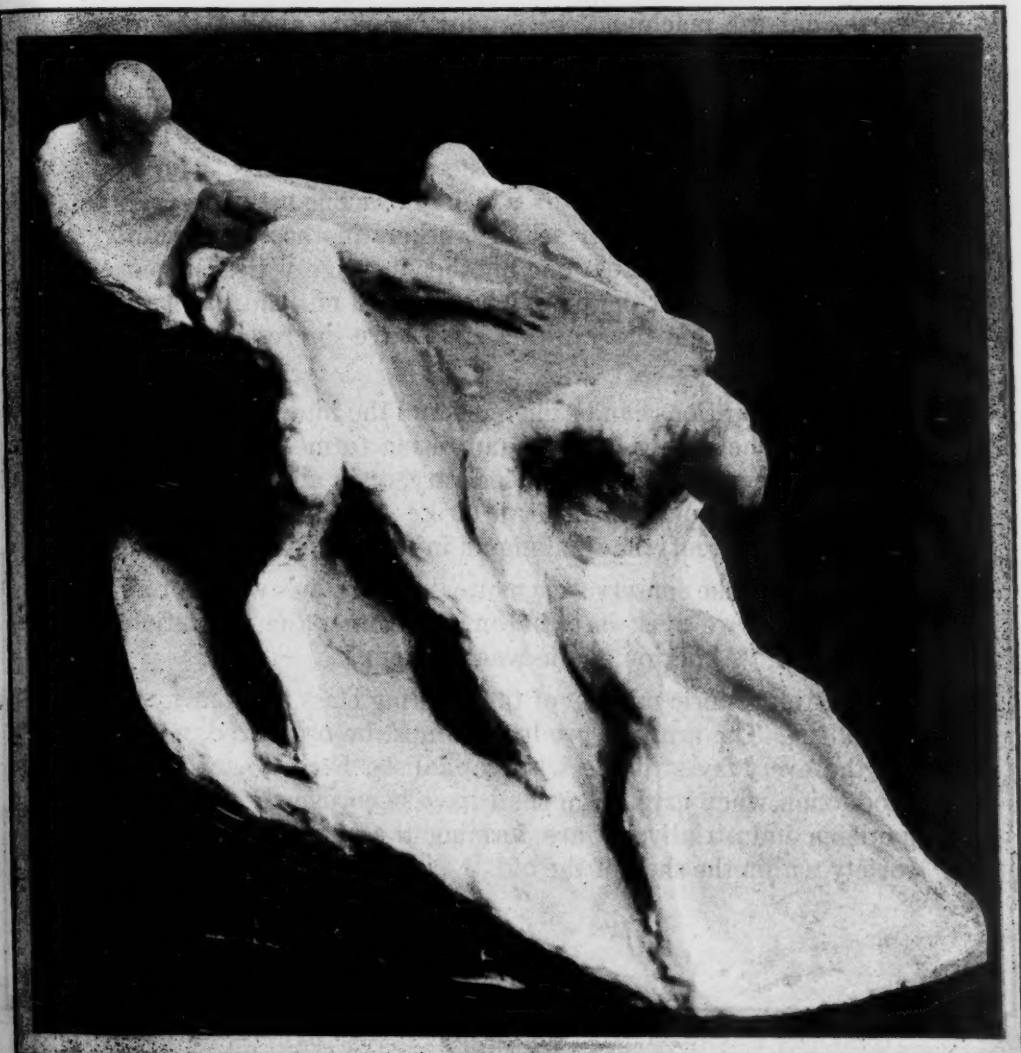


70

MAR 31 1920

The One Big Union *Monthly*



THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
(From a Sculpture by Adele S. Gleeson)

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
Industrial Workers of the World. Sculpture by Adele S. Gleeson.....	1
I. W. W. Preamble.....	2
The Road to Freedom. Cartoon by Sam.....	4
In Memoriam.....	5
Our Prisoners.....	6
Add Your Protest.....	7
A Close Call. Cartoon by Raymond Corder.....	8
Letter from Attorney on Wichita Case.....	9
A. F. of L. Coal Miners Aid I. W. W. Prisoners	10
Merits of Legal Defense. By Forrest Edwards....	10
Courts and Direct Action. By William Clark.....	12
Canadian Workers in Death Grapple with Capitalism	13
Industrial Communism—The I. W. W. (New Pamphlet)	14
Supplemental Report of Bail Matters.....	15
Explanation to Contributors.....	15
Two Secret Letters.....	16
The Exodus from Egypt. By John Sandgren.....	17
The Modern Moses. Cartoon by Sam.....	21
Reconstruction. By Justus Ebert.....	22
You Fed Them Enough. Cartoon by Sam.....	26
Construction of the World. By J. L. and F. B....	27
All Signs Point to the I. W. W. Cartoon by Sam..	31
The Industrial Age. By Covington Ami.....	32
Open Letter to Construction Workers.....	34
The Coal Mining Industry. By Delegates M-120 and B-659.....	36
The Swimming Hole. Cartoon by Sam.....	39
The Realism of the Bolsheviki. By John G. Soltis	39
One for All, All for One. Cartoon by Sam.....	41
Compromising with the Left Wing. By Ph. Kurinsky	42
The Story of the I. W. W., Chapter 7, Enter the Migratory Workers. By Harold Lord Varney	43
Southern Conditions. By Covington Ami.....	45
An Appeal to the Membership. By George Adlercrants	46
Craft Unionism Must Go. By Fredk. Blossom....	47
The Story of 400.....	49
Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W.....	50
Metal & Machinery Workers' I. U. No. 300.....	52
Construction Workers' I. U. No. 573.....	54
Marine Transport Workers I. U. No. 8.....	55
Hotel, Restaurant & Domestic Workers' Union No. 1100.....	56
Railroad Workers' I. U. No. 600.....	57
Shipbuilding Workers . U. No. 325.....	58
Industrial Workers of the World, Report.....	59
General Referendum, Official Returns.....	62
Metal Mine Workers' I. U. No. 600.....	63
Lumber Workers' I. U. No. 500.....	63



THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy, non-returnable. For sale with news dealers.

Address subscriptions, business communications and remittances to **The One Big Union Monthly**, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

IN MEMORIAM

R. J. BLAINE
ED. BURNS
H. C. EVANS
JAMES NOLAN
FRANK TRAVIS
JAMES GOSSARD

GENERAL
DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Wm. D. Haywood, Sec'y

Fellow Workers and Friends:—

This letter is in remembrance of R. J. Blaine, Ed. Burns, H. C. Evans, James Nolan and Frank Travis, all of whom died in prison at Sacramento, California, while waiting trial under the blanket indictment, the original of which was framed at Chicago, Illinois—and likewise in memory of James Gossard, who died in jail at Newton, Kansas, while waiting trial under a similar indictment.

This is also to remind you that there are hundreds of members of the Industrial Workers of the World languishing in penitentiaries and jails, some serving long sentences, some yet to be tried. In the State of Kansas are thirty-three men who have been imprisoned for nearly two years in some of what are reported to be the worst jails in the United States. On two occasions these men have answered to indictments that would not stand. The third indictment has been returned; the trial has been set for next September.

It would seem that those men are being punished first and are to be tried afterward. Two or three of them are badly broken in health, are suffering seriously in body and mind. Why this continued persecution? Does not the Constitution guarantee to every man a speedy, fair and impartial trial?

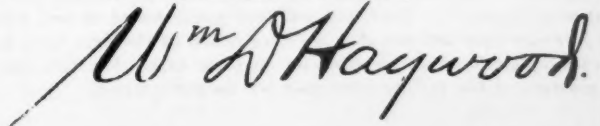
You can assist in providing these following named defendants an adequate defense:

C. W. Anderson, W. Francik, Paul Maihak, E. M. Boyd, S. Shurin, Carl Schell, F. J. Gallagher, George Wenger, Fred Grau, S. Forbes, Robt. Poe, F. Patton, M. Hecht, Leo Stark, J. Walberg, H. McCarl, M. Sapper, J. Caffrey, Alb. Barr, Tom O'Day, Jim Davis, O. E. Gordon, Ray Lambert, Harry Drew, Mike Quinn, A. M. Blumberg, E. J. Huber, S. B. Hicok, Jos. Greshbach, Peter Higgins, Ernest Henning.

If each recipient of this memorial letter will but consider that you may save a man's life, or at least give them their freedom, one dollar or more sent to Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, will be carefully used for the relief and defense of class war prisoners.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Chicago, Ill.
August, 1919.



Secretary

Our Prisoners and the Defense Work

The summer is drifting to its close. Scores of I. W. W. men continue to drift into the prisons of this free country, but very few of them are drifting out. Many hundreds of our truest and best men are pining away behind the prison walls.

One of the few that we recently have succeeded in getting released on bail pending appeal is William D. Haywood, former General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. and condemned to 20 years' imprisonment in Leavenworth.

On Fellow Worker Haywood's return to Chicago the General Defense Committee was reorganized at Headquarters, and in view of the pressing emergency, and to avoid all dangerous delays in the defense work, the secretaries of the various industrial unions, the editors of the I. W. W. papers issued at headquarters and the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. constituted themselves provisionally as the reorganized General Defense Committee and elected Fellow Worker William D. Haywood as the secretary of the committee. All funds for the defense are to be handled by General Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas Whitehead, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The General Defense Committee will henceforth, through its secretary, carry on a most vigorous campaign for publicity and funds for the defense.

Now it is up to every organization of the I. W. W. as well as every individual member to strain themselves to the utmost in order to put the organization in a position where it can carry on an effective defense and give to the prisoners and their families the much needed relief.

It is a case of now or never. Do your utmost in every shop, in every mill, in every mine, in every place of work, in every city and in every village of this and other countries.

Altogether for the most vigorous pull we have ever made!

Let the slogan be: "Freedom for our Fellow Workers in jail."

The Lie Campaign Against I. W. W. Strikes and Snag

The following correspondence is one of the many evidences of the campaign of lies carried on against the I. W. W. throughout the country.

Gertrude Crumb Harman,
Lawrence, Kansas.

Film Rights Reserved
704 Mass St.,
Lawrence, Kansas.
July 15, 1919.

Editor Call:—
Beloit, Kansas.

Dear Sir:—

An eastern publication has requested me to send them an article upon the destruction and depredations of the I. W. W. in the state of Kansas. A Mr. Gill, who was a former resident of your city, tells that they have been very active in destructive work in and near Beloit.

Will you be kind enough to send me the names of some of the farmers who have suffered loss at their hands? Any other authentic information you can give me along this line, without too much trouble to yourself, will be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance for the favor,

I am respectfully yours,
GERTRUDE C. HARMAN.

Lawrence, Kansas.

Miss Harman:—

As far as this office knows there has been no trouble here with the I. W. W. There have been a number of wheat field fires, but we have never heard of one being laid at the doors of the I. W. W., in fact in every case but one that we have heard of the fires have been caused directly by the owners themselves with gas engines or exhausts on their cars. Mr. Gill has evidently been wrongly informed on the matter, or has information that we do not possess.

Sincerely,

THE BELOIT DAILY CALL,
Harry K. Houghton.

