel trust as a productive organ would prove a disaster of great magnitude. The steel workers must hurry to organize industrially, in order to have the new organ of steel production ready when the old one is put out of commission.

Supposing again that the food trust were put out of commission by a revolutionary outbreak, who would take over this most important and intricate branch of production? "The workers," you will again answer.

Your answer is right, but how in the world are they going to take over food production, except they are organized in a union covering the whole industry? Are the workers of the great packing houses in Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha organized in such a manner that a person in his full senses would feel justified in going out and smashing the food trust? Most emphatically NO. If the food trust were to go on strike it would prove the greatest national calamity that America ever witnessed, because the workers of that industry are not organized industrially to carry on production.

But revolution is not the kind of a fellow that stops and waits for people to get ready. When the conditions are ripe for it, it will come in spite of us, as it always has done, and those who are then caught napping will have to suffer for it. We all know it is coming, and it is a sacred duty to prepare for it, so that we may be able to spare mankind the sufferings they are bound to drag over themselves through their ignorance and indifference.

When revolution comes, an industrially unorganized American mob would break the windows of the butchershops and get the steaks, it would break the windows of the bakery and take the bread, it would smash the haberdasher's storefront and get the clothing. When that was done it would proceed to starve and suffer. That would last for a few days, and after that the unorganized mob would be a red-eyed, murderous monster that would keep on slaying, until somebody solved the question of taking up and carrying on production.

There are in this country tens of millions of white and Negro workers to whom the idea of organization is nothing but rank nonsense. These are the terrible elements that will make a revolution without preparation, these are the ones that will form the red-eyed, frantic, crazed monster fighting for its life. Anyone trying to lead this mob into revolutionary action without first provid-

ing for continued production by organizing the workers industrially, is committing nothing short of a crime against mankind.

There is no shortcut to the new society or to industrial democracy. Industrial Unionism is the short, straight road that leads direct to it. All other propositions, such as revolts, capturing of political power, etc., are nothing but unnecessary capers that delay our onward march as a class. It

may be trying on our patience, but we have to buckle down to the tedious and thankless task of driving the idea of industrial organization into the sluggish heads of our fellow workers. This is a work of education and agitation that will take some time, but it is the only way of putting the working class in possession of the means of production and distribution. It is the only road to industrial democracy, so we will have to grit our teeth and keep it up.

The One Big Union Monthly Has Reached England

British Clergy Would Like to See It Suppressed

COPIES of *The One Big Union Monthly* have reached London, England. In a despatch by Malcolm Lincoln, sent on May 5 to the Chicago Post, we are getting back by cable several fragments of an article in our second issue together with an expression of horror at the rest of the contents, text as well as cartoons.

The despatch says:

London, May 5.—Bolshevik newspapers, that have sprung up in large numbers in many parts of the United States, and particularly in the middle west, are the principal factor in stimulating the anarchist sentiment that inspired the bomb plot against law and order. So think a majority of the British journals.

Accurately or inaccurately, they assume that Chicago is the center of the bolshevik movement in America, believing that the decisions of the Illinois courts last summer have had more to do with arousing the I. W. W. enmity than those of the California tribunals in January or the more recent sentence of Leninites to Atlanta from New York. Hence general applause for Chicago's May day police precautions goes along with frank advice as to the future.

All express the hope that in Chicago, New York, Boston and San Francisco there will be round-ups thorough enough to collar "the whole miserable breed," as the Herald, the labor organ, calls the "self-styled but mis-styled world workers, who work at nothing in particular except crime and sabotage."

Denounce Chicago Reds

They ask, "How long will a community like Chicago tolerate the free-lance anarchism of sheets like the *One Big Union Monthly*," with "every line and cartoon in them avowedly designed to smash the entire fabric of civilization in North America?"

Religious journals and prominent pastors denounce "the Chicago-born assaults upon religion by the American bolsheviks."

Father Bernard Vaughan in an eloquent sermon on the "difference between the 'divine discontent' of the poets and the diabolic discontent of the Trotzkyites and Haywoodites," cited the appeal of the Chicago anarchist organ to the workers to "wake up to the fact that the clergy and the like are leading them astray and are parasites of capitalism and a hindrance to the worker individually as well as to the labor movement."

Neither Voltaire nor Bob Ingersoll could have matched that lie, he said.

Dr. Jewett, referring to the same "infernal diatribe against religion," declared that "the priceless privilege of a free press is being abused beyond all proper human pardon, beyond all adequate earthly penalty, by the pestiferous scoundrels who in Chicago—a city where the pulse of God-fearing Americanism ought always to beat true—are urging the

workers to assail not only the state but the church, alleging that 'the main object of the church is to keep them in ignorance of the fact that they are being exploited and robbed by the master class.'"

Anxiety Is Apparent.

Sir Robertson Nicoll wonders how the religious folk of the middle west will deal with "the latest bolshevik development of the United States—the gospel of the Chicago reds that the American clergy are in the exploiting class to crush the workers and the church is the tool of capitalism."

When Fellow Worker Menchen wrote the article "Is Religion a Handicap to the Labor Movement?" we are sure he did not realize he was going to step on the sore corns of the clergy in England. The author is a very young wage worker, and we are inclined to believe that this was the first time he ever had anything printed. If he can make three of the most "eminent divines" of England (and one of them a "sir" at that) jump and holler at a distance of about 5,000 miles, he ought to take it as a hint to keep on writing.

In a typical country editorial, one of these scribbles that are the mental pabulum of the mass of the American people, the "Journal" of Lafayette, Ind., advises a wholesale clean up of I. W. W.'s, the reason being the sending of the 20-30 bombs by mail to prominent men. The Journal commits a crime in trying to instigate persecution against us for a crime which we have not committed, a crime which even the police at a first glance seem to think comes from a different source. If the editor of the O. B. U. Monthly were to accuse the editors of the "Journal" for having sent those bombs he would be doing them no more wrong than they are doing us.

A dispatch from Sioux City, Iowa, states that "the police have begun the rounding up of all suspicious characters and those known to have a leaning towards bolshevism or the I. W. W. organization." By what earthly and legal right are they doing it?

Twenty new charters were issued during the month of March for new branches of the Industrial Unions and the General Recruiting Union of the I. W. W.

The Revolution

ITS WHY

We are facing a revolution. The masters say that it will not come and that it must not come.

Because they **do not want** a revolution they state that it will not come. But still they are **preparing** for it.

The world over the living instinct in man foretells **the coming of a revolution.**

Hoping for it or hoping against it, we are facing a revolution.

If the revolution is denied then also the fundamental facts of modern production are denied.

The modern machine has upset the balance between the masters' commanding, autocratic function in production and the workers' obeying labor.

To a daily increasing extent the machine performs work formerly done by physical labor.

A pressure is created. The worker is so to say pushed out of the humble, menial position originally assigned him by the system of capitalism.

He passes the pressure on to the employer.

The machine has taken the worker's job, and the worker is going to take the master's. The machine is setting a merciless spur in the worker's loin and kicks him bodily upward whether he wants it or not.

The process of production has reached its apex under the system of capitalism. The process of production demands toward itself a new attitude of man. It has prepared a basis for a new relation between producers. It creates in the toiling masses, as an urgent necessity of life, the will to execute work of higher quality than brainless labor. Finally it drives them into demanding a complete surrender and into the taking over of sovereign direction of the process of production.

All human labor will be sovereign directive. The steel, the machine, shall perform the brute, obeying toil.

And every son and daughter of man shall partake of life, of the truth and reality of life on a basis of equal justice.

The masters do not want this, because when this happens there will be no masters. Therefore they deny the possibility of a revolution. But the revolution is urged by the iron necessity of modern production. And the fact of modern production cannot be denied.

All protests drown in the avalanche of the roar of the modern world.

Up against the dykes comes the strong tidal wave of proletarian will to revolt.

In spite of denials, of wails and curses, a creeping terror grips the masters' vitals.

They are preparing in the shadow of a deadly peril, in the mad panic of those who do not understand.

And still they babble on: "I will not come. It must not come."

Their own terror bears testimony of the reality of the cataclysm in preparation.

The anarchy they are howling about is an anarchy of their own terror.

Therefore, at the time when the power is going

They are subject to bloody follies in their intent to be shifted, an attempt to create chaos may be expected from the masters' side.

capability to grasp why their own narrow desires are blocked by the giant facts of life.

Workers! Upon your shoulders rests the destiny of the future. Mankind looks for an iron pillar to lean against in the crucial times at hand. Get together in the One Big Union built on the rock bottom of modern production. It is up to you to subdue the mad dogs of capitalism and open the gates of freedom.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ENDORSED BY YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The national convention of **The Young People's Socialist League**, an auxiliary of the Socialist Party, held a convention in Chicago May 1-5. The part of their proceedings that interests us in particular is the league's position on industrial unionism as explained in the following

Resolution

As a weapon to achieve the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, the craft union method of organization has outlived its usefulness. If we are to carry on the class war more effectively than in the past, we must change our present method of organization in conformity with our past experience and the demands of the time.

The industrial union form of economic organization is superior to the craft union because

1. It emphasizes the fundamentals of the class struggle.

2. It tends to draw in a more compact body the forces of the workers and develops a spirit of class solidarity.

3. It accepts each gain in working conditions as a stepping stone to the ultimate abolition of wage slavery.

In view of these facts, we go on record as heartily endorsing the industrial union form of economic organization.

Whether this means that the members of the league are going to rush in to the I. W. W. all at once or whether it is merely a platonic declaration to signify that the Socialist Party is unable any longer to buck against the One Big Union current, that remains to be seen.

I. W. W. DENIED CITIZENSHIP

George Rappael, who admitted he was an I. W. W. member, was denied citizenship by a judge in Fargo, N. Dak., on that ground says the Lincoln Star, Neb.

No use for an I. W. W. man to waste time and money on getting his citizen's papers, by the looks of it.

The Story of the I. W. W.

By Harold Lord Varney

CHAPTER FOUR. THE FIRST CONVENTION.

THE day arrived. On June 27, 1905, the convention at which the I. W. W. was born, was convened at Brand's Hall, in Chicago. Seldom has a union been launched with such promise. Delegates and spectators had poured into Chicago from every section of the United States. All, were fired by an enthusiasm and a unanimity born of the occasion.

The tragedy among industrial unionists, in the past, had been a fatal factionalism. Every coming together had been prolific of subsequent divisions. As a result, a multitude of industrial union cults were feverishly engaged in a work of mutual annihilation.

The First Convention brought them all together. The personal note was subdued. Each vied with the other to ensure the harmony and success of the occasion. Of course, it was only a truce, but under the cover of that truce, the construction of a scientific industrial union movement was at last accomplished.

All the great leaders who had blazed the trail of industrial unionism in the past, lent their presence to this convention. It was rich in persona. First and foremost, there was Big Bill Haywood, just springing into fame as a leader of the W. F. of M.; the one man, of all the delegates, who was destined to attain international fame, as the leader of the new organization. There was Eugene V. Debs, the greatest orator of the labor movement, who had struck an early blow for industrial unionism, back in the strike of the A. R. U. There was Daniel De Leon, the S. L. P. leader, of whom we have already written. An interesting delegate was Thomas J. Hagerty, an ex-Catholic priest, who had thrown into the labor movement the rich endowment of his intellect. There was Clarence Smith, afterwards to become mayor of Butte, Montana; Frank Bohn, doctor of philosophy and labor agitator, who had been driven from the faculty of Columbia University; A. M. Simons, Socialist party agitator and writer, who attended the convention as the editor of the International Socialist Review; Charles H. Moyer, who was afterwards to become the I. W. W.'s bitterest enemy, and William E. Trautmann, one of the brightest minds of that early period. Two women, who sat in the convention, added to it, the bizarre picturesqueness of their past. One was Mother Jones, that wonderful old woman, whose eloquence was known and loved wherever miners struggled for freedom. The other was Lucy E. Parsons, whose dark features were a constant reminder to the delegates of the Haymarket tragedy, which had ended the first great drive for a revolutionary unionism, in this same city of Chicago, nearly a generation before.

In all, there were 203 delegates in attendance. Not all of these represented a constituency. The preliminary conference had provided for the seating of individual sympathizers in the convention, with one vote apiece. These individuals comprised 61 of the total. Of those who came as representatives, there were two divisions. First, there were those who came authorized to install their organizations in the new union. The others came to investigate the organization, as it was formed, and to report back to their unions for later action. Of the first type of delegates, there were 70; of the latter type, 72.

The bodies which definitely committed themselves to a policy of installation in the new union were:

The Western Federation of Miners	27,000	members
The American Labor Union	16,000	"
United Brotherhood of Railway Employees	2,087	"
United Metal Workers	3,000	"
Socialist Trades & Labor Alliance	1,450	"
Punch Press Operators Union of Schenectady, N. Y.	168	"
Industrial Workers' Clubs of Chicago, Cincinnati and Pueblo	162	"

These were the unions which made up the component parts of the new I. W. W.

The other delegates were, nearly without exception, representatives of local unions which were affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is unnecessary to give their names as practically none of them swung into the I. W. W. after their delegates returned. In this respect, the convention was a bitter disappointment to many of its projectors, as it had been believed that several international unions of the A. F. of L. would take advantage of this occasion to abandon the older organization. Only two general craft organizations were officially represented, the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers.

At 10 o'clock on that first morning, the delegates were called to order by William D. Haywood. After a few explanatory remarks by Haywood and a reading of the manifesto, the convention adjourned to give the credentials committee a chance to effect a temporary classification of the delegates. The credentials committee consisted of the original members at the January conference. They were to examine the credentials of those delegates who were authorized to install in the new union. These, in turn, were to elect the permanent credentials committee which should pass upon all the remainder.