ADD YOUR PROTEST

(The following very important document should be carefully read. If you feel that you have anything to say about the matter, address Judge C. Pollock, Topeka, Kansas.)

A PROTEST

In view of the fact that by trial date, we will have been incarcerated in various County Jails of Kansas for a period of twenty-two months, we desire to make a vigorous protest at being confined in the Sedgwick County Jail, Wichita, Kansas, next September, at which time we are to appear for trial. We base our objections to being moved there, on the grounds that it is unsanitary and unfit for human habitation.

The Sedgwick County Jail is a virtual cesspool, being infested with foul odors, bed-bugs and vermin of every description, and at the same time is literally overrun with huge sewer rats. Every nook and corner of the jail abounds with filth, and inasmuch as we are now in a very weakened condition because of long confinement, we maintain that it would be dangerous to quarter us in such surroundings.

Moreover, it is a well known fact that the Sedgwick County Jail has previous to this been condemned on numerous occasions, so that in itself is ample proof that it is not a fit place for human beings. To corroborate our statements, we call attention to the inspection of that jail by Jude Bird, Assistant County Attorney Elcock, a delegation of clubwomen from Buffalo, N. Y., Winthrop D. Lane, sociologist, investigator, and associate editor of "the Survey" magazine, a prominent business man of Wichita, and Jos. F. Fishman, inspector of prisons for the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C., all of whom denounced the place as unsanitary and unfit.

The Wichita business man declared that the jail wasn't fit for a rat to live in — to say nothing of human beings. Mr. Fishman on being escorted around the jail on the morning of March 18, 1919, was simply appalled at the filth and vermin existing there, and said that it was the worst place of its kind he had ever inspected. Mr. Fishman certainly should know, because he has inspected prisons from coast to coast for the Government.

Now knowing that such a state of affairs exist, we protest at being confined in the Sedgwick County Jail, and request that you further petition the court before the September session convenes, with reference to accommodations elsewhere. If clean surroundings are not available, in Wichita, then we, the Wichita defendants, request that you petition the court to have us released on our own recognizance, or have us quartered in a hotel with proper sanitary facilities for bathing, sleeping and so on.

As a humanitarian act, clean, healthful surroundings at least should be accorded us. Three of our men have already become mentally unbalanced and one has passed away, due chiefly to long confinement in filthy jails on this charge. The defendants in this case are now mere shells of their former selves, and in their weakened state would prove an easy victim to disease, if quartered in a place like the Sedgwick County Jail.

Furthermore, we have never been convicted of any crime, and, according to law, one is considered innocent until proven guilty. The U. S. Constitution guarantees that no man shall be subjected to punishment until after he is sentenced, but thus far our entire period of incarceration has been the cruellest form of punishment. A convicted man in the penitentiary is far better off than we, because he, at least, has access to fresh air occasionally. With us, however, it is different. We have been confined in close and ill-smelling jails where fresh air is practically unknown.

To safeguard our health (whatever is left of it) we deem it advisable to take precautionary measures before hand. Therefore we request that you petition the court in our behalf, and trusting that the court will see the justice in our petition, we remain,

Sincerely Yours,

(Signed) C. W. ANDERSON,
For the Defendants.

THE I. W. W. AND THE GENERAL STRIKE

At the last joint meeting of the General Defense Committee and the General Executive Board the question of a general strike for five days, beginning Labor Day, September 1, 1919, to demand the freedom of all class war prisoners, was brought up. The following resolution was adopted in the matter:

Resolved, That we endorse the general strike as

set forth in the resolution of the Chicago Labor Congress on August 10, but regard it as bad policy to announce the date. However, we will participate to the extent of our ability in the work of education and organization necessary to bring about a general strike, demanding the release of industrial, political and class war prisoners. To this end we will co-operate with organized labor societies and leagues that may be interested.

ADD YOUR PROTEST



A CLOSE CALL

A Letter from Our Attorney on the Wichita Case

The men held under the Wichita indictment have been imprisoned for over nineteen months without trial. In the meantime their organization has raised many thousands of dollars for the defense of the Chicago case, the Sacramento case, the deportation cases and hundreds of smaller cases scattered throughout the country. Now they face the defense of the Wichita case with **no money in the treasury.**

These men are imprisoned because they have attempted to organize the Oil Workers' Industrial Union; the Oil Workers' Industrial Union is a branch of the Industrial Workers of the World. The animus back of the persecution of these men is the hatred of the oil interests to any and every form of organization by the oil workers.

Shall Socialists and Liberals sit quietly by and let these men be railroaded into Leavenworth penitentiary because of lack of money to make a defense?

There are thirty-five men involved. The defense must be organized, witnesses hunted up, publicity secured that will overcome the damning effect of the lies of the capitalist press. A defense of this case will cost at least \$10,000.00.

Men will receive this appeal who could easily give this entire amount and still have done nothing for the cause of industrial democracy as compared to the sacrifice made by these men in the filthy, unsanitary jails of Kansas during the past two years. One of these men has given his life, two have given their sanity and all have sacrificed their health for a long time to come.

Many of you could give \$1,000. Why NOT? Is there any cause more worthy?

Others can easily spare \$100. Some perhaps, not more than \$10. We beg of you give of your means to the utmost of your ability. Don't let these men go to the federal prison if money for their defense will save them. This case is the **TURNING POINT.** The Debs case, the O'Hare case, the Sacramento case, all of these were tried during the heat of the war fever. This is now past. The indictment in the Wichita case is almost exactly the same as that in the Chicago case. A victory now will discredit the former trials, pave and open the way for the most effective demand for the release of all political and industrial prisoners.

The issue is thrown wide open in the Wichita case. Lack of proper defense and the finding of a verdict of guilty will serve to lock the doors of the prisons and render almost impossible the release of hundreds of class-war prisoners throughout the United States. A thoroughly prepared defense and a verdict of acquittal will be the opening wedge by which these doors will be thrown wide open and our comrades set free. The Wichita case is the pivot upon which future developments turn. Aid in the defense of this case and it is won. Fail to come to our assistance and we lose. **WE MUST WIN!**

Send Liberty bonds and money to The Wichita Defense Fund in care of Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison street, Chicago, Illinois.

Yours for justice,

Caroline A. Lowe.

General Strike in Behalf of All Class War Prisoners

As we have previously noted in this magazine, the Mooney Defense League, with headquarters in San Francisco, proposed to renew the general strike on Labor Day, Sept. 1, this year, in order to give expression to the protest against the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings.

It now appears that the general strike they have planned will be made to include the demand for the liberation of all class war prisoners.

Upon the initiative of the Mooney Defense League Branch in Chicago a local Labor Congress was convened in Chicago on Aug. 10th. Representatives were present from 58 different labor organizations, mostly A. F. of L. unions. These voted unanimously for a resolution calling upon the workers of America to go out on a general strike on Sept. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1919, to make the workers' demand for the freedom of all class war and political prisoners felt to the greatest possible extent.

The I. W. W. was represented at the convention by a delegate from Construction Workers' I. U. No. 573.

No doubt the I. W. W. will respond to the call throughout the country, as well as the members of the various Socialist parties. Of the A. F. of L. several large central bodies have already voted

against such a general strike, but in all likelihood large numbers of the rank and file will disobey orders from their leaders and seek this opportunity to strike a blow for the freedom of their fellow workers in jail.

The resolution referred to, for which we have not the space at present, is also an actual endorsement of industrial unionism.

THE SIOUX CITY WAY

"It was moved and seconded at a joint meeting of all branches in this city that we go on record as favoring a defense drive lasting seven days, starting Aug. 7, ending Aug. 13. This motion to be published in all of our papers and magazines. Also that chairman of defense committee be instructed to write to General Headquarters asking them to send this call to industrial unions, branches and districts of the I. W. W. Carried.

"M. & S. We issue credentials for special drive to members in good standing, and who are eligible to carry same. Carried."

Emil Schwandt, No. 54952,
Chairman, Defense Committee.

August 1, 1919.

A. F. of L. Coal Miners Rush to the Aid of I. W. W. Prisoners

The following resolution, calling for a voluntary general assessment of the membership of United Mine Workers of America, District No. 14, has been sent out by its Executive Board:

Wichita, July 24.—The executive board of District No. 14 of the United Mine Workers has taken action to assist in the defense of the members of the I. W. W. held on the Wichita indictment. The resolution passed by the executive board is as follows:

WHEREAS, the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 14, in their fight for industrial justice, have learned the bitterness with which the coal operators unite against the workers and the extent to which they will go to accomplish their own purpose, and

WHEREAS, they have learned also that this same injustice is exercised by the owners of many other industries, especially in their determination that the workers shall not organize to protect their rights, and

WHEREAS, in November, 1917, a group of 35 men, all members of a newly organized union, the Oil Workers' Industrial Union, were arrested without warrant in the oil fields in and about Augusta and Eldorado, Kansas, and for nearly twenty months have been held in various jails throughout the state, and

WHEREAS, the oil fields of Kansas and Oklahoma have for many years been in a badly disorganized state, every attempt to form a union of the workers being crushed by the owners of the oil wells, and

WHEREAS, on two separate occasions, that is, in September, 1918, and March, 1919, the indictment against these 35 men, above referred to, was quashed, the Grand Jury hastily convened, a new indictment returned, and the case set over to the next term of Court, and

WHEREAS, while we are unacquainted with the charges alleged against these oil workers, except

that the indictment charges violation of the Espionage Act, the Draft Act, the Food and Fuel Act, all of which are war measures, nevertheless, we believe, if any crime had been committed by these workers, it would not require two years to frame up an indictment that would stand the test in court, and

WHEREAS, the long months of imprisonment and the great expense attached to the trial of a case of such magnitude necessitates a strong defense fund, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Executive Board of District No. 14, United Mine Workers of America, that our organization lend our full support to our brother workers in the Oil Workers' Industrial Union, to the end that they receive justice.

We, THEREFORE, recommend to the members of our organization that the various local unions throughout the District levy an assessment of ten cents per member on each member of your local union in the month of August to assist in the defense of these brothers who have been in prison the past twenty months; the amount donated by each local union to be sent to Thomas Harvey, District Secretary, and he will send you a receipt for the amount and will also send all money received for this purpose to the proper parties in Wichita, who are connected with this case. The Local Unions are not obligated to pay this small assessment unless you feel disposed to do so. It is hoped, however, that our members will respond to the call as they have always done in the past to assist in the great cause of Justice, those who are now in a position where they are unable to help themselves.

SIGNED on behalf of the executive board.

ALEXANDER HOWAT,
Pres. Dist. No. 14, U. M. W. of A.
THOMAS HARVEY,
Sec. Dist. No. 14, U. M. W. of A.

Perhaps your own union might do the same if you bring it up at your next meeting?

The Merits of Legal Defense

By FORREST EDWARDS

Federal 20-year Prisoner in Leavenworth

W. I. FISHER had an article in the July issue of the O. B. U. Monthly on the subject of "Legal Defense." It contained neither good sense nor logic. Moreover, it was misleading, in that it was not historically correct.

In a word, it is nothing but pure sophistry. Referring to the Spokane free speech fight, he says: "It was a disastrous defeat." The fact is that the fight was settled on a compromise. Street speaking continued until the fall of 1917. All the men were released from jail. The hall was always open and it was in the woods of Idaho, Montana and Washington that the first successful attempt at organization in the West was made.

He then proceeds to hand out his sophistry in a still bolder manner. Referring to the Aberdeen free speech fight, he says, "It is a contrast. Lawyers

were employed at Spokane but not at Aberdeen." Since he tells us that the Spokane fight was a disastrous defeat, then we must, in order to conceive a contrast, suppose the Aberdeen fight to have been a glorious success. He does not say it was, however, nor does he ever say the fight was won. Fisher knows better. The fact is that the vigilante mob beat up, drove out, or jailed all members who took part in the fight. The hall was closed and remain closed until late in the fall of 1916 and W. I. Fisher stayed away.

Furthermore, the union was disrupted on the water-front and in the woods. No propaganda or organization work, to speak of, was carried on in Gray's Harbor until 1916. The "contrast" is just the opposite of what Fisher would lead members to believe.

I object to our papers and money being used to print and circulate such lies in an effort to bolster up a half-baked theory, more dangerous to the welfare of the union than to the District Attorney's office.

Legal defense is absolutely indispensable to organization work. Whoever loses sight of the importance of legal defense as a policy to be pursued by the I. W. W. also loses sight of the organization itself. He has been blinded by the persecution arising out of the struggle in which the I. W. W. is engaged.

It has been upon our ability to defend all victims of the Class War that we have inspired the workers with confidence and have given them the courage necessary to carry on the fight. What have we accomplished in Capitalistic Courts? The Ettor-Giovanette-Caruso case was won; the Jack Phalen case; the Everett case; the Bruce case; and many more of less importance. But these were all distinctly I. W. W. cases, involving issues of fundamental importance.

We have lost some cases in court, the Joe Hill case; the Ford and Suhr case; the Chicago case and the Sacramento cases are yet undecided in court. There have also been minor losses, but on the whole we have been very successful with legal defense. The propaganda effect of our many legal fights have been far-reaching. In the Joe Hill case, the Swedish Government interceded; twice President Wilson wired the governor of Utah in behalf of Joe Hill. After the Everett case, the loggers on the Pacific coast, inspired by the wonderful defense organized, began to line up by the thousands and made possible the big strike in 1917. The winning of the Bruce case in Seattle recently in the face of the vicious anti-I. W. W. laws, has likewise given the workers new hope and new courage.

The Industrial Worker, so long suspended, is now appearing weekly. There is new life everywhere, yet W. I. Fisher has the gall to say, "We have educated our members to be a bunch of cowards, to look to lawyers for protection instead of depending on their own solidarity." In other words, those who have contributed to the defense of these cases are all cowards. So far as Fisher is concerned, I will admit it, but in the case of every other member, I deny it. Is it an act of cowardice to come to the defense of men who have fallen victims of the Class War? Fisher says it is. Since he opposes legal defense we must assume that he would desert all men arrested and brought into court. I suppose that is what he calls courage and solidarity. Men and women all over the country are facing long terms in prison and now comes Fisher and calls those who contribute to their defense a "bunch of cowards."

Legal defense finds its justification, as a policy of the I. W. W., in the sum total gained. But the sum total results cannot be determined by the number of cases won or lost, but in the more general effect in relation to education and organization work. Even though the I. W. W. were to lose more

cases than it won even then legal defense would be necessary. We would be compelled to pursue that policy or cease to exist.

Often the issue involved in "legal defense" is lost sight of in the heat of discussion centering around incompetent lawyers. We are all agreed that the I. W. W. has suffered from the blunders of incompetent lawyers just as we have employed incompetent organizers, editors, and secretaries. We don't aim to employ the incompetent brand in any case. We demand the best. When we get stung by the incompetent lawyer or organizer, that we should dispense with his services and use a little better judgment in the employment of lawyer or organizer in the future.

The actual cash expended for attorneys in any big case by no means constitutes the bulk of expenses necessary to a successful legal defense. The attorney's fees usually amount to about one-fourth the total cost of defense. In the Everett case, by no means unique, we expended \$37,314.37. Out of this we paid for attorneys, \$8,470. We did not have the money on hand to use as we chose. We had to raise it. We did raise it only because we agreed to use it for relief and defense. To argue that we should have used this money for a different purpose than for which it was collected, is to argue that the I. W. W. should pursue a policy of deceit. It is silly to say, as Fisher does, that this money should be used to put the papers on a firm footing, etc., etc. Money expended for the relief and defense of men in jail is money well spent. The spirit of a man who is in jail because he has taken part in a fight for labor, is worth more than the cost of any trial. We must aim always to keep a good fighter in the fight. We can do this only by making good our claims of Solidarity of labor in the common fight against capitalism. Can the I. W. W. appeal to a man by saying, "We stand for the Solidarity of Labor, everywhere, except when you get arrested. 'An injury to one is an injury to all,' except when you are arrested and brought into court?" Not very encouraging to a man willing and anxious to become active.

We are told that we should not engage in legal defense because we do not believe in the justice of the capitalistic courts. They are institutions of injustice rather than of justice. We do not believe in the justice of lynching; in tar and feather mobs; in deportation; etc., etc., and yet we are forced to take part in them as victims, the same as in court. We are not yet able to dictate the ground on which we shall fight, nor the rules according to which we want, the fight shall proceed. We must defend ourselves as well as we can while the organization is developing the necessary power to direct the fight according to our choice.

When putting us in jail for being I. W. W. men, the capitalists and their press call us criminals, they themselves being respectable. But people only pretend to believe them; they know the reverse is the truth.

Courts and Direct Action

By WILLIAM CLARK

UNDER title of "Justice Through Courts or Direct Action" in the July number of O. B. U. Monthly, W. I. Fisher does a lot of raving that really should find no place in this magazine, as it is misleading—based upon assertions rather than facts, and shows a woeful lack of learning from bitter experience.

Fisher leads off with statements about how rich we (the I. W. W.) have made lawyers. Just who they were or where it happened he does not state. A lawyer accepting an I. W. W. case gets lots of experience but if he stays with it for awhile he will be a tramp as far as finances are concerned. Ask Fred Moore, he knows. And he is not alone in his knowledge.

The truth may be a fine thing and it is said that it will prevail, but it must have "power" behind it for, Might is Right, as it has been and will continue to be.

Fisher seems to think that had the money spent in legal defense of Ettor, Giovanitti and Caruso been spent in propaganda the I. W. W. might have secured a "strangle hold" on the textile industry.

Those who have had experience in these strikes, especially in the industries of the East, believe that to get a "strangle hold" on an industry, that a clean winning strike must place the union in a position where no worker will be allowed to pass inside the mill gates without a paid up union card or a permit from the union. As long as the employer has a mixed force he will get rid of the union men as fast as possible and when a worker gets blacklisted in the East he must get out of town for there is nothing to compromise. As long as the employer has the power he will continue to be the czar of industry. When the union gets the power, the relative position of employer and employee will change to the degree that the power of the workers exceeds that of the employer.

Propaganda is great stuff and those who have been in districts where one of the big I. W. W. strikes have taken place know that the workers for a hundred miles or more are saturated with propaganda and they act when they think they have half a chance to make good and to say follow up the strikes with propaganda shows the writer is unfamiliar with facts.

The workers are always ready to strike a blow for better conditions, but before striking that blow they will size up their chances of winning, except in cases of revolts of despair such as the Lawrence and some other strikes were. The statement that the I. W. W. had 3,000 members in Spokane, Seattle and Portland at the time of the Spokane free speech fight is interesting if true. The writer can't dispute the statement because the facts are not available at the present moment. But logic would lead the writer to believe that with 3,000 members "free speech" would have little value and not worth fighting for. Let's reason a little farther. Vincent

St. John was general secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W. at that time. One of his first duties on reaching the office in the morning was to take the scissors and trim the fringe from his cuffs. Shirts were cheap in those days and it does look like an organization with 3,000 members in so small a part of the country as the west half of the state of Washington should have 20,000 members over the United States, and having such would be able to pay St. John's salary of \$90 per month. It is safe to say that St. John and Trautmann seldom had \$90 to split between them in a month during this period.

It may be that the I. W. W. was growing fast enough to alarm the employing class of the Northwest and they used the suppression of free speech to turn the attention of the agitators from the job to a more harmless form of getting rid of their surplus energy.

Fisher romances further on the Everett legal defense. Of course, the \$38,000 he says the case cost would have been very useful for organizing on the job in the woods and lumber mills, but this money would not have been available for organization had there been no legal defense, for it was raised by special appeal for defense purposes.

Fisher has the word of a reliable fellow worker that, had \$1,000 been available, the Coos Bay district could have been lined up solid between Dec. 1-16 and May 1-17. Maybe. Conditions must have changed since the summer of 1913 when all I. W. W.'s and Socialists were forced to emigrate from Marshfield.

It might be fine reading for students of history about 200 years after the revolution to come across the pages telling of how the I. W. W. let thousands go to the gallows and prisons by spurning legal defense in capitalist's courts, but many have been saved by legal defense in those courts and as long as there is a possibility of saving more we will keep on with legal defense.

The spirit shown by Fisher in the criticized article is responsible for most of the troubles of the I. W. W. and has been the cause of the I. W. W. not being the largest labor organization in America. To give a short definition of this spirit one word will suffice: "Irresponsibility."

A lot of terrible sounding things have been spoken and written by irresponsible members of the I. W. W. and those who were less irresponsible, let it go in the name of free speech. It sounds like hell but doesn't mean anything. But when the employing class through their strong-arm committee get busy they don't seek alone those who say and write foolish things, but sail in to cripple the organization and the evidence shows how successful they have been.

Hundreds are now in prisons in America; they may be freed by legal defense and as long as there is a chance of getting them out we should come

across and pay the bill. Theorizing, sound or unsound, will get us nowhere. It's cold facts we are dealing with. Get down out of the clouds and plant your feet on the ground and root.

To avoid lawyers and capitalist courts as far as possible, prevent speech and writing that the organization can not stand behind. As long as anybody, regardless of their qualifications, can have free speech in our meetings and papers, we shall pay the bill; but don't desert the boys in prison.

The entire article of Fisher's might appropriately have been entitled "If," for each prophecy he makes

was based on "If." We might say that "if" a frog had wings he might fly; but he has not so he does what is possible for him to do—he hops.

We might also say, as Fisher does, that if the I. W. W. had the power to make good we might depend entirely on direct action. All we need is the power to make good. But we have not. So we will do what is possible—use legal defense.

Personally the writer would hate to stay in prison until the spirit shown by Fisher developed enough power to tear down the walls and tie knots in the steel bars. Hell will be frozen over pretty well by that time, to say the least.

Canadian Workers in Death Grapple of Capitalism

IN NEED OF ASSISTANCE

William Radis, one of the Winnipeg strikers, is in Chicago in behalf of the Defense Work of the One Big Union movement in Canada, where 48 of our Fellow Workers are now being held on charges of sedition and conspiracy for their participation in the great general strike of this summer. We have obtained from Fellow Worker Radis the following account of the events in this connection.