This method of procedure had been decided upon, in advance, in order that the control of the convention should not pass out of the hands of the original conferees. It was feared that some of the delegates were not there in good faith. Suspicion pointed most strongly to the U. M. W. of A. delegates. These delegates represented 50,000 members and, had they been allowed a proportional voting strength, they would have controlled the convention. In that case, it is doubtful if the outcome would have been the creation of a revolutionary union. Many of the U. M. W. of A. delegates were notoriously reactionary. Phil. Veal, a U. M. W. of A. member, who was present in the convention as a representative of the S. T. & L. A., early took the floor and exposed the fact that several of these same individuals had upheld Mitchell and the notorious Civic Federation at the last convention of their own union. The temporary credentials committee obviated the danger by seating them as individuals, with only one vote apiece. The same decision was made in the case of the other delegates who were not empowered to install and of the individual visitors. Each of these had one vote in the convention. Thus, from the very first, the W. F. of M. cast the controlling vote in every division. The W. F. of M. delegates were not bound by the unit rule, however, and the delegation was sometimes found on opposing sides. Aside from the first manœuvre, which shut out the U. M. W. of A., they did not use their preponderance arbitrarily.

Upon permanent organization, Haywood was elected chairman and William E. Trautmann, secretary. Permanent committees were then chosen to report on constitution, resolutions, organization, ways and means and literature and press. There was a long discussion of the manner in which these committees should be elected. The discussion was terminated by a decision to choose them by giving one representative to every constituent group on each committee and three members at large to be chosen from the individual delegates. Thus selected, each committee went to work. Naturally, the most important of the committees was the committee on the constitution. After three days of work, they announced their readiness to report, and delegate Hagerty arose and, for the first time, read the preamble of the I. W. W. This preamble has become almost a classic document of industrial unionism. Every member of the I. W. W. knows it by memory and it is the clearest expression of the backgrounds of the movement that has ever been penned.

Original I. W. W. Preamble.

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

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

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

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

In this form, the preamble was first adopted.

It well typifies the divergent viewpoints which were being consolidated. The first paragraph, in which the socialist conception of the class struggle was unreservedly endorsed, was accepted by all. The second paragraph, covering political action, was a compromise and an evasion. Many had feared that the subject of political action was the rock, upon which the convention would break. At least three elements, who were present, had very decided opinions upon this subject. First, there was a strong Socialist party element of whom A. M. Simons was the spokesman. This element would have gladly committed the I. W. W. to an endorsement, not only of political action, but directly, of the Socialist party. Then there was De Leon and his S. T. & L. A. following. De Leon favored an endorsement of the principle of political action but he would strongly oppose endorsing the Socialist Party as he had a political organization of his own. There was a third

element present, not so strong, perhaps, as in the later conventions, but a factor which could not be ignored, the anarchists. They were naturally opposed to any political clause. The W. F. of M. and A. L. U. delegates were more or less divided on this question but the attitude of the average western unionist, was one of indifference. Thus, it was at first, left for the three factions to fight out. To avoid a division, the political endorsement was worded as shown above, with a qualifying clause, "without affiliation with any political party." Not having sufficient strength to defeat the preamble, the anarchist element accepted it temporarily. The pure and simple industrial unionists did not consider it a vital point. Three years later, the remaining minority of this industrial union group reversed themselves and accepted the non-political idea of the anarchists.

Next, the name of the new union was debated. The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the name of Industrial Workers of the World was accepted. The name appropriately expressed the aims of the movement, embodying as it did, the three principles of industrial unionism; proletarian organization and internationalism. An attempt was made to substitute the name, Industrial Union of America, but the original selection was overwhelmingly upheld.

A really serious division occurred however, when the next section came up for discussion. The plan of organization decided upon by the committee classified the entire working class into thirteen industrial departments. These departments should be the units in the I. W. W. and the General Executive Board should consist of a delegate from each department. Delegate David C. Coates sought to amend this so that each industry would form a union on an equality with every other union. This would border, dangerously, upon the old craft union system of the A. F. of L. It appeared as if Coates' amendment was seeking to restore trade, rather than industrial autonomy. The most strenuous debate of the convention was drawn out. De Leon, Trautmann and Hagerty led the opposition. Simons and the Socialist party element generally, championed the amendment. A compromise was finally arrived at in the following substitute:

"The International and National Industrial Unions shall have complete industrial autonomy in their respective international affairs, provided the executive board shall have power to control these industrial unions in matters concerning the interest of the general welfare."

In the year following this convention, however, the departmentalists and industrialists showed an alarming tendency to line up on other matters much as they had lined up on this original Coates amendment.

With this crucial motion disposed of, the convention settled itself down to acquiescence on all the other recommendations of the constitutional committee. On the 10th day, when the work was completed, the convention had adopted substantially every feature of the constitution as it exists to this day. A structure of unionism had been reared which was unique in the history of the labor movement.

The I. W. W. had a place for every worker in the world. Its structure is best diagrammed as a wheel. Upon its circumference, every worker is represented and the spokes are the boundary lines which classify him into his industry. These industrial departments are, in turn, subdivided by the finer divisions of industry. For example, the transportation department is made up of five industrial unions, the unions of steam railway workers, of electric railway workers, of marine workers, of shipping workers and of teaming workers respectively. Each of these

industrial unions in turn, is composed of as many local industrial unions as there are factories or local units in an industry.

Thus, it is a hierarchic form of units. Each unit integrates into a broader one. The basic unit is, of course, the individual member. He is directly affiliated with a local industrial union. His local industrial union is affiliated with an international industrial union and is represented in its control. The international industrial unions synthesize into some one of the thirteen departments in which kindred industries are clustered. Over all, a general executive board of thirteen men sits, one elected from each department. This is the supreme industrial parliament.

The superiority of this grouping over all previous forms of unionism was two-fold. From a present day viewpoint, it massed the workers so scientifically in times of strike, as to draw out the maximum of their strength upon all occasions. Such a unity of form strengthened every part. It lent itself to possibilities along the lines of sympathetic and general strikes which had never before been approximated. It broke down every barrier of race, creed, color, craft or skill. Every worker had an equal place in a great brotherhood of mutual aid.

But the most striking significance of the I. W. W. arose from its possibilities. The founders of the I. W. W. were not endeavoring to establish merely a higher form of present day unionism. They were also building the organism of a new society. The I. W. W. of today would not end with the overthrow of capitalism. When it accomplishes its first and destructive task, it will be carried over into the new regime as a skeleton around which industry will be regrouped. It will take the place of the present day government. As De Leon expressed it, "Where sits the general executive board of the I. W. W., there will sit the government of the United States."

Socialists had always felt it to be a weakness in their program that they had no definite conception of the industrial form which the new cooperative commonwealth would assume. The farthest reaches of their imaginations extended only to the capture of the present day political government. When this political government had been captured, then they assumed that wiser minds than theirs would take up the task of transforming that political government into the industrial democracy, which is Socialism. It was this interim which would supervene between political and industrial socialism, which threatened the greatest menace. A new political autocracy might arise and bar the way to freedom.

The I. W. W. bridged this chasm of danger. When its membership reached the necessary maximum, it would automatically take over the industries. With the precision of a military machine, it would conscript every member of the army of production, assign him his function in the work of the world and classify him, accordingly. There would be no place in such a scheme of life for a political government to continue to exist. It would be a vermiform appendix in our social life. As Engels had said, many years before: on the day of the triumph of the workingclass, the political government will die off.

This, it was, which differentiated the I. W. W. from every previous labor union. The I. W. W. was more than a labor union. It was a revolution. Its preamble boasted to the world that, "we are building the structure of a new society within the shell of the old." No such dangerous or deadly doctrine had ever been hurled against the ruling class. For such a union to win even a temporary victory, would mean a derangement of the entire social system. Less dangerous to capitalism were all the A. F. of L. victories of twenty-five years, than one sweeping industrial victory of the I. W. W.

Perhaps all of those who attended that first convention did not foresee the industrial giant they were bringing forth. Certainly, all would not have been united, had this bold program of revolution been frankly avowed. There were many timid souls in that first convention who have long since become frightened and deserted the I. W. W. There were pure and simple union men present who would have been amply satisfied to have built a different substitute for the A. F. of L. But, in theory, at least, the I. W. W. of the first convention was the same I. W. W. which has since become the nightmare of the day. It was born with the full garb of revolution. But it wasted four years before it became conscious of its inherent powers.

This structural industrialism was the only original contribution which the first convention made to the I. W. W. In all respects save form, the I. W. W. became a duplication of the Western Federation of Miners. Its scorn of contracts, its direct action, its sabotage, its intermittent strikes,—each of these tactics which the I. W. W. has been credited with creating were a direct inheritance from the W. F. of M. Unfortunately, however, the I. W. W. of the first year was fated to have little opportunity to employ such militant tactics.

After the adoption of this constitution, the convention proceeded to the election of the first officers. The general officers provided for were a president, a secretary-treasurer and five members of the general executive board. Many of the delegates had hoped that Haywood would become the first occupant of the presidency. If he had, probably the whole history of the I. W. W. would have been altered. But upon nomination, he declined, preferring to remain the secretary-treasurer of the W. F. of M. In default of a stronger nominee, the election passed to Charles O. Sherman of the former United Metal Workers and he was unanimously chosen president. Sherman had been one of the very first initiators of the preliminary conference and his election was largely a recognition of the enthusiastic efforts which he had expended to make the new union a success. Likewise unanimous was the choice of William E. Trautmann as secretary-treasurer. Only two members of the new general executive board were chosen from the floor. The convention had agreed to constitute three departments out of the organizations installing themselves. These three first departments were mining, transportation and metal and machinery. An agreement was reached whereby the presidents of each of these departments would become members of the new G. E. B. In this way, Charles H. Moyer, Frank McCabe and Charles Kirkpatrick were chosen as the respective representatives of the three departments. To bring the board up to its full temporary quota of five, two additional members were elected from the floor at large, F. W. Cronin and John Riordan. With the same splendid harmony which had characterized the convention, the delegates closed the historic gathering and dispersed.

On the evening of the closing day, a great ratification meeting was held as the fitting conclusion of their labors. With speeches by Hagerly, Haywood, Trautmann, Sherman, Powers and O'Neil, the new message was first given public expression. This was the first of the countless succession of I. W. W. rallies which were soon to become one of the colorful institutions of the revolutionary movement.

"Any attempt to upset law and order is bolshevism," says the Nebraska Press. The editorials on bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism in these country town papers are about the most ignorant stuff that is printed in any language. Lack of information and servility to the enemies of Labor are their main characteristics.

"Star" Employees

By COVINGTON AMI.

There was a strike in Seattle.
 All the workers went out.
 The menace of solidarity was there.
 There was nothing doing.
 Capital and brains could not turn a wheel,
 Build a ship,
 Saw a log,
 Or run a restaurant;
 Only the workers,—
 The ignorant workers,—
 Could perform such intricate tasks.
 Hence, capital and brains,
 Which abide in the bosses,
 Grew desperate.
 They declared a "rebellion" on,—
 The "government in danger,"—
 From "Bolshevism," and "Anarchy,"
 And "Revolution,"—
 And they "saw red," and then "some."
 "The Seattle Star" told all about it,—
 Everything—that ain't so.
 Disaster threatened "civilization,"—
 That is to say, the Pocketbook—
 For there was solidarity
 In the camp of Labor.
 All the workers went out.
 No, not ALL the workers.
 The Typographical Union was loyal,—
 To "The Star"—
 The "Allied" Printing Trades were loyal,—
 To "The Star"—
 The Reporters, "Artists," and Editors were loyal,—
 To "The Star"—
 That is to say,—
 To the Bosses.
 The "Star employees" stuck.—
 There was no exception.
 Yes, there WAS, God bless them!—
 The ragged little newsboys!—
THEY DID NOT SCAB!
 But "The Star" came out,

Filled with lies about the workers,—
 Lies written by Reporters—
 Lies polished by Editors—
 Lies illustrated by "Artists"—
 Lies linotyped by the Typographical "Union"—
 Lies set up by the "Allied" Printing Trades—
 Lies that everybody KNEW were lies—
 Brazen lies—
 Shameless lies—
 Strikebreaking lies—
 Lies that threatened "No quarter!"
 To workingmen, and women, and children.
 But the Typographical Union was "loyal."
 And "The Star" came out.
 But the newsies stood pat—
THEY WOULD NOT SCAB!
 And, so, the Respectables came,—
 In their automobiles—
 And distributed "The Stars"—
 "Free, gratis, for nothing"—
 100,000 of them.—
 And "civilization" was "saved"—
 With lies—
 Lies printed by "union men"—
 Against union men—
 And the strike was lost—
 The "rebellion" was "crushed."—
 And the soldiers stood at attention—
 And Ole waved the flag—
 And the Prophet Samuel
 Blessed the loyal union men—
 And some more I. W. W.'s were arrested—
 And some more foreigners were deported—
 And the Class Struggle was no more—
 And a proclamation went forth,
 Declaring:
 "Peace and good will to all mankind"—
 Except those who stood true,—
 Like the newsies—
 To principle,
 And would not scab.
 Jesus wept. So did Berger.
 I don't blame them.

DECLINE TO TAKE PART IN LABOR PARADE

Reading, Pa.—Asserting that organized labor will hold its own demonstration "when the occasion warrants," the Federated Trades Council of Reading, by unanimous vote, has declined to participate in the "victory parade," which is being planned by a citizens' committee.

Rather than parade with profiteers, the Reading laborites declare that they wish to bend their efforts toward protecting the interests of returning men and combating the efforts of the master class to force soldiers to work for low wages.

WALL STREET SPEAKS ITS MIND.

"Our laws are all too inadequate to deal with that public enemy, the labor agitator. We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we took the labor leader by the scruff of his neck, backed him up against a wall and filled him with lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we are do not hesitate about such matters for a moment."—Wall Street Journal.

A Finnish edition of the O. B. U. Monthly will be published by our Finnish Fellow Workers of New York, beginning with May 1. The address of the publication is The Vapauteen Publicity Committee, 1927 Madison ave., New York, N. Y.

The Degeneration of America

By HARRY MILLER.

LOOK about you and see:

How many men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for their families through their own individual efforts?

How many men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their families through their own individual efforts, and with the aid of their children?

How many young men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their wives (let alone children) through their own individual efforts?

How many young men of your acquaintance provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for themselves and their wives (let alone children) through their own individual efforts, and with the aid of their wives?

I venture to say that very few, if any, men of your acquaintance may be classified as belonging in the first category, while those of the second are so numerous that you have but to hazard a guess, and the name first mentioned would almost be certain to be one of the second class.