"There were 4,000 ex-soldiers in the strike and their solidarity with their Fellow Workers was one of the most striking features of the situation," said Radis. "Mounted police were brought in to smash the workers because the regular Winnipeg police were members of labor organizations and stood solidly with the workers. The mounted police are used against the workers of Canada just as the state constabulary of Pennsylvania and other states on like occasions.

"A peaceful parade of ex-soldiers was marching past the city hall when the mounted police and opposition soldiers rode at them, pell mell, firing as they galloped. The casualties were 35 men, two dead. The picked soldiers who turned against the workers were imported from Eastern Canada. The Winnipeg soldiers were heart and soul with the strikers, as were a great majority of the soldiers from all other parts of the Dominion, but the employers and the Borden government searched all Canada till they found a squad to do their dirty work.

"Canadian workers stand shoulder to shoulder with the labor prisoners of Winnipeg. But we want the united support of all American workers, regardless of which side of the boundary line they live on. This is not a Canadian matter only, but concerns the working class of all America. If the employers are successful in crucifying the militant workers of Canada it will encourage the employers in the United States.

"The two men whom the Canadian employers are most anxious to get are F. J. Dixon, a member of the Provincial parliament, and a returned Canadian soldier named Bray. The latter was an unusually successful organizer of the discharged soldiers who had returned from France. There are, however, 48 men arrested on charges of sedition and conspiracy, and some of them are charged with being responsible for the shooting of their fellow workers by the soldiers and mounted police.

"The strike was for the right of collective bargaining and the eight-hour day. The employers saw the workers gaining in strength through organization and the constant growth of the One Big Union idea. They wanted to prevent the eight-hour day, and as the workers were absolutely peaceable they had to cause all the violence themselves.

"The Canadian unions have exhausted their treasures in the strike, and the workers are also without funds. High prices by the profiteers have made it impossible for the workers to save any money during the war. If the American workers do not help to support the fight for justice there will be 48 more names added to the list of workers imprisoned because they have demanded justice."

Radis also reported that in his work in Chicago the president and secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, John Fitzpatrick and E. N. Nockels, had endorsed his credentials from the Winnipeg Defense Committee. In his work in Chicago, Radis has been able to collect the following amounts:

Machinists Local No. 229, \$50.

Machinists Local No. 134, \$50.

Machinists Local No. 113, most of whose members are themselves on strike at the present time, \$20.

I. W. W. picnic at White Eagle Grove, August 3, \$75.25.

Capmakers Local No. 5, \$25.

Bakers Local, \$15.

The Chicago Wood Engravers' Union has levied an assessment and the Jewish organizations will hold meetings and give what help they can later.

The American Working class should make it its special business to come to the aid of our distressed Canadian Fellow Workers.

PRISONERS MOVED

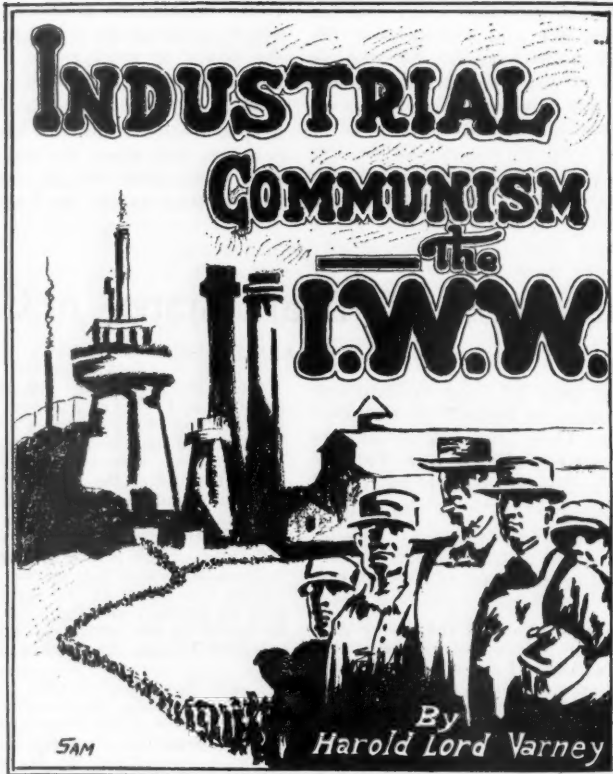
County Jail, Leavenworth, Kansas.

August 3, 1919.

We were moved over here last night and I wish you would transfer papers and relief to this place from now on. We were certainly glad to get out of Lawrence because she certainly was a tight place. Lots of air here. With our best wishes, we remain,

Yours for O. B. U.

C. W. Anderson.



"Industrial Communism—The I.W.W."—is a brief and yet clear statement of the essence of Bolshevism as well as of I. W. W.ism. It contrasts these two vehicles of revolution. It points out just why the former has served to bring the workers into their own in Russia, and likewise shows why this country, with its advanced industrial development, must be acquired by the workers, not by means of Bolshevism, but through the program of the I. W. W., the most constructive working class program of the day.

We quote the following paragraph from the pamphlet to show the character of its subject matter: "The I. W. W. believes that the proletariat should organize themselves around this fundamental or industrial government. The proletariat should concentrate all its energies to capture the industries; the political state will then crumble into their hands. Just as the capitalists today rule the state by owning the industries, the proletariat, once the industries have been taken over, will make the political state obsolete. * * * The tactics of the I. W. W. are monistic; it devotes itself solely to industrial action, knowing that, thereby, the political state will also be mastered."

If you wish to understand the basic differences between these two revolutionary movements, you will need to read **INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM—THE I. W. W.**, by Harold L. Varney. It can be obtained at the following prices, postpaid: 10 copies, 5 cents each; 50 copies, 4 cents each; 100 copies, 3 cents each, or in lots of 500 or over at 2 cents a copy, transportation charges, collect. Single copies may be had at 5 cents, plus 1 cent for postage. Address Thos. Whitehead, Gen. Sec.-Treas., 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Government is going to appoint a commission to investigate the high cost of living, that is pauperizing the people. This is like bringing the hay after the mare is dead. The profiteers have already got everything the workers have. We believe that this belated solicitousness is insincere and only calculated to break the point off the rage of the people. When the Government gets ready with its proposition — a year or so from now — it will be only a coquettish slap on the swindling profiteer's wrist and lovingly calling him "you naughty boy."

Supplemental Report of Bail Matters

1. Haywood has been released.
 2. Francis Miller has been released.
 3. Chaplin has been released.
 4. Clyde Hough has been released.
 5. Nef's bond will be approved as soon as it can be found, or a new one given to replace it.
 6. Ray Fanning's bond is to be approved next Tuesday unless a better showing can be made by district attorney; however, unless all of the property scheduled is refused, this bond will go thru.
 7. Stanley Clark's bond will be approved as soon as new justification giving complete legal description of property offered by one of his sureties is returned to me.
 8. Bond of John M. Foss is complete so far as security is concerned, except as to deportation, on which I have \$500, but have requested the difference from parties handling this. Deportation has not been disposed of yet because of trouble in locating Foss's father's citizenship record.
 9. Bond of Olin B. Anderson is waiting return of corrected schedules which, I am informed, will cover his bail. I have written in this matter, but do not seem to be able to get any replies.
 10. Bond of Charles Bennett unchanged. Liberty bonds of five thousand dollars on deposit; need five thousand more, or real estate to make up the difference.
 11. Bond of Forrest Edwards unchanged, with real estate in the sum of \$11,000 and with \$1,000 in Liberty bonds.
 12. Bond of Ashleigh. Corrected schedules received and submitted to the district attorney's office. This is moving very slowly, apparently.
 13. Bond of Jack Law. As soon as Fanning's bond is approved we will know definitely what can be done in this matter; until then we cannot report very fully.
 14. Bond of Fletcher, Rey and Walsh await action by Philadelphia Local. No new developments, but have requested immediate action.
 15. Reduction in bond of Grover H. Perry refused, as court said this was considered in first instance.
 16. Request for forms in re Kane and MacKinnon received and promises of quick action from parties interested.
 17. Bond of MacDonald has \$600 in clear real estate added.
 18. Bond of Prashner unchanged.
- (Signed) John L. Metzner.

The Defense Committee wants more real estate, bonds, cash, for bail. Send them in. Take up collections, arrange meetings, picnics, etc.

An Explanation to Contributors

If your literary contribution to the O. B. U. Monthly does not appear as soon as you would like to see it published, it generally depends on the fact that our printing plant, although recently enlarged and improved by the addition of a new press, is being literally swamped with work. This being evidence of growth, is nothing to complain about. The setting of the magazine copy extends over the whole month, and the two inside 16-page sheets are printed about first week of the month. After that is done there remain only the last sixteen pages, which are devoted to reports of unions, and the first sixteen pages which have to be devoted mostly to editorials or, as in this issue, to defense matters. There is now an abundance of good articles on hand which we would like to publish if we had the space, but we will always give the preference to articles descriptive of the different industries, their scope, present state of organization, possibilities of organizing them industrially, manner of taking over same by the workers, etc. These are the vital and burning questions of the day. We have hardly the right to devote space to anything else until we are able to add a sheet or two to the size of the magazine.

Writers are consequently earnestly requested to devote their time and ability to a study of their respective industries with the object mentioned in view.

Industrial union secretaries should send in all matters to be published at the earliest possible date and, if possible, in condensed form, with due consideration for the practical printshop questions at this end of the line.

Editor.

Dear Reader! — Do not be selfish and indifferent. If you like *The One Big Union Monthly* help to increase its circulation. Get subscribers or sell single copies. Send for a bundle-order each month. We have increased our circulation wonderfully in a short time, but, of course, we cannot stop before every worker is reading it. To get the new society we will have to teach all the workers industrial unionism. In order to do that we have to place our literature in their hands. If you want to see the day come soon you had better help out all you can.

As our circulation increases our resources will increase, and then we will enlarge and improve the magazine. We will make it a publication of such high quality that it will be the foremost authority in labor matters in the land. We will employ special editors for Domestic labor news and for International labor news. Also for statistical and scientific research. Then we will become an intellectual power in this country that will sweep everything before it.

One of the most formidable weapons in the hands of the working class is the rent strike. It strikes at the very foundation of private property. But in order to be possible and in order to be effective it has to be carried out on a large scale and with absolute solidarity.

Two Secret Letters

Phoenix, Arizona, July 31, 1919.

I am enclosing herewith copies of two letters that are being distributed around the state, more or less secretly. There were also some leaflets, but the letters give the idea as to what this propaganda is for. They seem to have taken a leaf out of our book in the matter of doing propaganda work.

Campbell states that the menace of radicalism is underestimated and as his every utterance is inspired by the corporations, the publication of the letters give the idea as to what this propaganda is boomerang and be good propaganda for us.

There was also a copy of a letter from the governor of North Carolina in the same vein as Campbell's.

I have been requested by some fellow workers here to send them to you and you can use them for what they are worth. You can be sure that the letters are authentic.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours for One Big Union,

James F. Gannon,
Sec'y, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800,
District of Arizona.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE HOUSE,

Phoenix, Arizona

June 11, 1919.