In the third group newly-wedded men may be put; men who have only a wife to support, the stork having as yet failed to pay them a visit. Members of this group, while not quite as scarce as those of the first, are neither as numerous as those of the second.

The fourth group is a peculiar group, and represents an experiment in matrimony. From what I have seen and heard I come to the conclusion that this experiment is a great success. The number of young people who embark upon this matrimonial enterprise is steadily growing larger and larger, especially among the more intellectual members of the lower class.

It would be, I presume, no suprising discovery for you to find that the rate at which the high cost of living has been increasing is greater than the rate at which wages have increased. Therefore, whoever (no matter in which of the four groups he may be classified) has earned a fairly comfortable wage a few years ago finds, to his great consternation, that his supply of money runs dangerously low as pay-day approaches, in spite of the fact that he has received several large increases in pay entirely unheard of before the war. He finds, in short, that the test of the highness of wages is their purchasing power; that "if the wages of A will buy more than the wages of B will, A's wages are higher than those of B, although they may not contain so many dollars and cents."

Thus, men classified as being in the first group find that they are unable to provide adequate means of subsistence and the ordinary comforts of life for

their families; and accordingly send their children, one by one, as they reach the legal working age (and sometimes earlier), into shop, factory and office—so that the family may maintain the standard of living they have been accustomed to. The children, on the other hand, are taken away from their studies and pleasures,—rightly theirs,—and put to work. In the course of time, not infrequently, the son displaces his sire altogether, simply because the latter "is getting old."

Those classified as being in the second group are in an awful predicament. They cannot send their children out to work because they have already done so since the children had reached the age at which the law allows them to go to work. The combined efforts of the father and the children fail to provide adequately for the family, and only one thing remains to be done: to lower the standard of living, to eliminate some only comfort of life. This done, life becomes one steady grind to keep the family fed, clothed and housed. Men of this type are never independent, always submissive to the employer, and provide a great percentage of scabs and strikebreakers.

The members of the third group, again, are in a still different position. With the H. C. of L. constantly mounting and wages not keeping up the pace, they are forced into a difficult situation. Either they must give up some comfort of life—thus lowering the standard of living—or call for the assistance of their wives to help keep up the standard they have been accustomed to. A choice between these two alternatives becoming imperative, the majority of men decide that they would rather live more poorly, than send their wives to work. The women, on the other hand, see things differently. Everything about the house is dear to woman's heart. They would rather go to work than give up anything they have been accustomed to. And the majority of women when faced by such a problem do choose to go to work, some only temporarily, others—till health forces them to quit. The offspring of such parents can only be physically weak, mentally defective and morally deficient.

The fourth and final group. This group is composed of men of more than ordinary intelligence, who, because of economic conditions are barred from entering the matrimonial state. In the vocabulary of Nature, however, there is no such word as economies. Confident of their love for each other, these young people will not allow such a little thing as unfavorable economic conditions to interfere with their happiness, and the marriage ceremony takes place. Both work and help support each other. Is this life? And yet we have with us a constantly growing army of just such people. It is this class which has provided the labor leaders of the past and by all indications will probably continue to yield a great number of men who are to lead Labor on to victory. The progeny of such a union are

deprived of a privilege due every newcomer into the world—the privilege of being born healthy.

As I view the above my heart fears for my country.

A land of unlimited natural resources; a land capable of satisfying the physical wants of each and every one of its inhabitants, and many more besides; truly God's own country. And yet among all this plenty, at this very moment, scores of men, woman's heart. They would rather go to work than tation, while thousands of others are in a sorry plight—due to lack of adequate clothing and shelter, so vital to human life.

With admiration have I viewed your mountains, O America! With worshipping heart have I waded your rivers and overlooked your lakes, and with silent tread have I traversed your plains! I have passed through your crowded metropolises, and have ventured into your sparsely-populated country. I have been driven through your Fifth Avenues, Michigan Boulevards and Sheridan Roads with all their splendor; and have tramped through your Hester, Maxwell and Jefferson Streets, with all their miseries. I have been a witness at dog and monkey parties, when but a short distance off man was attacking beast to wrest from him a piece of meat. And my mind runs back to the poet's lines, and what he must have thought of when he wrote them:

"Thus fares the land by luxury betrayed:
In nature's simplest charms at first arrayed,
But verging to decline, its splendors rise;
Its vistas strike, its palaces surprise:
While, scourged by famine from the smiling land,
The mournful peasant leads his humble band,
And while he sinks, without one arm to save,
The country blooms—a garden and a grave."

Sadly hast thou degenerated, America! In the morning of thy life thy children were wont to sit in front of their homes and send up thy praises. And now? Not a voice is lifted nor an instrument strung to express their thankfulness and appreciation. For ever and anon thy sons (and daughters, too) spend their time in shop and factory to earn enough to keep body and soul together; and what little time they have left is spent in cheap vaudeville and burlesque houses, wine and liquor shops—to keep them from thinking of tomorrow's grind. Verily, America, thou hast degenerated!

Every cloud has its silver lining, and an economical cloud is no exception to the rule. Just as after the storm the sun comes out to reassure the world, so the sun of Industrial Democracy is sending out its rays to enlighten the worlds' workers. Already some of us have been reached by its rays, and more and more of us are being reached constantly.

Let us devote ourselves to the task of spreading the gospel of Industrial Democracy and to the promulgation of its teachings so that Liberty and Justice, Peace and Goodwill toward man may reign on earth.

The Plutocrat

By COVINGTON AMI

I Am The State, The Church,
Congress, Synod,
Pontiff, President, and King!
Labor is my Servant.
Government my Policeman.
And Christ my Cupbearer.
My word is Gospel.
My will is Law.
I own the Earth.
I claim the Universe.
I am Property!
Incarnate, Vested and Divine!
The ultimate of Evolution.
The cream of Civilization.
The Fittest of the Fit.
The Alpha and Omega of Society.
I Am IT!

I speak!
And Empires wane.
Kingdoms crumble.
Republics fall.
Unions fade.
I say to the Politician:

"Come!" and he COMETH.
To my Labor Lieutenant:
"Go!" and he GOETH.
To the Press: "Write!" and it WRITETH.
You Bet!
And they are damn quick about it, too!
I Am IT!

Hail to MYSELF!
I Am the Saving Grace!
Without me Hunger would vanish.
And, with it, THRIFT.
And then, goodbye, Incentive!
Industry would cease.
Agriculture would fail,
Capital rot and Democracy demobilize.
Anarchy and everything awful would happen.
And, at that, I'm modest.
Always was.
I'm a self-made man.
Praise God! (That's Me.)
YOU heard what I said.
I Am It, ITT!

deprived of a privilege due every newcomer into the world—the privilege of being born healthy.

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A land of unlimited natural resources; a land capable of satisfying the physical wants of each and every one of its inhabitants, and many more besides; truly God's own country. And yet among all this plenty, at this very moment, scores of men, woman's heart. They would rather go to work than tion, while thousands of others are in a sorry plight—due to lack of adequate clothing and shelter, so vital to human life.

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Always was.

I'm a self-made man.

Praise God! (That's Me.)

YOU heard what I said.

I Am It, ITT!



The Endless Chain

ON TO LIBERTY

By Ray Markham

The hour has come to do and dare!
 Hark! The trumpets of Labor blare!
 Do not give way to meek despair!
 Halt not by the way for prayer!
 Gird thy loins and forward fare!
 Down with slavery!

Banners sweep the crimson skies!
 Earth resounds with battle cries!
 Tear the bandage from your eyes!
 Who would be free must Organize!
 Awake, ye slaves! Awake and rise!
 On to Liberty!

"The Telegram," a yellow, sensation-mongering, shake-down paper of New York City, calls the I. W. W. a "correspondence school of murder," and incites to slaughter on us. These shake-down papers are right in clover during this reign of capitalist terror. They receive "subsidies" from "The National Security League," "The American Protective League," "The Anti-Anarchist Ass'n," "The Interracial Council," "The Carnegie Institution," "The Knights of Columbus," promoters, etc. Capitalism is tottering and staggering. It can be held up only with lies and violence.

Stanley Brown, who was chairman of convention in Kansas City 1917, is asked to communicate with Antony Bogden, 1405 West 9th St., Cleveland, O.

The 11th Annual I. W. W. Convention

(The first five days; remainder to come next month)

By ROBERTA BRUNER

MAY 5, 1919, was a red letter day for the great working class of America—and of the world—for it was the first day of the greatest convention of workers known to history. Owing to the long period of time since the last general convention held by the I. W. W. (1916), there was a decided call from the rank and file for the 11th annual. Much constructive work was needed and many matters of grave importance, deferred because of conditions incident to the war, requiring definite settlement. It was impossible for any set of officials to act intelligently on these questions, inasmuch as the will of the rank and file was difficult to obtain. Therefore much was expected of the 11th convention which has, so far, in no way been a disappointment.

In contrast with previous conventions, there is a conspicuous lack of paid officials sent here to represent the various branches. The delegates are a body of earnest, enthusiastic men, **direct from the job**, who are demonstrating the fundamental principle of Industrial Unionism, that the workers, the **bona fide** workers, are competent to control. The various committees have facilitated the progress of the convention by their untiring application to the tasks assigned to them.

The Constitution Committee of five (later enlarged to ten) "find they have some knotty problems to solve," one of these being the disposition of the General Recruiting Union, and its branches, which in the past have failed to function properly. It was finally disposed of according to the instructions previously given by the members to delegates from several branches. Many branches had sent their delegates here with resolutions in favor of the **Universal Delegate System**, which was adopted by the convention. This system provides for universal credentials for all delegates instead of credentials issued by various industrial unions.

Universal delegates will be empowered to initiate any wage-worker into his proper industrial union, the only charges permitted, being actual cost of supplies and delegate's commission. The convention adopted this system after hearing comprehensive arguments both for and against the present activities of the G. R. U. Those arguments defending the G. R. U. may be summed up as follows:

(1) where the G. R. U. has permitted itself to become a bulky, unwieldy "mixed union" it has been a fault of the officials in charge and not of the plan or theory laid out for it.

(2) That there was no suitable substitute offered to take care of those localities not having enough workers in any one industry to take out a charter but had mixed numbers to exceed twenty.

The delegates speaking for the **Universal Delegate System** held that no matter how good a theory was, if it failed in practice, it was worthless; and

that the G. R. U. had failed because

(1) It had never functioned as a "clearing house," inasmuch as branch recruiting unions, being guaranteed local autonomy by their charters, feel and act as separate industrial unions and therefore refuse to make proper transfers.

(2) Cliques almost invariably gain control here, and thereby the G. R. U. and branches become centers of disruption (agents-provocateurs seize upon advantages offered in this situation and increase disturbances).

(3) The financial drain made by the G. R. U. upon industrial unions is unfair.

(4) The "mixed union" going back to the old Knights of Labor plan is reactionary and is therefore not in accordance with the revolutionary principles of the I. W. W.

Those opposed to the G. R. U. further held that the **Universal Delegate System** was a suitable substitute and if any branch recruiting union functioned well it was the exception and not the rule.

A **Universal System** for industrial unions and branches was also adopted, with the recommendation for the system now put into practice at general headquarters. This will no doubt eliminate much trouble in the various branches, if adopted on the referendum, because the system proposed will systematize and simplify the keeping of accounts. The convention was practically unanimous in this recommendation.

The early action of the convention in regard to doing away with the departmental form of organization was reconsidered as being too hasty. It was then decided that to take out this form would be reactionary and would make against a close organization.

One direct expression of the man-from-the-job delegation was the disqualifying of any paid official in an industrial union for becoming a delegate to a general convention. Another action on similar lines was the withdrawal of vote from the members of the General Executive Board and from the General Secretary-Treasurer. The General Executive Board were disfranchised because they were not representing any union but were only representing themselves as members of the board. It was also recommended that no official be permitted to remain in office two consecutive years, excepting the editors of official organs of the I. W. W. It seems that the rank and file are very watchful as to permitting any one person or group of persons a chance at forming a machine.

The convention also went on record as being opposed to permitting any person addicted to the use of "intoxicating liquors or stupefying drugs" to hold office in the I. W. W. The ruling was unanimous. It is pertinent to refer here to the malignments of our persecutors who have so persist-

ently referred to us as a "lot of drunks," "the scum of the earth," "hogs" and so on. The last epithet coming from Judge Landis before the evidence was offered in the Chicago indictment.

Defense work was brought up on several occasions but has been deferred till nearer the close of the convention for the obvious reason of its great importance. It was deemed prudent to get the other work out of the way as far as possible first, so that in case of interference from the powers, there would have been accomplished those things that are necessary for the continued management of organization matters.

Telegrams of greetings and assurance of support were sent to all class-war prisoners. Some of these sent back answers, in all of which were embodied the great idea, "Organize." Brave boys! Like Joe Hill, they send out from their damp cells the clarion cry of "Organize!" Only truths outlive

persecution and it may be added that only truth is peresistently persecuted. By this alone we should be able to know the inevitable bright future of the I. W. W.

The work of the 11th Annual Convention is constructive. This is made possible by the fights made in a more obscure past, of course. The ground under our feet now is more dependable and solid, therefore we can venture out farther and with more certainty than ever before. The work is accomplished with a surety of aim and the fact that the plans of action proposed come from the actual worker fresh from contact with the exploiting master, and further that before these plans become final, they must be decided upon by the rank and file, gives us positive assurance that all is well for the accomplishment of the historic mission of the working-class.

(To be continued)

I. W. W.'s are not the only ones to go on hunger strike. A dispatch from Camp Mills, L. I., to the Chicago Herald and Examiner says the boys are telling about a hunger strike of the Thirteenth Engineers at Marseilles, France, while they were awaiting transportation home. For awhile the strike threatened to develop into a riot.

According to the engineers, they were fed poorer food at Marseilles than they received at any other time in France.

For a week the men "stood for it," but matters grew worse daily. They complained without avail to their own officers, they say. The climax came when they were given stewed onions and evaporated apples for dinner after working hard all morning.

Led by their noncoms, the engineers marched to the regiment headquarters with their mess kits full of the mixture of onions and apples. Then they heaved the "chow" all over the building occupied by Col. Whiting.

"After that demonstration we received better food," said a sergeant.

It has developed in the last few days that the enlisted men of the Thirteenth have little love for most of their officers.

They charge every effort was made in France to break the spirit of unionism, and that a man who had "scabbed" during a railroad strike in Illinois was made a lieutenant.

Most of the members of the Thirteenth belong to the railroad brotherhoods and the officers were men who had been railroad officials in Illinois.

Companies of State guard, over the state, will co-operate with civil authorities in subduing any I. W. W. members or other agitators who might appear in Kansas during the harvest.—Topeka, Kans., "Capital."

Capitalism has gone so far that production now can be carried on only at the point of the bayonet. This is a sign that it will not live much longer.

The statements in the press that the Carranza government of Mexico is an I. W. W. government are becoming more numerous every day. Is it possible that the American oil, mine and land speculators in Mexico hope to work up the American public to a demand for war on Mexico on the ground that Carranza is an I. W. W.? Well, everything is possible with a corrupt press. The people have no other source of information. At the same time the papers state that Gompers is telegraphing to the same government in protest against certain proposed laws that would prohibit strike and collective bargaining. It doesn't look much like "an I. W. W. government" if it is so autocratic against labor that Gompers, the capitalists' friend, feels that he ought to protest against it.

Two hundred companies of State Guards will patrol the harvest fields in Kansas this summer to guard against the I. W. W., says the Osage Press. A bunch of politicians making money by scaring up the farmers.

Dozens of kept papers agree with Ole Hanson, "the crazy Swede," that the I. W. W.'s should be hung without ceremony. But then there are others that disagree with him. "The Auburn (N. Y.) Journal" says "hanging is too good for them." All the time Postmaster Burleson sits complacently by and has his employees confiscate the I. W. W. press that advocates order and social organization of the high-type.

A sample of cut-throat 100 per cent journalism is given by the Salem, Ore., Journal, when it calls Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee a spineless weakling because he refused to endorse the demand of Mayor Hanson, "the crazy Swede" of Seattle, to suppress the I. W. W. meetings and join in his lynching bee against our members. And such cut-throat journals pass through the mails with the approval of Mr. Burleson.

Report of the Provisional General Executive Board

To the Eleventh Annual Convention, I. W. W.

(Some Extracts)

During the past two years the Industrial Workers of the World have faced the most critical period in the life of the organization. The constituted authorities—Federal, State and Municipal—in conjunction with the employing and privileged classes, have used all the forces at their command in an attempt to destroy and disrupt the organization. Under cover of the World War hysteria a vicious campaign of persecution has been carried on. Publications have been suppressed and pamphlets and other literature of the I. W. W. confiscated and destroyed, its officials, organizers and most active members have been railroaded to the penitentiary for long terms of imprisonment; headquarters and meeting places of the industrial unions and branches have been raided and closed, and members of the organization have been mobbed, tarred and feathered and driven from their homes and families.

The members of the organization were forced to concentrate their energy on defense in an effort to protect their Fellow Workers who were being persecuted by the reactionary capitalist regime. As a result, organization suffered to a great extent. The members of the organization who were subjects of the Central Powers were unable to participate actively in the organization work, and the military forces which dominated the country during this period used all their force and power to disrupt and destroy the movement toward industrial freedom in the United States. Yet, in spite of this persecution, the Industrial Workers of the World has passed successfully through the trying ordeal, and has emerged stronger and, in many respects, better equipped than before in its history to carry on the work of organization of the workers.

There are at present 14 industrial unions, two local unions, and the General Recruiting Union. Besides these, there are three unions that are being mothered by other unions. The Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 450 is under the care of A. W. I. U. No. 400; the Coal Miners' Union No. 900 under the wing of the M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, and the Fishery Workers' Union No. 448, supported by L. W. I. U. No. 500, just as the Lumber Workers' and Construction Workers' Industrial Unions were given moral and financial support by the A. W. I. U. No. 400 in their fight to establish themselves. These are pointed illustrations of how industrial unions and branches may be organized directly rather than through the recruiting union "route."

The Educational and Propaganda Department is stronger than ever. Two English weeklies, seven foreign language weeklies, an English monthly, and two foreign language monthlies are directly under the control of the organization, and a Finnish daily, with a circulation of over ten thousand, is indirectly under its direction. New pamphlets have been printed in a dozen different languages and

several new weekly foreign language publications will soon appear.

Among the Metal Mine Workers an intensive campaign of organization is on and a thousand new members are added each month. The Lumber Workers are stronger than ever and are branching out into Canada, Alaska and Mexico. The Marine Transport Workers, as war restrictions are removed, are again coming into vigorous action, two new branches being re-opened in March. A move towards an international affiliation in this industry is on, and a Revolutionary International Marine Transport Workers Federation with over 100,000 members may be a fact in the near future. The Constructive Workers are increasing their job control and have thirteen active branches in operation. The Coal Miners are reviving, three new charters having been issued in the last six weeks. The Agricultural Workers' Organization held its most successful convention this year and will be a powerful factor in the harvest fields this season.

The Hotel and Restaurant Workers have been re-organized and have ten active branches and job control in many restaurants. The Textile Workers have fully recovered from the effects of the war, and have entered upon a vigorous organization campaign. The old charter has been re-issued and new branches opened throughout New England. The Metal and Machinery Workers have gained a permanent foothold in New England and the East, has held a successful convention and opened ten new branches. The Ship Builders Union is permanently established. Akron is again on the map with two branches of the Rubber Workers' Industrial Union. The Bakers have expanded and now have three branches. A foothold has been gained in the Printing and Publishing Industry, with an industrial union organized, having numerous members throughout the country. Furniture Workers' and Shoe Workers' Industrial Unions have also been organized, and the General Recruiting Union is doing good work in many sections. Until within the last three months no effort was made by those in charge of the General Organization to have the workers organize industrially. Nearly all the applications for charters received call for Recruiting Union branches. No one looked at the applications of those applying for a charter to see in what industry the prospective members were employed. Recruiting Union branch charters were issued without any preliminary investigation. As a result, many Recruiting Union charters were issued when Industrial Union charters should have been sent.

During the first two months of 1919, eighteen such Recruiting Branch charters were issued. For example, a Recruiting Union charter was issued to Los Angeles, when 26 out of 28 of the applicants were agricultural workers. A Chinese Recruiting Union charter was issued to a group of New York

workers, when all of the applicants were restaurant workers, etc. But, since the present Provisional Executive Board has been in office, no recruiting branch charters have been issued, while twenty-five industrial union branches and two new industrial unions were given charters. These charters were issued to restaurant workers, construction workers, marine transport workers, bakers, metal miners, textile workers, rubber workers, printers, coal miners, railroad workers and metal & machinery workers. Several recruiting union branches have turned in their charters and have taken out industrial union branch charters. Also two local unions have turned in their charters for industrial union charters.

The proletarian revolt in Europe has had its reflex in our organization work in this country. As the workers of Europe have become revolutionary, their fellow workers in America have responded in a large measure. As a result, four Russian, three Ukranian and three Finnish Industrial Union branches have been organized, and a direct result of the Russian revolution is a movement for industrial organization among the Polish and Lithuanian workers. The Bulgarian upheaval has contributed to the establishing of a Bulgarian paper and a strong movement for the I. W. W. among these workers. The Hungarians have likewise awakened and have now a powerful Hungarian weekly and seven growing Hungarian branches. The Swedish workers are falling into line and the German Fellow Workers have started a campaign of organization among themselves. As the revolution grows in Europe, the movement for industrial freedom advances in this country, indicating that the economic industrial conditions peculiar to this land of highly developed machine production, have so ripened the workers that a mere spark from the revolution on the other side immediately stimulates organization so necessary to the final emancipation. In fact, a revolution in any part of the world helps the workers towards freedom in all parts of the world. Thus, the Chinese revolt had its reflex in a demand, by a Chinese organization in New York, for more industrial freedom and better conditions.

Russian, Hungarian and Bulgarian organizers have been active among the workers of these nationalities. The Swedish and Finnish workers are carrying on an intensive propaganda in their own language, and the Jewish workers are becoming more conscious of the need of industrial unionism. Among the Latin workers, the Italian and Spanish press is doing good work, while among the English speaking workers industrial unionism seems to be the watchword of the day. The foreign-speaking workers are now quite generally asking for industrial union charters, indicating a decided trend away from mass action towards industrial action.

The workers of America answered splendidly the call for support in the defense of the hundreds of workers who were imprisoned and are being persecuted by the ruling classes of this country. Thousands of dollars have been raised and dispersed for the defense and relief of the class war

prisoners, in an effort to stem the onslaught on our Fellow Workers who were bearing the brunt of the class war.

The requests for literature and organizers are the greatest in the history of the organization. Industrial unionism has permeated all parts of the world. Canada and Australia have broken the shackles of craft unionism. The whole Pacific Coast labor movement is seething with revolt against the A. F. of L. In the East, the West, the North and the South, the craft form of organization is crumbling. The hour of Industrial Unionism is here. The I. W. W. has shown the way. It is for us, the members of the I. W. W., to utilize our opportunity and win the day for Industrial Democracy.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,
By THOMAS WHITEHEAD,
Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

Out in the desert in the neighborhood of Los Olivos, Calif., right close to the ocean, there was some years ago a dilapidated shanty nailed together from driftwood and gunny-sacks, but outside there hung a shingle with the word "Restaurant." The owner, manager, cook and waiter and dishwasher was an old Forty-niner. One day there came a party of 12 surveyors to his shack and demanded a meal. The old man looked the crowd over for a moment and then declared: "No, sir, if the business is getting too big for me, I am going to shut down." The same thing has happened to a gentleman from Webster, S. D., by the name of Arthur J. Menasco, who comes out with a public declaration in the press that there is altogether "too much free expression of dangerous ideas." He adds: "We have had our hands full for a long time up that way keeping I. W. W.'s suppressed and shutting dangerous propaganda out." When education of the workers in matters social became too big for the greedy exploiters, when new constructive thoughts were flying about too fast for the farmers, South Dakota did like the restaurant man in the desert—they shut down and went out of business.

The Pine Bluff Graphic (Arkansas), says: "The United States Government will be forced sooner or later to take up arms against the radicals in this country." Ole Hanson says: "Make cemeteries instead of conferences for the I. W. W.'s" All the people that cannot meet us in an open, honest argument, want to murder us to hide their intellectual and moral shame.

Oh, we believe in the I. W. W., cry they of the Left Wing. But what avail is belief to us when the very genius of the times calls us to deeds? For the revolutionary drama of America, the I. W. W. offers the stage. The scenery is set, the footlights are flashing. And to the Left Wingers and political socialists we say—will you be forever content to lurk behind the curtains as the prompters? Will you not come out with us, in the glare of the splendid cause, and act at last the words which you have avowed?

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, No. 600

Financial Statement, April, 1919.

SUMMARY RECEIPTS.

39 Initiations	\$78.00
224 Due Stamps	112.00
21 Gen. Org. Stamps	21.00
1 Day Wage, \$3.00	3.00
General defense	1.00
Donations	6.00
Buttons	2.50
Literature	47.95
Papers, B. O.	35.10
Papers, Subs.	12.00
Duplicate cards .....	.50
Branch Charter	10.00
I. U. No. 500, on account	18.00
I. U. No. 500, for Journal	12.00
Other Ind. Union Acc't	41.25
Branch & delegate accounts	27.19
Total Receipts, Summary	\$427.49

SUMMARY DISBURSEMENTS.

Gen. Hdqts., Supplies	\$17.00
Papers, B. O.	23.50
Papers & Magazine, Subs.	12.00
Comm. Lit. & Init. to delegates	10.00
Org. & Delegates wages	32.50
General Organization Comm. wages	51.00
Auditing committee, wages	9.00
Mileage	42.89
Main office, wages	84.00
Rent, heat & light	8.00
Stationery & fixtures	18.80
Postage, express & wires	23.88
Branch charter	10.00
Pd. to I. U. No. 500, Feb. report.....	.50
Allowance to Ind. Unions, supplies	32.25
On account Ind. Unions	23.25
Branch & delegates accounts	32.37
Type-writer, repairs	10.00
Total Expenses, Summary	\$443.94

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts, April	\$427.49
Cash on hand April 1	155.79
Total Receipts	\$583.28
Disbursements	443.94

Bal. Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....\$139.34
With best wishes,

I am yours for the O. B. U.,
C. N. OGDEN,

Secretary-Treasurer R. R. W. I. U. 600.

CASH RECEIPTS.

April 2, Delegate X47, report	\$4.42
Delegate X44, report	9.00
Office, report	2.50
3, Delegate X3, report	19.44
Delegate X1 for No. 573, report.....	12.60
5, Office, report	7.25
Delegate X151, report.....	9.25
Delegate X143, report.....	2.90
8, Chicago branch, report .....	.25

On account I. U. No. 500	11.50
11, Delegate X52	4.00
15, Delegate X1, (2) subs.	3.00
Office, report	3.50
Acc't I. U. No. 400	23.75
17, Delegate X50, report	2.00
Delegate X8, report	1.00
18, Delegate X40, report	4.00
Delegate X103, report	2.00
19, Acc't I. U. No. 800	6.00
Delegate X52, report	3.00
Delegate X29, report	5.50
Delegate X31, report	10.00
Delegate X136, report	11.25
Office, report	2.50
21, Delegate X23, report	8.00
23, Delegate X38, report	20.00
Acc't I. U. No. 500 for Journal....	12.00
24, Office, report	3.50
Acc't I. U. No. 500	5.00
25, Delegate X9, report	11.50
26, Delegate X44, report	2.00
28, Wm. Clark, acc't	5.00
Office, report	13.25
Delegate X48, report	1.50
29, Chicago branch, report .....	.30
Delegate X22, report	2.00
30, Delegate X7, report.....	.50
Delegate X136, report	6.00

Total Cash Receipts April \$251.16

CASH EXPENDITURES.