My Dear Sir:—

Any plan for the defeat of Bolshevism and the preservation of American ideals meets with my earnest and unqualified approbation. The menace, I believe, is one which is under-estimated instead of over-estimated, and unless the American public awakens soon to the dangers confronting it from this source, perilous times will ensue.

The announced object of the Thousand Booklet Associates is a most worthy one and I have no hesitation in giving my endorsement to it.

Wishing you much success in this vital work, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Thomas E. Campbell,
Governor of Arizona.

To Mr. Fred H. Nichols,
Lynn, Mass.

(Letter from Executive Secretary to prominent citizen of Arizona.)

My Dear Sir:

Bolshevism, Socialism and Anarchism are in the air:

Everywhere the fanatic is sowing his seeds of discontent and corruption, attempting to destroy the devotion of the masses for the sacred and institutions of America.

The National Thousand Booklets Associates was created to wage a nation-wide campaign against I. W. W.-ism, Bolshevism, and other pernicious "isms", and we know that Arizona will join her

sister states in the fight against the activities of the radicals.

Your Governor—the Honorable Thomas E. Campbell—has upheld the traditional patriotism of Arizona, and, with other unqualified endorsement and approval of the National Thousand Booklet Associates, the purpose of which is outlined in the enclosed circulars.

Remember, Bolshevism is **Applied Socialism**; and socialism means the confiscation of your business and property, the overthrow of your Government, the destruction of our Democracy!

Read what your patriotic governor says about us! Will you back up your governor? Will you back up his splendid Americanism? Will you tangibly demonstrate that Arizona is ever ready to put forward its every effort for the preservation of American ideals and institutions?

Our goal is one hundred members from Arizona, one hundred loyal citizens to act! We are confident of Arizona's answer.

Will YOU act? Will YOU be one?

We want to report as promptly as possible to Governor Campbell the result of our effort in Arizona, including a list of the one hundred loyal citizens who have become associates as a demonstration of their Americanism. If, however, you have any objections to your name being in such a list, we should be pleased to respect your wishes in the matter. Associates will receive no other publicity unless specially authorized by them in writing.

Very truly your,

National Thousand Booklet Associates,
By Fred H. Nichols,
Executive-Secretary.

THE OMAHA WAY

Omaha, Neb., July 22, 1919.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a joint meeting of the membership of Omaha and the Resolution Committee was instructed to send copies to the Press and all Industrial Unions for their action.

Whereas the Wichita case comes to trial Sept. 22. The Krieger case on October 25. The Chicago appeal some time in October and the approximate costs of these trials will be between forty-fifty thousand dollars, and,

Whereas, The General Sec'y-Treas. states that "a proper defense in the Wichita cannot be planned in their behalf without the money to meet the expenses is available"; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we go on record as being in favor of Initiating a referendum of the General Organization in favor of a \$1.00 General Referendum Assessment, for the General Defense Fund to properly defend the above mentioned cases.

We ask you to submit this resolution to all the Branches of your Industrial Union for their consideration, with best wishes I remain

Yours for the One Big Union,
James Ward,
Joint Sec'y.

The Exodus from Egypt, Moses and the I. W. W.

By JOHN SANDGREN

THE average superficial thinker will probably be disagreeably shocked by the comparison indicated in the above title. He or she will probably consider it almost a sacrilege to mention the much-hated I. W. W. in the same breath with something that is known to men only through the Bible or almost exclusively so.

As a matter of fact, the history of the Jewish people, while in Egypt, offers many interesting points of comparison with labor's struggle at the present time, as it has taken expression in the I. W. W. in the English speaking countries and in the syndicalist movement in other countries.

The writer, being a "Gentile," it might be argued that he can hardly have any intimate knowledge of this epoch in Jewish history, but against such argument it may justly be maintained that there is only one source of information about this epoch, and that is the Bible, a book which is equally accessible to Jew and Gentile. If the Jews have any other source of information, they have failed to make it known to the world. There is, consequently, no reason why a Gentile should not know as much about it after reading the proper chapters in the Bible, as the Jew knows.

In these brief pages we cannot go into the details of the historic views at the basis of the modern labor movement. Be it enough for the present to indicate that it is now pretty well agreed between all honest historical investigators that all people who are allowed to live the course of their life as a people, without disturbance from without, have gone through the same stages of development, or are doing it, or would do so if undisturbed.

The historic stages which together form the typical historic course of peoples are six in number, if we count the stage to which we are now passing over by means of the modern labor movement as a bridge.

These six evolutionary stages are:

1. Primitive communism.
2. Family collectivism.
3. Feudalism.
4. Private capitalism.
5. Collective capitalism.
6. Industrial communism.

All peoples have at one time been primitive communists. At present only a few of the most undeveloped peoples of the black and the brown race remain in this stage. They will probably go no further. They will be run down by the Juggernaut of Capitalism and be extinguished, without having a chance to develop through the evolutionary chain.

All other peoples have also gone through the stage of family collectivism, or are now in that stage. Numerous peoples in Africa and Asia are in that stage, and as for the other peoples the family collectivist institutions have survived up to the present time almost. The Russian "Mir" and the

German "Mark" and many others are institutions left over from this epoch.

Those peoples that had developed family collectivism to its full possibilities entered a new stage, partly under the pressure of conquest, and that new stage is feudalism, which is well known in written, authentic history. Feudal institutions began collapsing in Europe about the time of the Great French Revolution, 1789, in some countries earlier, in some countries later.

The feudal institutions were broken down by private capitalism, which today lives a weakly pulsating life alongside of the capitalism we know so well here in America, namely collective capitalism or trust capitalism, as it is commonly called.

This fifth stage in the development of human society, collective capitalism, is already in and has just passed thru a life and death struggle, the world war, which unquestionably marks a new turning point in the history of society.

Out of the ruins of collective capitalism there will rise a new world, which we might call the world of industrial communism. Like all great events it is throwing its shadow before it, and that shadow is the movement of industrial unionism, which is now engaged in the gigantic task of organizing the productive and distributive forces of the world into one great world household, where men shall own the world and its resources in common. That is why we call it communism. And this communism will be organized along industrial lines, as proposed by the I. W. W. and its sister organizations. That is why we call it industrial—Industrial Communism.

These rather lengthy introductory remarks are necessary in order to understand the subject before us—the Jews in Egypt.

Egyptian Society Before the Arrival of the Jews

That Egyptian society already at an early date had degenerated into insufferable class rule we may conclude by a mere glance at the Egyptian pyramids, these graves of kings from about anno 3000 B. C. Nowhere could such insane and useless structures have come into existence except where the masses of the people were enslaved by a ruling class.

We can see by the pictures on the old Egyptian monuments and buildings that the lot of the worker of that time was far from enviable. These pictures show us slaves in their various occupations, agricultural, industrial and otherwise, generally driven with horsewhips by cruel foremen. Often these slaves are of a foreign race, f. i. Negroes, There is reason to believe that the Jewish workers were treated in a similar manner.

No society can turn its useful work to slaves, while allowing a master class to lapse into a parasitical existenece. In the course of time such a

people is weakened and succumbs to a physically superior people, even if this people be barbaric and culturally inferior.

Thus old Egypt also succumbed to the nomadic people called "Hyksos" (Shepherds), which became the ruling class of the country but mixed blood with the old rulers.

The Exodus from Egypt or the Jewish General Strike

The first revolt of workers in Egypt known to us by what is called the Exodus from Egypt or the Jewish General Strike. This remarkable historic event was not only a complete cessation of work but also a mass emigration of the whole people or as many as could get away.

The immigration of the Jews into Egypt was apparently a more or less voluntary act, brought about by the demand for labor in Egypt and possibly by the crowded condition on the pastures extending from the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris to the borders of Egypt.

Already here it is to be noted that this Jewish immigration into Egypt in many respects may be compared to the immigration of the northern races into the Roman Empire during the centuries preceding the avalanche of Teutons that broke over that empire about the year 375 of our era.

Like the Teutons immigrating into the Roman Empire, the Jews at the time of their immigration into Egypt were in the family-collectivist stage of social development. Private ownership in the present sense of the word was practically unknown to them. The only property of importance they had was their cattle, and that did not belong to separate individuals, as it would today, but it belonged to the clan in common, the particular clan mentioned in the Bible being the clan of Jacob, descended from Abraham and Isaac.

In order to properly understand the Jewish General Strike in Egypt it is necessary to know some of the events that led up to it, and the story of these events we get in chapter 47, in the First Book of Moses. This chapter may be difficult to understand for those who are not familiar with the history of other people in the same stage of development, but seen and read in the light of the typical history discovered by the historians in our movement, this chapter is very interesting, and so palpably true in its general traits that one cannot help being charmed over this additional corroboration of our historic theory. The events sketched in a few lines in the Bible extend over a long period of time and consequently require a high degree of concentration. The proof of the general correctness of this story is this: If one of our own historians had been requested to write the probable history of these events without first having read the chapters in the Bible pertaining thereto, this constructed history would have been almost a true counterpart of the biblical sketch. Those who maintain that the Bible is true from cover to cover may gather what comfort they can from this statement

of ours. The fact that the Bible here agrees with the results of modern science can never be contradicted. It would have been impossible for the ignorant historians who wrote and compiled the Bible to lie in such a manner nearly 3,000 years ago that it by chance coincided with the truth. They spoke the truth in this matter as near as they could see it.

Translated into our simple straightforward language chapter 47 informs us that the Jews were a pastoral people in the family-collectivist stage of social development. By agreement with a countryman of theirs, Joseph, a smart minister of finance in the service of the pharao, the countryside of Gosen was thrown open to them for habitat and pasture. "If you know of any of them that are suitable," the pharao said to Joseph, "put them in charge of my cattle." Thus the Jews began to work for a master, and this was the beginning of a course downward into slavery and final release therefrom through a masterly revolt.

It seems that about this time the ruling powers of Egypt were engaged in a systematic attempt of establishing feudalism on a permanent basis. The main hindrance to such an ambition of the ruling class was naturally the fact that a considerable part of the soil of Egypt was owned and cultivated by a family-collectivist peasant class, whose independence it was desired to break. This is exactly what took place in Europe during the middle ages. The crooked financial genius of the Jew Joseph was required to accomplish this selfish aim. Through a series of manipulations extending over 7 years, Joseph seems to have succeeded in cornering the whole grain supply of the country to such an extent that famine existed among the working people. The purpose of this monopoly appears to have been to press the peasant collectivities to surrender their ownership of the soil to the pharao, or the "government," as we would say, and become the serfs of the pharao.

The manner of treating the Jews leaves no room for any other conclusion than that this was the brutal and selfish purpose.

It appears that the Jews were not getting along well at all under the new conditions, into which they were suddenly thrown. Insufficient pasture may have been the primary cause of it, and they lacked experience in agriculture.

At first Joseph permitted them to buy grain for bread, as long as their money lasted. When the money was all gone, and the grain all eaten up, they went to their false tribesman and said: "Why do you allow us to die, just because we have no money?" Joseph answered them: "If you have no money, you still have your cattle. Bring your cattle here, and I will give you grain for it." And the simple-minded and unsophisticated people, driven by sheer necessity, did as their false-hearted countryman told them. In verse 17 it says: "Then they took their cattle to Joseph, and he gave them bread for their horses, sheep, cattle and asses, and so he fed them all that year with bread in exchange for

all their cattle." Thus Joseph had cheated them out of the means of livelihood which was the only kind they knew of since time immemorial, and the Jews probably did not get one tenth the value of their cattle in payment. No doubt Joseph took advantage of their dire need to drive as hard a bargain as possible.

There the Jews stood, without money, without cattle, and without bread. They had nothing. They were propertyless proletaires.

They nominally had the country of Gosen, but that was of little value to them, as they did not understand agriculture, and they had no cattle for plowing and no grain to sow.

Joseph had them where he wanted them. His plans were ripening.

In verse 18 we read: "When the year was ended, they came to him (Joseph) on the following year and said to him: 'We will not conceal before our master that he has not only got all our money, but also all our cattle, and that we now have nothing left but our bodies and our soil. Why do you suffer us to die and our fields likewise? Take us and our country unto yourself for bread that we and our country may become pharao's property. Give us grain, that we may live and not die, and that the fields may not stand empty.'"

As we see, the Jews were now in such desperate straits that, in order not to perish from starvation, they surrendered their land and their own persons to pharao in servitude or slavery.

They were starved-out homesteaders.

The dastardly trick was accomplished. Another free people was enslaved through cheating and mean treachery in the guise of charity.

That these methods were applied not only to the Jews, but against the peasantry of all Egypt, we learn from verse 20: "Thus Joseph took the whole country of Egypt into pharao. For the Egyptians all sold their land, for the hard times were too heavy upon them. And thus the country became pharao's own."

It was a country-wide dispossession of the peasantry and turning a free people into serfs, who no longer enjoyed personal liberty, but were pharao's property.

This is unquestionably one of the boldest financial operations of all history and reminds one not only of exactly similar or nearly similar events in all countries where feudalism was established in later days, but also of the financial operations of modern trust magnates, who have about accomplished the dispossessing of the masses and turned them all into propertyless wageslaves who are bending their backs before the masters in prayer for bread as the Jews did in Egypt.

However, the terms of the servitude into which the Jews sold themselves seem to have been comparatively lenient at the start. In verse 24 it says: "And of the harvest you shall give to pharao one-fifth, and four-fifths shall be your own with which to sow the fields, for your food, for your house, and for your children." So thoroughly crushed were these poor Jews now that they submissively an-

swered: "Only let us live and have the good will of our master, and we shall be glad to be pharao's property."

"And Joseph made it a law unto this day," it continues, "over the land of the Egyptians to give to the pharao one-fifth, with the exception of the lands of the priesthood, which was not pharao's property." We may, consequently, be justified in concluding that the priests assisted in performing this social castration in the names of the "gods," and that they shared in the benefits and still retained their immense possessions, cultivated by serfs and slaves.

The Jews in Servitude

The history of the Jews during their servitude is continued in the second book of Moses, and it gives such a graphic description of the workers' lot in those days, that it deserves to be verbally quoted at length.

"When Joseph was dead, and all his brothers, and all those who had lived in those days, the children of Israel grew and bore children and increased, until there were quite many of them, so that they filled the country. Then there came a new king over Egypt who knew nothing of Joseph. He said to his people: 'See the children of Israel are many, and outnumber us. Well, let us conspire against them, so they shall not be so many. If any war comes on they could otherwise join our enemies and fight against us and leave the country. And he set over them foremen who should subdue them with slavery. The two strategic cities of Pithom and Ramses were then being built for pharao. But the more they burdened the people, the more they increased and extended. For that reason they hated the children of Israel. And the Egyptians forced the children of Israel to slave mercilessly, and made their life bitter with heavy labor on clay and brick and with all sorts of dragging on the ground and with all sorts of toil that they in their unmercifulness could invent."

We see, consequently, that servitude in Egypt had essentially the same course as later in Europe. Beginning as tenants tied to the land, who surrendered part of the harvest, they gradually had their burdens increased in an arbitrary manner, so that they were compelled to do all sorts of forced labor. Still they increased in number, so that the problem of overpopulation arose, exactly as in the middle ages and in our days. In the middle ages the ruling powers, principally the church, tried to solve the problem by the arranging of "crusades" to recapture "the holy sepulcher" from the Saracens, and these crusades did away with millions of the surplus of propertyless people who threatened the welfare of the parasites. In our days various methods of "birth control" are conceived both by parasites and workers, with the same end in view.

The Egyptians tried to solve this problem in a more brutal way. An order was issued that the Egyptian midwives attending Jewish mothers should see to it that the boys died while the girls were to be allowed to live (presumably to bear slave children to the Egyptian masters). The Jewish moth-

ers circumvented this secret order by never using Egyptian midwives, but then a new order was issued that all new-born boys should be thrown into the river Nile. In this manner the boy Moses is said to have been set out in the Nile to perish, but was discovered, and through a whim of pharao's daughter saved and taken to the palace and educated.

Moses became a man of a type entirely different from Joseph. Joseph cheated his people out of their liberty and their property. Moses helped to restore them to liberty and led them back into a country where they soon became an important and independent people, among which was worked out a system of religion which still enthralls the world.

Just as pioneers in the labor movement in our days for a long time are met with lack of confidence by an ignorant, selfish and insincere mass of workers, so it also happened to Moses. He had great difficulties to surmount before he gained their confidence and their endorsement of his plans for their liberation. However, Moses kept it up strenuously, agitating until his people were permeated by the spirit of revolt. That he finally succeeded in conquering their indifference, delivered them from servitude, and led them back to their country, shows that Moses was one of the greatest leaders of revolting labor of all history. He was daring and courageous, sly and calculating, faithful and enduring, and absolutely unscrupulous. His motto seems to have been that "the end justifies the means." His people were in the right, and the oppressors were in the wrong. That seems to have been enough for him.

Moses and his friends first tried **indirect action**. He first went before pharao as the representative of his people, just as the labor politicians and labor fakirs of today want us to do, and, of course, with the same result as now-a-days. These begging expeditions only had for their result that his prayers were turned down, and the slavery of his people was made still heavier. Having failed with a straight presentation of the demands of the Jews he resorted to cunning. He tried to persuade pharao to allow the Jews to go out in the desert "to sacrifice to their god." But pharao saw through his scheme and refused to grant his permission. Then Moses and the Jews turned to sabotage of the worst kind. In the phantastic words of the Bible this sabotage has been twisted into a story of weird calamities in which we can hardly recognize the handiwork of man, but the biblical writers sometimes have literary nightmares, which make their writings incomprehensible in our time. Finally this sabotage became almost unendurable, but pharao still refused to let the Jews go.

There remained nothing for the Jews, having tried everything else, but a revolt in arms, and lo and behold—it was entirely successful.

As a preparation to their revolt and contemplated flight the Jews took possession of everything valuable that they could lay their hands on, and besides they "borrowed" the gold and silver of the Egyptians while preparing to flee.

And then, one night, they arranged a terrible slaughter among the Egyptians and left, with light equipment, about 600,000 strong.

Before the Egyptians could gather an army to intercept them, they had already reached the Red Sea. Here the Egyptian soldiers were about to frustrate their efforts, and the faint-hearted and cowardly began to upbraid Moses for having lured them away from the flesh-pots of Egypt to miserably perish by sword in the desert.

But Moses did not listen to the cowardly mob. He led them across an arm of the Red Sea so cleverly that when the Egyptians tried to follow many of them perished.

It appears that Moses, who was a man of knowledge, either profited by ebb and flood or else led the enemy in a trap where he was able to flood the country, a thing in which the people of Egypt were experts.

Well, there the Jewish people stood safe from the pursuit of their oppressors. A few days before they were miserable slaves, cowering under the whip of insolent masters; now they were a free people with a world before them.

In our day they are to be found all over the world, and emperors and kings tremble at the decisions of their mighty men, while a large part of their race are sharing the miserable life of the wage slaves of modern times.

There are many Josephs among them, and also many pretended Moseses.

The Jews of Today and the I. W. W.

In many countries, such as Russia, Poland, America, there are today millions of poor Jewish wage slaves. But they are not in the same favorable position as their ancestors in Egypt. They have no place to flee to. No friendly desert opens up its arms to them. They are cornered in the hell of poverty together with hundreds of millions of "Gentile" slaves, sharing their bread and their misery.

No Moses can longer lead them to liberty. Not even their expected Messiah could save them from the slave pens of capitalism.

Now-a-days everybody, Jew or Gentile, has got to be his own Moses, his own Messiah, his own saviour.

Individually he cannot do it. The ranks of the slaves are becoming larger instead of diminishing, at the same time as the misery grows more terrible. No single man, no set of men can change this state of affairs. It can be changed only by the combined action of the workers themselves.

As in the days of Moses, indirect action fails. Nothing is gained by electing representatives to talk in the parliaments in your behalf or to plead with the modern pharaos, the organized capitalist class. Like Moses they are being turned down, if they are honest, or join the oppressors in deceiving you if they are dishonest.

Nothing will suffice except direct action, that is the personal efforts of all the workers combined.

But the modern workers have no other way of combined action except the action they are capable of through the industrial union.

Through the industrial union we shall together take control and possession of the industries, drive our oppressors off the earth, make the world with all its resources the common property of all men through an industrial organization of the workers. That will be a society of industrial communism.

We are cornered. Only two ways are open to us. The one leads to freedom and abundance and happiness. That is the way your modern Moses, the I. W. W., wants to lead you.

The other way leads to increased misery, eternal slavery and degeneration of the human race. That is the way your modern Josephs, the capitalist class and its tools, want to lead you.

Which shall it be, fellow workers?



THE MODERN MOSES.

RECONSTRUCTION

A WORKING CLASS PRESENTATION OF SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS

By JUSTUS EBERT.

THE United States is now considering the task of reconstruction imposed upon it as a result of the war. Federal commissions to investigate the problems involved have either been appointed or will be appointed. Presidential authority will also be exerted in the efforts at solution. In addition, interest is evident in every sphere of life. Bankers' Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Employers' Associations, Trades Unions, Socialist Parties,—all have taken up the subject. It is a momentous one, in which interest will grow and become more intense and the process of reconstruction now that the war is ended really begun. Then, as President Wilson wrote in his letter to New Jersey democrats—then "The men in the trenches who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases and will demand real thinking and sincere action."

Under these circumstances, this contribution to the consideration of the problems of reconstruction may not be amiss. It will at least further the cause of "real thinking" if not "sincere action."

Reconstruction means to rebuild. It means to remodel and remake in accordance with new requirements, like the suit of clothes that father hands down to little Johnie. Many among us have this conception of reconstruction in American society. They believe that the United States can be remodeled and remade in accordance with the traditions of our forefathers. They fail to grasp the fact that United States has emerged from the period of rank individualism and self-centered nationalism into commanding internationalism. And that internally it has undergone a transformation away from small industry and anti-trustism to giant finance, manufacture and commerce under state control and coordinated with the state in an effort at supremacy in the markets of the world. The United States of old is revolutionized. The United States of today is revolutionary, affecting vast international problems abroad, and creating and compelling new conditions and solutions at home. To these new times old clothes cannot be readapted. Evolution will continue, as before, as the one great factor and solvent.