April 2, La Nueva Solidaridad, B. O.	\$.60
Postage stamps, rec'd & exchange'd ..	.50
Paid to I. U. No. 500 on acc't.....	.50
C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
The New Solidarity, Subs.	3.00
Russian paper, B. O.	2.50
Bulgarian paper, B. O. ....	.75
11, Main office, postage	10.00
New Solidarity, B. O., March.....	18.65
12, C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
15, O. B. U. Monthly, Subs.	3.00
19, C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
Gen. Hdqts, Branch charter	10.00
Rebel Worker, B. O.	1.00
American Writer Machine Co., re- pairs	10.00
23, Adv. to W. E. Allonas, Org. ex- penses	10.00
Messages to General Org. Comm.	5.29
26, F. Alsup, Org. Comm., wages.....	9.00
J. Halliday, Org. Comm., wages....	9.00
Geo. Apt, wages	6.00
H. E. Trotter, on acc't	5.38
W. E. Allonas, Org. Comm. & aud- iting	17.16
C. N. Ogden, Org. Comm., car fare ..	1.40
C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
New Solidarity, Subs.	6.00
28, Main office, postage	5.00
H. Trotter, Org. & Audit. Comm.	12.00
R. J. Robinson, Org. & Conv. Ex- penses	26.88
30, Adv. to traveling delegate	10.00
Total Cash Expenditures	\$267.61

Metal and Machinery Workers', I. U. No. 300

Financial Report for April, 1919.

TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS.

April 18-May 1.

April 9, Louis Hartman, Report	\$13.50
D. Miekolof, Report	5.00
10, E. Shunk, Report	7.00
Martti Stefanko, Report	6.00
E. Sabo, Report	17.96
S. Grobosky, Report	5.25
L. Melis, Report	1.80
11, R. Reekstien, Report	4.00
T. Rudell, Report	3.20
12, F. Brenner, Report	135.70
M. K. Fox, No. 400	4.50
14, M. P. Eargoff, Report	4.50
Stece Csulay, Report	9.28
Leon E. Shuff, Report	5.00
Gust Martinson, Report	2.00
Henry Van Dorn	30.00
Leon E. Shuff, Report	16.50
Rona DeGuerre, Report	7.00
Martti Lemberg, Report	3.00
Rona De Guerre, Report	9.50
E. Sabo, Report	2.50
15, Office sold to M. P. Eargoff, Dupli- cate card .....	.25
16, A. Newman, Report	12.50
17, D. Miekolof, Report	3.50
A. Newman, Report	3.00
S. Grobosky, Report	5.00
18, M. Stefanko, Report	8.00
Henry Van Dorn, Report	20.00
John Dragonoff, Personal deposit	100.00
E. R. Thomas, Report	4.80
E. R. Thomas, Report	5.50
E. R. Thomas, Report	18.98
19, S. Grobosky, Report	25.00
20, Leon E. Shuff, Report	5.00
E. R. Thomas, Report	3.50
21, Vilho Antillo, Report	3.00
22, A. Newman, Report	2.50
J. Levinski, Report	5.00
Marti Lemberg, Report	1.00
Frank Brenner, Report	65.00
John Gioquinto, Italian Paper Do- nation	10.40
23, Rona De Guerre, Report	8.60
Vaino Kongo, Report	5.50
24, H. Karnstrom, Report	42.25
28, S. Csulay, Report	6.00
30, Joe Nemet, Report	5.00
John Bulik, Report	24.75
J. H. Long, Report	3.00

\$690.22

TOTAL CASH EXPENDITURES.

April 9, Thomas Whitehad, Supplies	\$10.00
Thomas Whitehead, Stamp	2.30
Int. P. T. Co., Pluggers	3.50
Henry Tonn for organizing, ad- vanced	30.00
R. Reekstien, office, wages	3.50
11, Chi. M. & M. I. U. 300, advanced	75.00
12, E. R. Thomas, advanced for Con- vention	50.00

E. R. Thomas, 5-12, wages	21.00
R. Reekstien, office, wages	7.00
Int. P. & T. Co., Pluggers	6.25
O. J. Arness, office, wages	20.00
18, Office, Postage	2.25
19, Int. P. & T. Co., Pluggers	7.60
Int. P. & T. Co., Pluggers	2.25
H. A. Lewis for opening hall, ad- vanced	1.50
E. R. Thomas, 13-19, wages	21.00
20, J. Levinski for organizing, adv....	10.00
N. Cohn & Son, Desk	15.00
A. Newman, Hungarian paper, Subs.	114.00
23, Angelo Faggi, Italian paper, Do- nation	10.40
24, E. R. Thomas, 19-26, office, wages	28.00
Irving Freeman, 19-26, office, wages	21.00
M. Lockwood, 19-26, office, wages	19.25
Int. P. & T. Co., ballots, Mimieo- graphing	4.50
29, H. Trotter for organizing, adv....	10.00
Standrad Photo. Co. stamp, Plate	5.00
30, C. E. Payne, Solidarity, Papers....	40.50
John Bulik on report	6.55

\$547.35

TOTAL RECEIPTS.

Initiations, 248	\$496.00
Dues, 631	315.50
Personal Deposit	100.00
General Organization, Defense	6.50
Class War Relief, Defense	2.00
Buttons	22.75
Literature	43.45
Credit Sec'y Br. & Br. Sec'y Del.	271.00
Miscellaneous	7.40

\$1,264.60

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.

General Office, Per Capita	\$4.00
General Office, Supplies	29.55
General Office, Literature	91.25
Papers, Subs.	130.10
Br. Sec'y & Org. Wages	178.20
Main Office, Wages	140.75
Mileage	39.24
Held on hand by Br. Sec'y	347.15
Rent, Light & Heat	48.50
Stationery & Fixtures	27.35
Postage & Wires	7.19
Allowances, Coms.	24.25
Convention, E. R. Thomas, Expenses....	30.60
Italian Papers, Donation	10.40
Ballots, Mimieographing	4.50
Assessment Stamp, Plate	5.00
Miscellaneous	2.70

\$1,120.73

Total Cash Receipts April 8-May 1.....\$690.22

Total Cash Expenditures April 8-May 1..... 547.35

\$142.87

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 800

Financial Statement for the Month of April, 1919

RECEIPTS

778 Initiations	\$1,556.00
5,988 Due Stamps	2,994.00
151 General Defense Stamps	75.50

30 Relief Stamps	30.00
54 General Organization Stamps.....	54.00
97 Six Hour Stamps	48.50
Buttons, Pins and Brooches	102.00
Card Cases	61.00
Literature	332.50

Credits on Branch Secretaries' & Delegates' Accounts			3,040.31
Contributions to Press Fund, No. 800	353.80		
Contributions to General Defense Fund.....	251.50		
Contributions to Lawrence Strike	150.00		
Contributions to General Press Fund.....	20.00		
General Headquarters, Refund on Freight	60.00		
Miscellaneous Receipts	12.90		
Personal Deposits	100.00		
Account L. W. I. U. No. 500:			
95 Initiations	\$190.00		
666 Due Stamps	333.00	\$523.00	
Account Hotel & Domestic Workers I. U.:			
4 Initiations	\$8.00		
32 Due Stamps	16.00	\$24.00	
Account A. W. I. U. No. 400:			
3 Initiations	\$6.00		
8 Dues	4.00	\$10.00	
Account C. W. I. U. No. 573:			
1 Initiation	\$2.00		
15 Due Stamps	7.50	\$9.50	
Account R. R. W. I. U. No. 600:			
1 Due Stamp	\$0.50	\$0.50	
Total Receipts		\$9,809.01	

EXPENDITURES

General Headquarters, per cap. \$1,795.00		
General Headquarters, Supplies 85.14	\$1,880.14	
Literature, Etc.	424.39	
Subscriptions	12.75	
Wages, Branch Secretaries & Delegates	1,934.09	
Mileage	266.92	
Charges on Br. Secretaries & Dels. Acc'ts	3,881.79	
General Defense & Relief Acc't, Exp.....	522.95	
Lawrence Strike Fund, Forwarded	127.50	
Lawrence Strike Fund, Expenses	22.50	
General Headquarters, Gen. Press Fund	20.00	
Main Office Salaries	508.00	
Rent, Heat, Light, Etc.	139.34	
Stationery & Fixtures	124.85	
Postage, Wires, Express	258.32	
Allowance to Gen. Rec. Union	59.00	
Personal Deposit Withdrawals	94.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	11.56	
Deficit in Cash Account, 1918	360.30	
Total Expenses	\$10,648.40	

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts for April, 1919	\$9,809.01
Cash Balance, April 1, 1919	2,267.84
Grand Total	\$12,076.85
Total Expenditures, April, 1919	10,648.40
Cash Balance, April 30, 1919.....	\$1,428.45

A. S. EMBREE,
Secretary-Treasurer, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.

METAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION
No. 800, I. W. W.

Cash Receipts and Expenditures, April, 1919

RECEIPTS

April 1, M. C. S., Del. M-12	\$7.25
2, M. O., Del. A-231	37.80
3, M. K., Del. M-453	20.00
4, P. R., Del. M-104	16.50
F. B., Del. M-343	12.30
J. K., Del. M-222	38.60
P. P.	400.00
5, J. C. J., Del. M-134	7.50

P. M., Del. M-750	5.00
7, P. R., M-104	14.50
8, J. C. J., Del. M-134	1.00
T. M., Del. M-752	2.50
A. M., Del. M-155	25.50
T. M., Del. M-752	3.50
B. P., Del. M-162	5.00
9, M. C. S., Del. M-12	26.50
G. M., Del. M-145	8.00
G. K., Del. M-372	125.40
P. M., Del. M-750	7.00
10, J. W., Del. M-281	5.00
I. L., Del. M-127	16.50
E. L.	5.00
F. H. B.	2.50
11, J. K.	300.00
12, T. M., Del. M-752	2.50
Office Receipts	6.00
M. J. S., Del. M-102	131.20
P. P.	300.00
M. K., Del. M-291	37.50
P. M., Del. M-104	42.50
14, J. K. ....	.50
16, W. O., Del. M-139	29.55
E. F., Del. M-753	11.35
P. P.	200.00
17, F. W. R., Del. M-378	4.00
F. E. B., Del. M-224	11.55
P. R., Del. M-104	28.20
G. N., Del. M-145	11.00
M. C. S., Del. M-12	5.00
18, F. K., Del. M-375	25.50
C. H. B.	8.00
G. K., Del. M-372	100.15
19, J. K.	9.65
M. C. S., Del. M-12	7.00
I. L., Del. M-127	48.25
P. R., Del. M-104	23.50
21, J. K., Del. M-295	9.00
J. Z., Del. M-706	14.50
P. M., Del. M-750	6.00
T. M., Del. M-752	2.50
E. A., Del. M-15	3.50
22, T. K., Del. M-122	39.10
W. S. ....	.25
23, W. R., Del. M-378	8.23
J. J.	2.00
P. P.	300.00
25, Office Reports	8.00
Office Reports	7.50
J. C., Del. M-113	22.00
P. R., Del. M-104	9.00
P. R., Del. M-104	57.50
28, E. A., Del. M-15	6.50
Office Report	3.00
K. K., Del. M-512	22.50
29, J. R.	5.00
30, Mrs. J. J.	4.50
W. O., Del. M-139	34.00
J. K.	200.00
F. B., Del. M-343	1.00
C. B., Del. M-702	9.00
P. P.	200.00
Total Cash Receipts	\$3,110.33

EXPENDITURES

April 1, Secretary-Treasurer, Acc't Convention	\$200.00
Record Clerk, Wages	15.00
2, "Truth," Duluth, Minn.	10.60
General Headquarters, Per Cap.	500.00
4, Finnish Workers' Club, Rent.....	52.50
B. E. Calkins & Co., Stationery	43.20
5, Asst. Secretary-Treas., Wages....	28.50
Bookkeeper, Wages	30.00
Stenographer, Wages	25.00
Secretary-Treas., wages on Acc't	18.50
J. S., on Acc't	100.00

Wire, Money Order	1.92
Express Charges	8.78
3, Mrs. M. C., Rent	22.00
Chas. H. Kerr & Company	2.50
Int. Printing & Typesetting Co. Sec'y-Treas., advanced on acc't Conv.	151.88
Wire	100.00
9, Wires	1.00
10, Record Clerk, Acc't Wages	1.48
Postage Stamps	20.00
11, General Headquarters, Per Cap. Hungarian Paper	5.00
Chas. H. Kerr & Co.	500.00
12, H. L. V., Acc't Pamphlet	3.75
Asst. Secretary-Treas., Wages....	11.96
Bookkeeper, Wages	25.00
Stenographer, Wages	28.50
Secretary-Treas., Acc't Wages....	30.00
14, New York Call	25.00
15, Wires & Lumber Bill	18.50
Hotel & Domestic Workers' I. U.	6.00
16, Secretary-Treasurer, Advanced..	7.88
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Balance March 31	20.25
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Balance March 31	150.00
Gen. Recruiting Union, Balance March 31	42.75
Recording Clerk, Acc't Wages....	6.00
Express, Wires	35.50
Secretary-Treas., Acc't Wages....	15.00
19, Asst. Secretary-Treas., Wages....	10.19
Bookkeeper, Wages	5.00
Stenographer, Wages	28.50
Secretary-Treas., Acc't Wages....	30.00
	25.00
	18.50

Workers' Socialist Publishing Co.	1.04
Record Clerk, Acc't Wages	10.00
21, M. J. S., Advanced	50.00
Wire, Money Order	1.42
Express & Wires	7.63
Chas. H. Kerr & Co.	18.00
22, Record Clerk, Acc't Wages	15.00
Postage Stamps	20.00
Wires, etc.	3.04
23, Delegates to Convention, Adv. Industrial Unionist, B. O.	60.00
64.05	
26, Asst. Secretary-Treas., Wages....	28.50
Bookkeeper, Wages	30.00
Stenographer, Wages	25.00
Secretary-Treas., Acc't Wages....	18.50
Parcel Post & Wires	2.78
28, Secretary-Treasurer, Adv. Acc't Conv.	500.00
Wires, Money Order	2.75
Secretary-Treas., Acc't Wages....	5.00
Express	5.57
30, Nolan & Donovan, Att'y Fees....	325.00
Record Clerk, Acc't Wages....	15.00
Deficit in Cash Account, 1918....	360.30
Total Expenditures	\$3,949.72

SUMMARY

Total Cash Receipts, April, 1919.....	\$3,110.33
Cash Balance, April 1, 1919.....	2,267.84
Grand Total	\$5,378.17
Total Expenditures, April, 1919.....	3,949.72
Cash Balance, April 30, 1919.....	\$1,428.45
A. S. EMBREE,	
Secretary-Treasurer, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.	

Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573

Bulletin No. 34.

Chicago, Ill., May 5, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

This is the Big Day here, as the General Convention opens up for reconstruction, and things look good to date. Hope that we can settle all the misunderstandings and bring co-operation with the membership.

Stockton, California, is on the map again, and things look good for No. 400 and No. 573. C. F. Bentley is secretary. Box 845.

C. W. I. U. No. 573 is making a big drive in Philadelphia. The reports coming in from the delegates show that they are on the job lining up the workers. Wm. Clark is branch secretary. The hall is located at 828 So. 2nd St., and all rebels are invited to make a call when passing through.

JOB NOTES.

Lyons Farm, N. J. 10 minutes ride from Newark, N. J. \$500,000 job; all kinds of construction and concrete work. 50 cents per hour minimum. Good chance for delegates.

Niles, Mich. Dominion Construction Co. 3 miles to town, M. C. Railroad. New yards and round house. About 300 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. 35 cents per hour for laborers. Sanitary conditions fair. Room and board \$7.00 per week. Ship from Chicago. Job will last about a year, and good chance to get work.—E-249.

West Hammond, Ill. Swift & Co. Construction job. 42½ cents per hour. 8 hours. 300 men employed. Several I. W. W.'s on the job. Sentiment fair. 10 cents carfare from Chicago. About three months' work.—Del. 272.

Monett, Mo. Job at Seiglmán, Mo., 31 miles below Monett, Mo., on the main line of Frisco R. R. About 500 men employed. Wages \$2.75. 10 hours. \$1.00 a day for board. No delegate on job.

Conrad, Mont. L. S. Water & Co. Big job 20 miles from Conrad, Mont., on branch line. Employs about 90 men. 3 camps. Mucking concrete work, skinning, carpenter work. \$5.00 for carpenters. Laborers \$4.00 per day. 8 hours. Hospital \$1.00 per month. Free fare from Great Falls if you stay 30 days. \$1.00 per month for blankets if you don't bring your own. Board \$1.50 per day. Board good, but poor in town. 60% Wobs. Sentiment good among the rest.—E-273.

Omaha, Neb. Funer outfit in Omaha. 10 hours. \$4.00 per day. Board fair. Board \$1.25 per day. Delegate needed.—E-13.

Earlhan, Ia. 30 miles west of Des Moines. Steam shovel job. Wages \$4.00 a day. \$1.00 per day for board and board is fair. A few members on the job and men needed. When going through Des Moines stop at the hall which is at 210 West 3rd St. Put your shoulder to the wheel and help to put C. W. I. U. No. 573 on the map.—E-405.

Manley, Ia. Ward & Condon. Wages \$4.00 per day. 10 hours. Board \$1.25. Board good. Delegate needed.—E-13.

Don't forget to visit the C. W. I. U. No. 573 Hall while in Chicago. 951 West Madison St. A live bunch of rebels.

Notice—Get your ballot for the referendum and vote, so that same can be returned for Sec'y-Treas., and Organization Committee and By-Laws. Get your ballot from your branch secretary.

All remittances should be sent to W. W. White, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Look out for the following credentials: G. R. U. No. 577; and No. 573.—E-186.

Ed. Ryan, formerly editor of the New Unionist, is requested to communicate with John Engdahl, Box 365, Seattle, Wash. Matters of importance.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

W. W. WHITE,

Sec'y-Treas. pro tem., C. W. I. U. No. 573.
1001 W. Madison St.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 573, I. W. W.

F. H. BOHN, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

April 1 to April 23, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

205 Initiations	\$410.00
2,035 Due Stamps	1,017.50
Relief Stamps	171.00
Organization Stamps	139.00
Day's Wage Stamps	28.00
Buttons	12.25
Literature	276.10
Acct. of Supplies	3.64
Moneys paid on acc't by Branch Sec'y and delegates	394.26
Donations to N. Y. Defense.....	1.00
B. Aldridge, Donation Relief	2.50
A. Lancaster, Donation General Organiza- tion	1.00
Subs. to Solidarity .....	.20
Subs. Miscellaneous	4.50
Moneys refunded, Hall rent	2.00
Moneys refunded, Miscellaneous .....	.200
S. B. I. U. No. 325, Pro Rata	87.01
G. R. U. Seattle, Pro Rata Rent & Exp. Robt. Nelson to New Press	92.03
Miscellaneous Receipts	19.45
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Dues.....	1.25
H. & R. W. I. U. No. 120, Init.....	9.50
H. & R. W. I. U. No. 120, Dues.....	2.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325, Dues.....	3.00
R. R. I. U. No. 600, Dues	2.00
D. W. I. U. No. 1100, Init.	3.00
D. W. I. U. No. 1100, Dues	2.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Dues .....	.50
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Init. ....	.50
G. R. U., Dues	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues.....	3.50
D. W. I. U., Seattle, Dues	10.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, Dues.....	1.50
D. W. I. U. No. 115, Dues.....	6.00
D. W. I. U. No. 115, Dues.....	.50

Total Receipts

DISBURSEMENTS.

Thos. Whitehead, Per capita	\$2,710.69
Thos. Whitehead, Supplies	\$45.00
Literature	39.78
Subs. to papers	11.65
Subs. to papers	93.10

Branch Sec'y & Del. Wages & Com.....	741.29
Milage	69.54
Moneys held by Branch Sec'y & Del.....	474.94
N. Y. Defense, per T. Whitehead	1.00
Wm. Clark, Gloucester Prisoners.....	10.00
Wm. Clark, Deportation Manifesto	3.00
M. W. Hanley, Jail relief.....	8.07
Main Office Salaries	223.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc	214.48
Jack Gaveel, Donation New Press.....	19.45
International Printing & Typesetting Co., 30,000 Stickers	42.65
Stationery & Fixtures	38.12
Postage, Express & Wires.....	44.77
Allowance on Supplies	146.50
Misc. Expenses	31.64
I. Engdahl, Expenses, Seattle Dist.	388.47
W. Randall, Expenses, Pro Rata	15.50
M. E. Hanley, Expenses, Pro Rata.....	9.50
Total Disbursements	\$2,671.45

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts	\$2,710.69
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	2,262.06
Grand Total	\$4,972.75
Total Disbursements	2,671.45
Cash on Hand April 23, 1919.....	\$2,301.30

CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES C. W. I. U. No. 573.

April 1 to April 23, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

April 2, Del. 797, report	\$2.64
3, Del. E-32, report	21.00
Del. E-142, report	23.00
Del. E-238, report	25.00
Del. E-251, report	8.54
M. K. Fox, Joint Exp. Acc't Omaha	3.40
Del. E-1, on acc't	1.50
Del. E-2, on acc't	1.00
Del. E-122, O. B. U. Monthly.....	1.00
7, Del. E-235, report	88.10
Del. E-222, report	50.00
9, Del. E-288, report	2.25
Acc't No. 500, report	38.50
Del. E-207, report	10.00
10, Del. 797, report	1.10
11, Del. E-12, report	10.73
Del. E-224, O. B. U. Monthly.....	2.00
12, Del. E-238, report	20.00
Del. E-33, report	3.00
14, Del. E-222, report	30.00
17, Del. E-265, report	2.00
Del. E-207, report	25.00
18, Del. E-264, report	2.50
19, Del. E-261, report	19.50
Del. E-81, report	25.00
Del. E-81, on acc't	25.00
H. Beck, Dup. card .....	.25
Del. E-222, Acc't Charter	1.00
Del. 404, papers	1.00
Del. E-288, report	3.50
J. Suratura, Dup. card .....	.25
Del. E-249, on acc't	5.00
C. Steele, Dup. card .....	.25
21, Del. E-266, report	4.00
22, Del. E-554, report	11.50
Del. E-31, report	3.50
Del. E-13, report	5.00
Del. E-586, Don. to org.	1.00
Office receipts .....	.90
23, Del. E-247, report	17.25
Del. E-247, report	6.75
Del. E-164, report	4.50

Office receipts	1.75
Total Cash Receipts	\$509.16
EXPENDITURES.	
April 1, Postage Stamps	\$5.00
3, Express Omaha Joint Exp. No. 400	6.80
4, Stamp Moistener .....	.75
Clipper Machine	3.50
Stenographer note books.....	1.00
5, Robt. Weir, wages	24.00
F. H. Bohn, wages	28.00
Mary Weirfi wages	21.00
Henry Tonn, adv. on acc't	30.00
7, A. S. Embree No. 800, acc't mch. report	2.50
Geo. Ricker No. 500, acc't mch. report	6.25
A. J. Mecherin No. 700, acc't mch report	5.00
Russian papers for March	8.10
8, Thos. Whitehead, zincs for stickers	3.64
Postage stamps	5.00
10, Subs. for Solidarity	70.00
Subs. for B. O. Ind. Unionists, Gr. Falls	5.25
12, Int. Prt. & Tp. Co., 30,000 stickers	42.65
Mary Weir, wages	21.00
F. H. Bohn, wages	28.00
Robt. Weir, wages	24.00
Telegram, Portland	1.00
13, L. Melis, exp. & wages Milwaukee	5.00
14, L. Melis, exp. & wages Milwaukee Int. Print. & Typs. Co., Dodgers, Omaha	2.15
15, Postage stamps	3.00
John Zenior, acc't Lesture, Milwaukee	4.16
Swedish papers	4.10
19, Mary Weir, wages	21.00
F. H. Bohn, wages	28.00
Jewish paper	1.20
19, Robt. Weir, wages	24.00
21, Jas. H. Kelley on acc't	12.96
22, W. W. White, on acc't.....	10.79
N. Valerio, on acc't	5.00
23, F. H. Bohn, wages	4.00

Total Cash Expenditures.....\$469.92

RECAPITULATION.

Total Cash Receipts	\$509.16
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	2,262.06

Grand Total	\$2,771.22
Total Cash Expenditures	469.92

Cash on Hand April 23, 1919.....\$2,301.30

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 573.

From April 24 to April 28, 1919.

J. H. KELLEY, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

RECEIPTS.

17 Initiations	\$34.00
189 Due stamps	94.50
Organization stamps	8.00
Literature, dup. cards, c. cases, etc.....	11.50
Moneys paid on acc't by branch sec'y & del.	17.53
Donation to new press	1.00
Total Receipts	\$166.53

DISBURSEMENTS.

Branch sec'y & del. wages & com.....	\$35.39
Moneys held by branch sec'y & del.....	21.10
Main office salaries	61.00
Rent, light, heat, etc.....	4.37
Stationery, fixtures, etc. ....	.69
Postage, exp., wires, etc.	1.95
Allowance on supplies	31.00

Total Disbursements

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts	\$166.53
Cash on Hand April 24, 1919.....	2,301.30

Grand Total	\$2,467.83
Total Expenditures	155.50

Cash on Hand April 28, 1919

CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES No 573.

April 24 to April 28, 1919.

J. H. KELLEY, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

RECEIPTS.

April 24, Geo. H. Ricker, Spokane Dist. No. 500	\$8.00
Geo. H. Ricker, Seattle Dist. No. 500	10.50
Del. E-295, report	5.00
Del. E-207, report	10.00
27, Del. E-247, report	12.00
Del. E-535, report	7.75
J. McVeigh, Bal. reports No. 500....	7.53
A. Holmberg, acc't charter	10.00
28, Del. E-82, report	11.25

Total Cash Receipts

EXPENDITURES.

April 26, Robt. Weir, wages	\$24.00
Jas. H. Kelley, 4 days' wages.....	16.00
N. Valerio on acc't dele. wages.....	10.00
Mary Weir, wages	21.00

Total Cash Expenditures.....\$71.00

RECAPITULATION.

Total Cash Receipts	\$82.03
Cash on Hand April 24, 1919.....	2,301.30

Grand Total	\$2,383.33
Total Cash Expenditures	71.00

Cash on Hand April 28, 1919.....\$2,312.33

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 573.

April 26 to April 30, 1919.

W. W. WHITE, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

RECEIPTS.

50 Initiations	\$100.00
296 Due Stamps.....	148.00
Relief Stamps	10.00
General Defense Stamps	11.00
Organization Stamps	21.00
Defense Buttons .....	.30
Literature & Dup. Cards C. Cases.....	28.99
Moneys paid on Acc't Branch Sec'y & Del.	94.54
Miscellaneous Receipts .....	.90
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Init.....	2.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues.....	.50
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues.....	1.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues.....	1.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Dues.....	7.00
Personal Deposit J. Cully by H. Burke.....	50.00

Total Receipts

DISBURSEMENTS.

Branch Sec'y & Dele. Wages & Com.....	\$82.88
Subs. to Solidarity	60.32
Moneys held by Branch Sec'y & Dele.....	65.01
Rent, light, heat, etc.	24.78
Stationery & Fixtures .....	.75
Postage, wires, & exp.	9.89
Advanced No. 573 Smoker	62.21
M. K. Fox, Joint Exp. Acc't Cal. District...	100.00
Joint Acc't Main Office Exp.	3.20
Allowance on Supplies	14.25
Miscellaneous Exp.	6.91
Total Expenditures	\$430.20

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts	\$476.23
Cash on hand April 28, 1919.....	2,312.33
Grand Total	\$2,788.56
Total Disbursements	430.20

Cash on hand May 1, 1919.....\$2,358.36

CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES MAIN OFFICE No. 573.

April 28 to April 30, 1919.

W. W. WHITE, Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

RECEIPTS.

April 26, Del. E-248, report	\$5.50
Office receipts .....	.25
28, Del. E-222, report	49.90
Del. E-81, report	50.00
Del. D-362, on acc't	34.00
Del. E-18, report	3.50
30, Del. E-264, report	7.50
Del. E-288, report	2.30
Office receipts	20.74
Del. E-289, report	31.92
Del. E-207, report	10.00

Total Cash Receipts.....\$215.61

DISBURSEMENTS.

April 28, Wire to C. F. Bentley	\$1.06
29, Postage stamps	5.00
Joint acc't Main office exp.	3.20
Joint acc't Cal. District	100.00
Sub. to Solidarity	60.32
Total Cash Disbursements.....	\$169.58

RECAPITULATION.