It is not likely, in view of the foregoing facts, that reconstruction is going to be much served by commissions composed of members of the old parties. They have the old, traditional spirit and viewpoints and fail to see that, in the language of Lowell, "New occasions demand new duties." Nor is the history of reconstruction following the Civil War such as to inspire confidence in capitalist politicians. They made a scandalous political job of reconstruction then, all unconscious of the tremendous economic revolution going on about them. What

assurance have we that they will do any better now? Finally, what is the history of political commissions in general, if not one of impotence in the face of on-rushing economic forces? Recall the Walsh Industrial Relations Commission and its work. It investigated the social problem and made many splendid findings and recommendations. But who is so childish as to believe that the Walsh report even slightly modified the industrial autocracy which it condemned; or greatly promoted the industrial democracy which others had advocated long before it? Of course present-day commissions, being more varied and interlocking, may be more powerful and efficacious; but we doubt their ability to handle and control the forces that will make the reconstruction problem the greatest social problem yet.

What reconstruction needs most is the awakened interest and co-operative action of the major part of society, the working class, in order to solve its problems in the new way demanded by the new conditions. The desired interest and co-operation will no doubt manifest themselves in time. They are already evident abroad, in the efforts of the British Unions and Labor party; the French General Confederation of Labor and Socialist parties; and in Australia, where the one big union movement has been launched, with its aims of economic rather than political change. When reconstruction is a fact instead of a discussion, Labor will, most likely, act here too, as well as abroad. There will then be the compulsion of conditions to arouse Labor as never before!

And why should not Labor take this active interest in reconstruction? It is most vitally affected, no matter how the solution may be applied, whether in the spirit of reaction or emancipation. In addition, we have every assurance of the great importance of Labor in the social scheme, and its consequent right to prominent participation in this great work. Great capitalists, like Chas. Schwab, eulogize Labor and its tendencies in no uncertain tones. Though their language may be repudiated facts sustain their claims. What shall we say of the recognition of Labor's modern social importance manifested in the official act of President Wilson, in addressing the A. F. of L. at Buffalo, N. Y.? Or that of Kaiser Wilhelm in pleading with the Krupp workers at Essen? Shall we ignore these vivid acknowledgements of the fact that Labor is the rock-foundation of modern society, and, as such, worthy of the foremost honors and responsibilities? Shall Labor alone fail to grasp the significance of its position in modern society? Shall Labor alone fail to appreciate the power that its education, organization and economic functions have conferred on it? It does not appear so. There are many signs of Labor's awakening the world over, despite crushing forces. There are too many influences at

work on Labor at home—influences originating in world events and their domestic reactions—to permit the belief that Labor is indifferent in the face of its great crisis. And there is every reason to believe that such will be the nature of events that these influences will not end, but increase, in the future. Labor cannot escape social transformation.

It is important, then that Labor cultivate a spirit of solidarity rather than theoretical division in the solution of reconstruction problems. In so far as possible Labor should knit its varied ranks into one big movement for reconstruction in the interests of Labor. There should be no demand to give up forms or principles of organization that differ from our own. Experience should be Labor's guide and instructor. Labor needs an organization similar to the interallied and interwoven organization of its capitalist employers to meet the situation. As the capitalist interests have an organization consisting of many organizations, like the Bankers' Associations, the Employers' Associations, the Chambers of Commerce, etc., so should Labor's organization consist of many organizations within one big movement. Labor needs the trades unionists, I. W. W. Socialist parties, co-operative societies, teachers' and federal employees' organizations—it needs them all acting unitedly to meet the new situation in the new spirit. Progress is only possible as Labor unites. Let Labor unite. Without unity, Labor is weak. With unity, Labor is all-powerful.

However, the solidarity of Labor is not the whole of the reconstruction program. It is the basic and most important part of such a program, though. No social program can be successful without Labor's united support. So let us urge solidarity as the beginning of the solution. Next let us urge an understanding of the probable situation following the war.

First, now that the United States is an international power of the greatest dimensions, we American workers must cultivate the international mind. We must learn to think internationally. We must learn the deep origin of the new internationalism in the machine process and the need for capital and trade exports on the part of "our" capitalists. As H. G. Wells, the well-known English writer says, we must learn that some kind of internationalism "is inevitable because machinery has brought the parts of the world too close together for political separatism. Machinery has rendered empires vulnerable. Machinery has condemned to death eighteenth century political organization and geographical boundaries at the hands of twentieth century steam-engines, airplanes, electrical devices."

Machinery has done more, far more. It has also made economic separation impossible. Machinery has increased production and profits so as to make world markets, world investments, and world corporations imperative. Machinery has killed so-called national economy and given rise to international economy. Machinery has created a giant industry, controlled by, and co-ordinate with the State, and seeking, together with it, international alliances and supremacy. Machinery has given to

world conditions a greater economic uniformity, that makes greater uniformity of international action possible.

Under the changed circumstances, we workers of America must abandon the notion, now less tenable than ever before, that we have neither interests nor ideals in common with the other workers of the world. And as we cultivate domestic solidarity, let us also cultivate foreign solidarity. Let us reconstruct the international working class movement! Let us learn what England, France, Italy, Spain and, above all, Russia, have to teach us in the way of reconstruction. Laborism, Syndicalism, Socialism, Bolshevikism—we should strive to know them all and derive from them all the best there is to know. We can never know too much in such crises as those involved in reconstruction.

Second. We must push international working class understanding and organization if we would prevent more wars in the future. We must push them because there are reactionary capitalist elements that, favoring greater militarism and less internationalism in the search for new markets and fields of investment, will oppose freer trade between nations, break down any real attempt at a league of nations, and otherwise create conditions that will precipitate more wars. Against these dangers of imperialism the workers of the world must erect a league of nations based on and cemented by their own international movement. Past failures in this direction should prove no detriment. International working class action was not manifested in the preventing of the present war, because its development was insufficient; and could not have been otherwise in view of the insufficient development of international capitalism. With the lessons of the war in mind, and the greater international capitalist development now in vogue, however, a greater international working class solidarity is both possible and inevitable. This view is further sustained by the influence exerted by the international working class movement during the war—an influence that asserted itself repeatedly despite attempts to suppress it. Then, let us never forget, there is no league of nations as strong as the international solidarity of the working class. On with international solidarity!

If we turn from conditions abroad to those at home, we find that the greatest reconstruction problem is likely to be the problem of unemployment. In the capitalist press we read much regarding after-the-war wages and conditions. We are assured that there is a readjustment coming in both. It is pointed out that peace will release five to nine millions of persons either directly or indirectly engaged in war. Such a release will cause an unprecedented amount of unemployment and necessitate, so it is argued, the readjustment of wages and conditions in all industries. That is, it will let loose a vast amount of labor that can be used to beat down wages and conditions. Further, it is contended that such a readjustment is necessary, if domestic corporations are to be successful in the competition for world-markets. Strange to say, this idea that cheap

wages and cheap American goods are necessary to conquer foreign markets, is advocated by the heads of corporations that have amassed billions of reserve funds through war-begotten profits and are now more favorably equipped in every respect for successful competition on the present basis than are their prospective competitors.

Now, it must be said that there are some men who claim that the world will be busy for some time repairing the damages of war. Especially will this country be favored because of its superior resources. Consequently there is not going to be any unemployed problem. The men who make this claim of after-the-war prosperity, picture the needs of Belgium and France. They also include Russia, not to mention the prospects of a domestic building boom, with its demands for structural iron and labor. All of which appears encouraging indeed, until we observe that corporations headed by the men making these statements are piling up cash and Liberty Bond emergency reserves amounting in the biggest instance to almost four hundred millions of dollars. Why such precautions if war will give so much work in the reconstruction period? Why this provision against disaster? Then again, suppose this after-the-war repairing was actually to get under way, how long is it likely to continue, considering the financial problems and the great increase of production in all countries? We must recall that consideration of war debts and taxation and the vast recuperative ability of modern producible processes are likely to make post-war activities of short duration. In the past the economic stimulation of war was always followed by prolonged relaxation and readaptation. Our Civil War was followed, in 1873, by a crisis that lasted more than a quarter of a century. (See D. A. Wells, "Recent Economic Changes.") History is likely to repeat itself after this war—more so than in any other post-war period, thanks to the greater magnitude of the recent war and its influences. So let us prepare for unsurpassed and prolonged unemployment and consider its remedies, if any.

First let us consider the Socialist program. It would give employment to all willing workers by lessening the hours of labor "by taking over and socializing all the great industrial enterprises—railroads, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, mines, oil wells, iron and steel plants, etc., and all the natural resources, and working them under democratic management; and, finally, producing for the use of the people, and not for the profit of great financial interests."

The Socialist program has the great merit of being in accord with the tendencies toward state capitalism, now so much in evidence. Despite this fact, however, the socialist program is opposed by capitalist interests as a step toward making state capitalism a medium for working class socialism and the inauguration of a new society. Capitalists fear that, since the rise of the Soviet Republic in Russia with its shop committees and industrial democracy, socialism in the old bureaucratic and political sense is tending to disappear and in its stead a new so-

cialism, more basically economic and democratic, seems on the way to take its place. In addition, it is patent to all observers that within state capitalism itself there is emerging a state unionism that is likely to affect, in the course of its development, further modifications in political socialism, giving to it a still more economic character. Organizations and strike movements are developing among municipal and federal employees the world over. They appear, at present, to be the embryonic struggle for industrial democracy within state capitalism itself. As state capitalism continues to increase its control of industry and compels still more state unionism, the struggle of socialism within state capitalism is likely to grown more intense and wide-spread. The strikes of railroad and postal employees in France, of municipal employees in South Africa, Australia and England, together with the break-down of Australia's elaborate system of union control by the state—all before the war—may serve to indicate the future possibilities of state unionism. In addition, it should never be forgotten that, in times of unemployment, the working class has turned to socialism as a relief, and that, under such circumstances, the government has undertaken measures of an economic character in order to mitigate the evils and dangers of the situation thus created. So that we may expect the tendencies toward state capitalism and working class socialism to manifest themselves more markedly during reconstruction, as the demand for both is likely to prove to spur the socialist program on past grounds, unmindful of the modifications that the war has made in socialism and of the tendencies that give it an increasingly great importance in modern life. Socialism of some kind, whether of the old school or the new, is inevitable. It is essential that it be as nearly of the new school as possible, a thing that is only likely in proportion as Labor demands it. Socialism—economic socialism—industrial democracy then—should be the keynote of Labor's reconstruction program.

Socialism is not only in accord with tendencies, but it is also in accord with the traditional labor policy of solving unemployment by reducing the hours of work. In this country trades unionists have always favored the shorter work-day as a means of reducing unemployment. And none have been more insistent on reducing hours in order to get rid of surplus labor than the Industrial Workers of the World. Abroad, in Great Britain, the six-hour day looms large as a step towards the solution of the problem of unemployment that is likely to afflict the reconstructions period. The importance of the six-hour day will grow as the reconstruction problem grows.