Total Cash Receipts \$215.61 |Cash on Hand April 28, 1919..... 2,312.33
Grand Total \$2,527.94 |Total Expenditures 169.58 |

Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....\$2,358.36

GRAND RECAPITULATION FOR MONTH OF APRIL, 1919.

C. W. I. U. No. 573, I. W. W.
Total Receipts, F. H. Bohn Acc't to April 23, 1919 \$2,710.69 || Total Receipts, J. H. Kelley Acc't to April 28, 1919 | 166.53 |
| Total Receipts, W. W. White Acc't to April 30, 1919 | 476.23 |
Grand Total \$3,353.45 |

Cash on Hand April 1, 1919..... 2,262.06

Grand Total \$5,615.51 |Total Disbursements, F. H. Bohn, April 23, 1919 \$2,671.45 |

Total Disbursements, J. H. Kelley, April 28, 1919 155.50 |

Total Disbursements, W. W. White, April 30, 1919 430.20 |

Grand Total \$3,257.15 |

Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....\$2,358.36

GRAND RECAPITULATION FOR MONTH OF APRIL, 1919.

Total Cash Receipts, F. H. Bohn to April 23, 1919 \$509.16 || Total Cash Receipts, J. H. Kelley to April 28, 1919 | 82.03 |
| Total Cash Receipts, W. W. White to April 30, 1919 | 215.61 |

Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....\$806.80

Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....\$2,262.06

Grand Total \$3,068.86 |

Total Cash Disbursements, F. H. Bohn to April 23, 1919 \$469.92 |

Total Cash Disbursements, J. H. Kelley to April 28, 1919 71.00 |

Total Cash Disbursements, W. W. White to April 30, 1919 169.58 |

Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....\$710.57

Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....\$2,358.36

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 400

Bulletin No. 32.

Chicago, May 5, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

The convention at Sioux City came to rather an abrupt conclusion, and as a result of same we did not have as much time as was necessary to thrash

out all the good ideas that were advanced; the big drive will soon be on and anyone having suggestions for the advancement of the A. W. I. U. should send same to the main office and they will be placed before the permanent Org. Comm., which will be in session about the end of this month.

Delegates writing in from all over the country are very optimistic and feel that this will be the banner year for the A. W. I. U.; in order to make a successful drive this year it is necessary that every available member should get supplies and credentials and it is also necessary that we get a good start.

The drive should start in from Oklahoma and all members in the middle West who can, should get down there at this time; there is lots of agriculture work going on now; berry picking is going on around Van Buren and Bald Nob, Arkansas, and there is also a good berry country south of Joplin, where picking will start up about May 10. Men are wanted for the berries around Neosha and Sarcoxie, Mo.

Haying will start in the Oklahoma country this week and you can get placed around Enid, Caldwell, Ponca City, Blackwell and vicinity; general farming work will be plentiful around the above mentioned towns for a couple of weeks and by that time the wheat crop will be in shape; you can see by the above two paragraphs that this is the place where the drive will start from, therefore we expect to have at least one hundred delegates down in that territory within the next two weeks.

Good reports regarding the crop are coming from all parts of Kansas and there should be great opportunities for the work of organization; at a meeting held at Hutchinson, Kansas, May 3, and attended by wheat growers from 35 western counties, it was decided by them that the wages for harvest hands this year would be 50 cents an hour for a ten-hour day and extra pay for overtime; this was to apply to shockers, pitchers and bargemen; wages for stackers were set at 60 cents an hour.

Wages scales have never bothered the members of the A. W. I. U., and this year they will get on the job for the wages offered and then will decide what they want and how many hours they will work.

There is a demand for monthly men all over Nebraska, Iowa, the Dakotas and Minnesota, and in most cases wages are from \$60.00 up; there is some tile ditching going on around Sheldon, and Webb, Iowa, with wages at 55 and 65 cents an hour.

Members should remember that the crop will not be ready in the northern states for quite a time yet, and they should not make the mistake of going up there at this time unless they want to work by the month.

OIL FIELD JOB NEWS.

There are two 8-inch lines going in at Paul's Valley, one 8-inch line at Hominy, and a 12-inch machine job at Stroud; all for the Prairie Co., with wages \$3.00 and board. The Prairie have also got jobs at Avant, 12-inch, and Beaumont, Kansas, 8-inch line.

There is a 6-inch line going in at Wynona and a ditching job at Foraker for the Okla. Pipe Line

Co., and the Mid-Co. have an 8-inch line going in at Sapulpa.

All kinds of help is needed down in the Burnett district, and there is a demand for all kinds of men in the Ranger Field.

Best wishes, we are yours for the O. B. U.
 D. N. SIMPSON, Chairman, Pro Tem. MAT K. FOX, Sec'y-Treas. A. W. I. U.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.

April, 1919.
 RECEIPTS.

106 Initiations	\$212.00
1,467 Dues	733.50
Relief Stamps	129.00
Gen. Org. Stamps	111.00
General Defense Stamps	85.50
Day's Wage Stamps	42.00
Sioux City Smoker Proceeds	176.45
Mpls Br. Donations to G. D.	8.00
Mpls Br. Contents of Jail Box	9.90
Misc. Donations to G. D.	29.00
Donations to Press Fund	67.70
Buttons	14.20
Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc.	286.71
Subs. to Solidarity	3.75
Subs. to O. B. U. M.	5.25
Moneys paid on acc't by Br. Sec'ys & Dels.	508.77
Moneys paid on acc't supplies	18.00
W. W. White Joint Office Exps.	3.20
W. W. White, on acc't Calif. Dist.	100.00
J. Eads Howe Furniture sold at K. C. Br.	15.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues	2.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325, Dues	7.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325, Initiations.....	2.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Initiations	74.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Dues	133.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues.....	34.50
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Initiations	12.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Initiations	16.00
C. W. I. U., No. 573, Dues.....	61.50
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues.....	10.50
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Initiations.....	6.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, Dues.....	3.50
H. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues.....	8.00
G. R. U., Dues	21.00
Dom. Workers I. U., Dues	2.00
Dom. Workers I. U., Initiations	2.00
Total Receipts	\$2,954.43

DISBURSEMENTS.

Personal Deposits	\$125.00
Headquarters, Per Capita	30.00
Headquarters, on acc't supplies	10.00
Comm. on literature	30.98
Literature	21.50
Bundle Orders, Papers	254.84
Dist. & Br. Sec'ys Wages & Dels. Comm.	566.50
Mileage	280.22
Moneys held by Br. Sec'ys & Dels.	962.97
Main Office Salaries	292.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. (Branches).....	202.95
Stationery & Fixtures	10.60
Postage, Wires, Express	89.84
Allowance on reports from other I. U.	117.50
Joint Acc't Exps. for month of April.....	6.40
J. Eads Howe storage of furniture	5.00
T. Whitehead, Refund to C. D. by J. Terrell	4.00
J. Terrell, Relief to F. W. in jail.....	1.50
Mpls. Br. Workhouse Relief	8.00
Total Disbursements	\$3,019.80

29, C. F. Bentley, acct. No. 400 District	100.00
C. F. Bentley, acct No. 573 District	100.00
30, Joint Acc't Exps. for month of April	6.40
M. K. Fox, Postage Stamps.....	35.00
New Solidarity, B. O. to date.....	204.09
Total Cash Disbursements.....	\$1,430.31

RECAPITULATION.

Total cash receipts	\$1,364.94
Cash on hand April 1, 1919.....	1,412.43
Grand Total	\$2,777.37
Total cash disbursements	1,430.31
Cash on hand May 1, 1919.....	\$1,347.06
MAT K. FOX,	
Sec'y- Treas. A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.	

Industrial Workers of the World Bulletin

In transmitting to you the attached statement of receipts and disbursements for March, we call your attention to the great improvement in receipts over the preceding month. The April report, which will be out within a few days after the end of the month, will show even a better condition than the present one. This indicates at least two things in regard to the Organization: that it has lost none of its pre-war sound wholesome vigor, and that the members are getting back into action. With those two things assured, we need not worry about the ultimate outcome of our work. However, there are a few immediate needs which call for prompt action on the part of the membership in order that the rapidly growing demands for organization which confront us may be met promptly and efficiently.

One of these needs is that of a new press. We have called attention to this before, but now the need is greater than ever. It is impossible at this time to get out the numerous publications of the Organization on time. To have them come out late detracts seriously from their effectiveness. With the new press, this handicap will be entirely done away with, and in addition it will mean an actual money saving to the Organization of over \$150 each week. We, therefore, urge you all to redouble your efforts to raise the funds necessary to guarantee the efficiency of this phase of our work, perhaps the key to our progress and success.

Another immediate problem needing your prompt action is that of raising funds to meet expenses of the General Convention. No convention has been called upon to solve questions of greater moment or of more practical bearing upon our work than the one which will convene next May 5th. It is, therefore, urgent that sufficient funds be provided to permit this convention to carry out its work without any embarrassment. Hence, see that your due book contains one or more General Organization stamps, and supplement this with meetings at which collections are taken, thus securing resources outside of our own membership.

The third problem, as important as either of the foregoing, is that of obtaining bonds for the victims of the Chicago trial. These men have been admitted to bail. They are anxious to obtain their freedom, and we are more than anxious to have them among us. The following is a summary of the latest report from our attorney concerning the progress in securing bail.

E. F. Doree: Bond accepted. However, Miss Inglis failed to acknowledge same before a notary and it had to be sent back to her for that reason. Doree will be released immediately upon its return.

Pancner and Thompson: These two refused by district attorney on account of their insufficiency in amount of property scheduled.

Gordon: District attorney insists upon \$5,000 worth of clear property in addition to what has already been scheduled.

Wm. D. Haywood: Have written to George McIntosh, the first surety, who has \$2,000 worth of liberty bonds, to forward same, but have not yet heard from him.

Sigried Stenberg: Have forwarded forms to Minneapolis and think something can be raised there for him.

Leo Laukki: Received wire from Mrs. Laukki yesterday to the effect that she had forwarded \$10,000 to the Clerk of the Appellate Court.

A. V. Azuara: Forms and instructions forwarded to T. B. Webber.

A. R. Sinclair: Forms and instructions forwarded to J. A. Carter, Whitefish, Montana.

Luigi Parenti: \$2,500 was yesterday deposited with the clerk and a certain Mr. Cavillini will sign for the rest.

A. B. Prashner: Bond and schedules received but is very short. \$6,300 in clear real estate and \$15,250 in mortgaged property was scheduled. More schedules have been forwarded to Mrs. Prashner.

W. D. Haywood: Just this minute received a letter from Mrs. Weiss stating that her lawyer advised her not to sign a federal bond and that she was very much afraid it would hurt her business, etc., etc.

F. Westerlund: Bond O. K.'d. Sent to Leavenworth Saturday for his signature.

Nigra: Deportation bond O. K.'d. Appeal bond sent to DeSilver for signature.

Chas. Rothfisher: Bond O. K.'d. Order for his release will be sent by clerk today.

R. Chaplin: Brunning and Morris scheduled sufficient for second surety—Higgins declined to sign as first surety. Mrs. Chaplin expects Lloyd to sign as first.

We urge every member and every branch or union to do all in their power to speedily secure the needed amounts to satisfy bond requirements. The sooner this is accomplished, the sooner will our Fellow Workers be with us to help and inspire, and

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts	\$2,954.43
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	1,412.43
Grand Total	\$4,366.86
Disbursements	3,019.80
Cash on Hand May 1, 1919.....	\$1,347.06

CASH RECEIPTS

April 1, J. W. Underberger	\$5.00
John Slightam .....	.50
Del. 233F, report	1.00
John Edenstrom	2.70
2, Del. 2067, report	11.50
Del. 2152, report	17.50
Del. 2151, report	2.50
3, J. Eads Howe, Furniture sold at K. C. Br.	10.00
Del. 2040, report	1.75
4, Del. 10F, report	22.00
Del. 290F, report	29.50
Del. 2079, report	28.50
5, Del. 2052, report	2.25
Del. 122F, report	4.00
Del. 3F, report	50.00
Del. 108F, report	10.00
C. F. Bentley	26.38
W. J. McNary .....	.25
Del. 187F, report	17.50
7, Del. 2F, report	45.11
Del. 2003, report	8.00
Del. 2082, report	10.50
Del. 2000, report	39.45
Del. 2124, report	27.25
9, Joe Gordon .....	.25
Del. 108F, report	10.00
Del. 2040, report	9.51
10, Del. 184F, report	24.00
Del. 2195, report	1.60
Del. 3F, report	50.00
F. McDonald	1.00
J. F. Twoomey on acc't.....	15.00
11, Del. 182F, report	15.00
14, Del. 178F, report	28.50
Del. 2F, report	186.35
15, Del. 20F, report	16.00
John Slightam	1.00
F. H. Bohn, acc't J. F. Gordon....	5.00
Del. 187F, report	26.50
16, Del. 290F, report	9.50
C. R. Bates, acc't supplies	1.00
Joe Rogers .....	.27
Del. 2101, acc't supplies	7.00
Del. 2066, report	2.00
17, Del. 2008, report	1.00
Del. 3F, report	36.66
18, Del. 2009, report	2.00
M. Patton	2.50
Del. 18F, report	4.00
Del. 2000, report	5.50
19, A. S. Embree, acc't No. 800, re- port	42.75
M. K. Fox, Office report	16.93
Del. 108F, report	25.00
21, Del. 979, report	13.00
Del. 2152, report .....	.95
Bryan Aldridge .....	.25
22, Wm. Wadsworth .....	.25
Del. 2196, report	2.00
Del. 2003, report	11.50
24, Del. 261F, report	7.50
Floyd Dyer, acc't supplies	10.00
Del. 108F, report	10.00
Del. 2F, report	147.80
25, Geo. Keys .....	.25
Del. 2055, on acc't	1.00

26, Del. 980, report	28.00
Del. 257F, report	16.50
28, Del. 123F, report	16.80
29, Del. 850, report	5.50
30, Del. 2011, report	10.00
Del. 2082, report	10.75
Del. 2042, report	20.04
W. W. White, Joint Office Exps.	3.20
W. W. White, Acc't Cal. District	100.00
M. K. Fox, Office	11.25
Bryan Aldridge .....	.25
A. E. Sullivan .....	.34
T. J. Connelley .....	.25
Del. 2092, report	7.00
Del. 40F, report	4.50
Del. 42F, report	25.00

Total Cash Receipts\$1,364.94

DISBURSEMENT.

April 2, T. Whitehead, Loan to G. D. from O. Weaver	\$100.00
3, F. H. Bohn, acc't express from Omaha	3.40
M. K. Fox, Postage Stamps re- ceived in March	2.47
4, Golos Truzenika, acc't B. O.	4.25
5, M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
J. Wosczyński, wages	21.00
J. Fisher, Auditing Comm.	20.00
J. Cronin, Auditing Comm.	20.00
A. Bare, Auditing Comm.	20.00
7, Rand Book Store, 300 Copies Soviets & Bolsheviki	18.00
The Rebel Worker, B. O.	27.00
J. Fisher, 2 days auditing & R. R. Fare to S. C.	24.79
A. Bare, 2 days auditing & R. R. Fare to S. C.	24.79
J. Cronin, 2 days auditing and R. R. Fare to S. C.	24.79
11, T. Whitehead, Refund to G. D. from J. Terrell	4.00
12, E. R. Thomas, No. 300 Bal. on reports	4.50
C. N. Ogden, No. 600 Bal on reports	23.75
J. Wosczyński, wages	21.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
16, Rebel Worker, Bal. on K. C. B. o.	1.50
17, Nya Varden, Swedish B. O. Mpls. & S. C.	10.50
19, J. Wosczyński, wages	21.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
24, M. K. Fox, Convention Exps. M. K. Fox, mileage to Sioux City	16.79
P. J. Gorman, mileage to Sioux City	8.99
M. K. Fox, mileage to Chicago..	16.79
Telegrams to Chicago	1.79
M. K. Fox, Adv. to W. A. Rum- field	70.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to J. Delisle....	50.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to J. Terrell....	50.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to C. E. Smith	60.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to A. Bare.....	25.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to Jack Ward..	35.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to W. Murphy	50.00
M. K. Fox, Adv. to D. Simpson	20.00
J. Kelley, Telegrams	15.22
E. Post, 2 days' wages Rec. Sec.	8.00
T. A. Jenkins, 2 days' wages Chairman	8.00
Janitor service Sioux City Hall	4.00
26, Int. Prtg. Co., Printing ballos....	3.50
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
J. Wosczyński, wages	21.00
D. N. Simpson, wages	12.00

the less will be the cost of accomplishing their release.

Now, then, Fellow Workers, there are three things which claim your immediate attention: Raising the necessary funds for a new press, procuring enough money to care for the expenses of the General Convention, thus insuring its unhampered progress, and, third, the raising of the necessary bonds to release our Fellow Workers at Leavenworth. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and accomplish these objects without delay. Accomplished, they will clear the way for a more effective advance on the battlements of the enemy.

Your for Industrial Solidarity,

THOS. WHITEHEAD,

Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

March, 1919

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS

Due Stamps	\$3,257.10
Supplies	1,206.23
Literature	688.40
Subs and Bundle Orders	22.50
Papers:	
Russian Paper	835.37
New Solidarity	1,132.22
Italian Paper	327.64
Bulgarian Paper	257.55
Swedish Paper	271.03
Jewish Paper	210.98
Spanish Paper	59.96
One Big Union Magazine	348.20
Contributions:	
Defense Funds	1,896.33
Relief Funds	684.73
Printing Press Fund	38.50
800 Propaganda Committee Fund	10.24
Organization Fund	498.20
Assessments	182.50
On Deposit, General Recruiting Union	449.28
Funds on Deposit	71.26
Payments on Loans	92.50
Checks cancelled, and re-deposit of money orders returned for endorsement	189.65
Re-deposit of funds held in Safety Deposit Vault	2,400.00
Deposit of funds to Whitehead account	631.75
Miscellaneous	25.86
Total Receipts	\$15,787.98

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS

Office Expenses:	
Rent	\$500.00
Light and Heat	89.53
Wages	902.08
Supplies	1,182.59
Telegraph and Telephone	53.59
Postage	117.65
Expressage	31.20
Printing	227.40
Literature	1,134.60
Bundle Orders	17.00
Transfer of funds from P. Stone account to Thos. Whitehead	631.75
Donations, Butte Propaganda Comm.	10.24
Repairs	3.60
Bank Exchange	1.85
Miscellaneous	6.50
Total Disbursements	\$5,112.58

General Executive Board Expenses:

Wages	\$495.18	\$495.18
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General Defense Expenses:

Rent	\$44.60	
Wages	62.50	
Supplies	17.38	
Bundle Orders	34.00	
Telegraph and telephone	34.96	
Typewriter Rental	4.00	
Counsel Fees and Expenses	3,570.99	
Relief	981.72	
Mileage	264.53	\$5,014.68

General Recruiting Union Expenses:

Rent	\$100.00	
Wages	112.00	
Supplies	70.00	
Bundle Orders	701.18	
Expenses	17.50	
Initiations and dues collected for Industrial Unions	249.12	\$1,249.80

Organizing Expenses:

Wages	\$223.50	
Mileage	54.85	\$278.35

Educational Expenses:

New Solidarity.

Wages	\$224.50	
Printing	642.60	
Cuts	17.42	
Expressage	62.27	
Subs and Bundle Orders	13.50	
Postage	4.00	
Interest on Loan	45.00	\$1,009.29

Italian Paper.

Wages	\$105.00	
Printing	177.18	\$282.18

Russian Paper.

Wages	\$141.00	
Printing	519.94	
Cuts	19.67	\$680.61

Spanish Paper.

Wages	\$105.00	
Printing	88.89	
Expressage	18.68	
Typewriter Rental	3.00	\$215.57

Swedish Paper.

Wages	\$144.00	
Printing	412.36	
Supplies .....	.75	
Expressage	37.32	
Typewriter Rental	5.00	\$599.43

Bulgarian Paper.

Wages	\$183.00	
Printing	171.08	
Expressage	18.68	\$372.76

Jewish Paper.

Wages	\$84.00	
Cuts	9.71	
Printing	217.66	\$311.37

One Big Union Monthly.

Wages	\$127.50	
Printing	296.41	
Cuts	35.28	
Expressage	18.68	\$477.87

Total Disbursements

Balance Cash on Hand March 1, 1919	\$3,542.20
Total Receipts for March, 1919	15,787.98

Total Disbursements, March, 1919.....	\$19,330.18	16,099.67
Balance Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	\$3,230.51	
New Solidarity.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$3,151.97	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	1,009.29	
	\$4,161.26	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	1,132.22	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$3,029.04	
Italian Paper.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$1,221.40	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	282.18	
	\$1,503.58	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	327.64	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$1,175.94	
Russian Paper.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$32.82	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	680.61	
	\$713.43	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	835.37	
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	\$121.94	
Spanish Paper.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$675.87	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	215.57	
	\$891.44	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	59.96	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$831.48	
Swedish Paper.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$347.10	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	599.43	
	\$946.53	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	271.03	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$675.50	
Bulgarian Paper.		
Balance Cash on Hand March 1, 1919....	\$517.89	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	257.55	
	\$775.44	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	372.76	
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	\$402.68	
Hungarian Paper.		
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$24.99	
Jewish Paper.		
Cash on Hand March 1, 1919.....	\$255.92	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	210.98	
	\$476.90	
Disbursements, March, 1919.....	311.37	
Cash on Hand April 1, 1919.....	\$165.53	
One Big Union Monthly.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$200.63	
Disbursements for March, 1919.....	477.87	
	\$678.50	
Total Receipts, March, 1919.....	348.20	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$330.30	
General Defense Fund.		
Balance Due March 1, 1919.....	\$17,020.21	
Disbursements for March, 1919.....	5,014.68	
	\$22,034.89	
Receipts for March, 1919.....	2,078.83	
Balance Due April 1, 1919.....	\$19,956.06	

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS

April 1919.

Due Stamps.....	\$3,189.50	
Supplies.....	1,299.10	
Literature.....	132.55	
Subs. and Bundle Orders.....	13.45	
Papers:		
Russian Paper.....	703.91	
New Solidarity.....	1,178.84	
Italian Paper.....	177.15	
Bulgarian Paper.....	435.46	
Swedish Paper.....	289.35	
Jewish Paper.....	233.20	
Spanish Paper.....	115.12	
One Big Union Monthly.....	477.44	
Hungarian Paper.....	64.00	
Contributions:		
General Defense Fund.....	\$2,401.57	
Lawrence Strike Fund.....	127.50	
Freedom Certificates.....	212.611	2,741.68
Freedom Certificates.....	212.61	2,741.68
Printing Press Fund.....	492.20	
Organization Fund.....	879.75	
Assessments.....	731.10	
Deposits by General Recruiting Union.....	1,853.58	
Payments on Loans.....	79.42	
Rent: 573, for office room.....	50.00	
Loan for Bail.....	1,132.73	
Miscellaneous.....	13.40	
Total Receipts.....	\$17,022.95	

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS

Office Expenses:		
Rent.....	250.00	
Light and Heat.....	84.53	
Wages.....	682.37	
Supplies.....	764.26	
Telegraph and Telephone.....	58.56	
Postage.....	75.30	
Expressage.....	59.13	
Literature.....	27.20	
Subs and Bundle Orders.....	24.00	
Mileage.....	17.70	
Repairs.....	7.20	
Water, Ice and Towel Service.....	13.30	
Window Cleaning & Time Service.....	6.50	
Bank Exchange.....	6.25	
	\$2,076.30	
From Funds on Deposit for Bail.....	\$1,322.74	
Loan.....	35.00	
General Defense Expenses:		
Rent.....	44.60	
Wages.....	165.00	
Supplies.....	25.00	
Donation, Lawrence Strike.....	127.50	
Telegraph and Telephone.....	16.97	
Typewriter Rental.....	8.00	
Counsel Fees and Expenses.....	2,157.71	
Transfer of Funds from General De-		
fense to Freedom Certificate Acc't....	72.61	
Relief.....	1,222.71	
	\$3,840.10	
International Printing and Typesetting		
Company on Account.....	500.00	
General Executive Board, Wages.....	331.50	
General Recruiting Union Expenses:		
Rent.....	100.00	
Wages.....	82.25	
Supplies.....	3.25	

Bundle Orders	289.38		
Expenses, Organizing	40.24		
Init. and Dues Col. for Ind. Unions	268.00		
Dues Refunded	3.00		
	<u>\$786.12</u>		
Organizing Expenses:			
Wages	287.00		
Mileage	256.13		
Expenses	105.88		
Hall Rent and Printing	29.00		
	<u>\$678.01</u>		
Educational Expenses.			
New Solidarity:			
Wages	\$185.50		
Printing	687.00		
Cuts	31.13		
Expressage	54.27		
Postage	18.30		
Telephone charges	2.00		
	<u>\$978.20</u>		
Italian Paper:			
Wages	\$ 84.00		
Printing	617.87		
Cuts	7.76		
	<u>\$709.73</u>		
Russian Paper:			
Wages	\$109.75		
Printing	692.83		
Cuts	3.68		
	<u>\$806.26</u>		
Spanish Paper:			
Wages	\$84.00		
Printing	131.08		
Expressage	18.68		
Typewriter rental	3.00		
	<u>\$236.76</u>		
Swedish Paper:			
Wages	\$136.50		
Printing	354.78		
Telephone charges	2.90		
Expressage and Postage	34.32		
Typewriter rental	10.00		
	<u>\$538.50</u>		
Bulgarian Paper:			
Wages	126.00		
Printing	258.62		
Expressage	18.68		
	<u>\$403.50</u>		
Jewish Paper:			
Wages	\$72.00		
Cuts	20.18		
Printing	238.65		
Typewriter Rental	3.50		
	<u>\$334.33</u>		
Hungarian Paper:			
Cartoons .....	.88		
One Big Union Monthly:			
Wages	\$209.35		
Printing	300.58		
Cuts and Supplies	66.20		
Expressage and Postage	23.61		
Subscription returned	6.00		
Money belonging to Swedish Paper credited to the O. B. U.	9.30		
	<u>\$615.04</u>		
Total Disbursements	\$14,192.77		
		April, 1919	
		RECAPITULATION	
		Cash on Hand April 1st, 1919.....	\$ 3,230.51
		Total Receipts for April, 1919	17,022.95
			<u>\$20,253.46</u>
		Total Disbursements, April, 1919.....	\$14,192.77
		Cash on Hand May 1st, 1919	\$ 6,060.69
		New Solidarity:	
		Deficit, April 1, 1919.....	\$3,029.04
		Disbursements for April, 1919....	978.20
			<u>\$4,007.24</u>
		Total Receipts, April, 1919	1,178.84
		Deficit, May 1, 1919	\$2,828.40
		Italian Paper:	
		Deficit April 1, 1919	\$1,175.94
		Disbursements for April, 1919	709.73
			<u>\$1,885.67</u>
		Total Receipts for April, 1919	177.15
		Deficit, May 1, 1919	\$1,708.52
		Russian Paper:	
		Balance, April 1, 1919	121.94
		Total Receipts for April, 1919....	703.91
			<u>\$825.85</u>
		Disbursements for April, 1919....	806.26
		Balance on Hand May 1, 1919	19.59
		Spanish Paper:	
		Deficit April, 1919	831.48
		Disbursements for April, 1919....	236.76
			<u>\$1,068.24</u>
		Total Receipts for April, 1919	115.12
		Deficit May 1, 1919	953.12
		Bulgarian Paper:	
		Balance on Hand April 1, 1919	402.68
		Total Receipts for April, 1919	435.46
			<u>838.14</u>
		Disbursements for April, 1919	403.30
		Balance on Hand May 1, 1919....	434.84
		Hungarian Paper:	
		Deficit April 1, 1919	24.99
		Disbursements April, 1919 .....	.88
			<u>25.87</u>
		Receipts, April, 1919	64.00
		Balance on Hand May, 1, 1919....	38.13
		Jewish Paper:	
		Balance on Hand April, 1, 1919	165.53
		Total Receipts for April, 1919....	233.20
			<u>398.73</u>
		Disbursements, April, 1919	334.33
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