There will be other propositions advanced, such as working all the workers in alternating shifts on half or one-third time each, instead of setting one-half or two-thirds of them adrift in order to flood the labor market and beat down wages.

But the most comprehensive program is the socialist program. It alone can so reduce or modify hours as to absorb all the unemployed. This fact is recognized in Great Britain where the trade union-

ists couple the six-hour day with a demand for the socialization of the means of production and distribution. In this country, the Industrial Workers of the World have always contended for the abolition of capitalism. In fact, their program of organizing the workers industrially so that they may be in a position to take over and operate production when capitalism has broken down has made the Industrial Workers of the World the most constructive and progressive of American labor organizations. The Soviet Republic in Russia has applied and justified the soundness of I. W. W. principles. It is because of its constructive program that the I. W. W. is so bitterly persecuted. All else is camouflage!

Socialism, with its reduction of hours via the socialization of production and distribution, then, should be the Labor program of reconstruction. It involves Labor's traditional policy, is most comprehensive and is bound to encourage the further application of the principles of industrial reconstruction as against those of a purely political state control. Especially should such a program appeal to every I. W. W. member, whether man or woman.

The unemployment of reconstruction will fall heaviest on the migratory unskilled workers among whom the I. W. W. have had such great success. They will bear the brunt of wage competition because least organized and able to provide against such crisis. They will also be required to bear the brunt of repressive attack, because the ravages of unemployment manifest themselves most conspicuously in the revolts and outbreaks—the destitution and crime—of the migratory unskilled workers. The I. W. W. will continue its work of organization among them, developing in them the no-scabbing spirit of former unemployed periods, confident of the support of labor organization alive to the value of such work at such times. The unemployment of reconstruction will also promote the I. W. W. propaganda of industrial democracy in place of capitalism. It will be still another opportunity to lay before the workers the need of a system by, for and of the workers, instead of profit-taking capitalists.

The argument will be raised, as usual, that the socialist program has no possibility of post-war realization. It will be argued, that as an ideal or a goal it is all right, otherwise it stands no chance of success. There is nothing startling in such arguments, except the inability to invent some new ones more in keeping with the tendencies of the day, which have given to socialism an ascendancy such as it never had before. And then, who knows what the in how far post-war conditions will not only compel socialism to move forward, but will also compel socialism to move forward, but will also compel a move forward in the direction of socialism. Either one or the other, and possibly both events, are likely to occur. Under the circumstances the working class needs to know more about socialism, and the factors, including the I. W. W., making for it. The working class needs to get behind socialism, especially the industrial wing of it, in order to make socialism a greater working class, economic factor than ever before. It is the economic basis that de-

termines the superstructure of society—its politics, art, etc.

In conclusion let us point out some conditions against which it will be useless to contend after the war. Don't fight against woman labor. Women find it necessary to work. They do not work because they enjoy making some corporation "rich beyond the dreams of avarice." They work because they have got to make a living. Besides, machinery has so improved that men are no longer required to operate them. Do not blame the women; blame the system. And do not be content with that. Educate, agitate and organize for the purpose of improving conditions and changing that system.

The same argument applies to negro labor as to woman labor. After the war do not oppose negro labor. The negro has the same senses, the same family ties, the same aspirations and necessities that the white man has. He must eat, get clothes for the wife and kids, and keep a roof over their heads. He may not have much skill, but the machine does not require it. He has not had much organization, because you did not permit him to get any. Educate, agitate and organize the Negro for the purpose of improving conditions and changing the system of profit, too.

In a word, avoid sex and race antagonism after the war. They will divide labor and make capitalism triumphant in the reconstruction period.

Disabled soldiers and demobilized soldiers will complicate the reconstruction problem. The idea of returning them to the land is not likely to meet with their own approval. Most are city born and bred, unfamiliar with country life. The others are familiar enough with it to want to get away from it. Be that as it may, farming, with its steadily increasing tenantry, is not likely to prove a great post-war reconstruction factor. It will play a small part if any. However, we may count on many of the soldiers and sailors to join in a working class reconstruction movement.

Labor faces a future in this country such as it never faced before. Where now it is prosperous and buying liberty bonds, it will then be unemployed and selling those bonds. (Already a great number of firms are making a specialty of buying liberty bonds, advertising in the papers so that with the workers selling their liberty bonds now, this prediction approaches near to realization). Misery will likely stalk through the land. There will be unemployed demonstrations, outbreaks and revolts. Let us bear with them all. Let us never forget that it is capitalist society that is responsible. Let us place the responsibility and the condemnation where they properly belong.

Above all, let us, the workers, approach the problems of reconstruction in the spirit of unity—of solidarity. Solidarity spells success. We need solidarity now more than ever before; from the great mass of unskilled to the smaller minority of skilled, we need it. And Labor will be successful in post-war reconstruction in proportion as it has solidarity all down the line.

One for all, all for one!



YOU FED THEM ENOUGH

The Construction of the World on the Basis of Industrial Democracy

By J. L. and F. B.

THESE are easy times for magazine and periodical writers, especially for those having the Wilsonian art of attiring pure nothingness in a grand array of supreme phraseology, taking the unthinking readers into aerial spheres, but leaving the world in the muddle of the present system. It is hard to select a magazine or newspaper that has not some article on the "re-construction of the world." It appears that the class controlling these publications is mightily interested in re-constructing the world. They seem to be greatly worried lest the world should be constructed instead of re-constructed, lest the shifting, sinking foundation of exploitation should be removed ere the structure of the new society be raised. The workers, however, and by the workers I mean the group of revolutionary thinkers in whose hands the future of the world lies, are so disconcerned about re-construction that the masters are puzzled and wonder why it is that labor does not fall for the masters' scheme of RE-construction. Why do we, the workers, not want RE-construction? What is there to re-construct? How can we re-construct a thing that has never been constructed in the first place?

Thruout the ages divided, split up into a thousand sections, each looking with envy and jealousy at the progress and development of the other; each hoping to benefit by the disaster of the other; each armed to the limit ready to rob the other of its wealth, to devour it if possible (until finally the friction became so great that the entire system (or lack of system) exploded like a powder magazine—thus is the history of this world. And this is what the masters want us to re-construct for them. A disgraceful disorder, brainlessly rushing toward its own destruction. Re-construction being impossible, let us put our hopes in the construction of the world. And since this earth is the only place the human race has for a habitation, and therefore the best, its future should be based on the strongest of all foundations, that of industrial democracy. There never was a time in which the capitalist system was less stable. The whole frame work which the masters desire to have re-constructed shakes and trembles whenever the workers exhibit a trace of unrest and a desire to organize along constructive lines. Hardly a month goes by in which some master-class government is not pushed aside by the rising proletariat. The rulers of the nations realize the economic strength of the producing classes. Political governments feel powerless wherever they have to deal with scientifically organized industrial workers. One can lead a horse to the water but one cannot make him drink, and the most powerful political government can drive the workers to their jobs or shoot them, but in neither case can it make them work. But old and imperfectly organized

trade unions, as well as industrial organizations in the embryo have been able to make long established governments not only stand around but even "get a move on."

Examples of the former are the French General Railroad Strike; the General Strike in Belgium, which lasted only a few weeks in '12; the threatened Railroad Strike in America in '16, and many others. The examples of the latter extend from the days of Moses up to the present day, when small but scientifically organized industrial unions prove more powerful than the mightiest of governments, as Russia, Austria, Australia, and many smaller states discovered the last few years.

One of the many obstacles the human race has in its struggle for emancipation and world peace is the craft union. In its constant striving to better the living conditions of its members, it leads the workers into the belief that it is the champion of the working class, whereas in reality it is the strongest tool in the hands of the exploiting classes. It is dividing the laborers, creating a privileged group within the mass of workers, always ready to make agreements with the masters, always willing to sanction the present system of wage slavery and to prolong it, providing the members of the craft-union will be able to remain the aristocracy of the workers. The history of the craft union is long and interesting. The earliest records of civilization mention labor troubles. The story is told in hieroglyphs how the Egyptian craftsmen, working over five thousand years ago on the palaces of the Pharaoh, went on strike, The masons were especially well organized, and here we find the origin of the secret order of the Free Masons. Another inscription on stone tells us of a strike of all the bakers in Magnesia, a Semitic city. Most strikes were long and bloody in those days, and the idea that strikes and labor troubles belong chiefly to the present day has its foundation only in ignorance. Little did these primitive workers think, as they paraded thru the cities with their red flag, that this same banner should guide the proletariat for forty centuries to come ere it became recognized as the official emblem of one of the greatest nations of the world.

Thus the craft unions are to be found active at every age of our early history, gradually becoming stronger, until at the end of the dark ages they fulfill their mission. The craft unions, known as the guild system in those days, were THE society. They were the actual government, the most important feature of that age. A few centuries later, their part in the drama of the world having been completed, they become a relic of the past, by some regarded as an ornament, by others as a handy means of retarding civilization, but by peo-

ple educated in the industrial history of the world looked upon more as a nuisance than anything else.

Now let us for a moment go over the history of industrial unionism. In the past the movement has been sporadic, coming with a force that astonishes the world even up to the present day, and after gaining its ends or failing to achieve them, history makes no mention of its existence until the next outbreak threatens to upset the forces of the then existing society. The first record of an industrial strike is the general strike and walk-out of Moses, when nearly a million oppressed slaves laid down their tools in Egypt and followed their leader to a new land and freedom. I sometimes wonder if the stupid questions of today were ever flung at the poor sweating Israelite: "What would you do if it were not for the wealthy Pharaoh furnishing you with a job?" or "Don't you see, you anarchist agitator, that you would starve if the kind millionaires did not let you work?" More interesting is it to notice how Moses had little regard for the sacred property right, how he acquired considerable wealth in a rather unconventional manner, and how Jehova aided the Israelites in this. Let us turn to the Good Book for the authentic report, and in the book of Exodus we read: "And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed from the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment. And the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required: and they spoiled the Egyptians."

I do not imply that the Israelites stole these valuables from the Egyptians. They simply borrowed the wealth that they had produced and that had been withheld from them; they simply borrowed with no intentions of ever returning. Our Russian comrades followed the same plan of taking back part of the wealth they had produced and were cheated out of, and our worthy gospel vendors raised a howl of indignation. The only difference was that the Russian workers gave fewer excuses than Moses did. Moses tried to put part of the blame for his bolshevistic tendencies unto the Lord. Far be it from me, however, to criticize the Lord, and He, who never changes, should He in the latter days be unfavorably disposed when the workers, placed under the same circumstances, oppressed and exploited by the same master-class, should use the same methods in obtaining the fruits of their labors, which for ages have been unrighteously withheld? And these fruits, in the final struggle of the new unionism, shall not be jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment, but the machinery of production that shall furnish the necessities of life for the happy ages of industrial democracy in the near future.

The next great upheaval of primitive industrial unionism that shook the foundations of a corrupt society was the gladiators' war, in which Spartacus defied the powers of Rome for years. The reason it failed was because there was no outlet for the strikers that would lead them to a land "over-

flowing with milk and honey." In essentials the Gladiators' war was as great a success as the strike of the Israelites, and the reason both failed to be of greater importance to the world was due to the fact that the bulk of the strikers was not educated, and no democracy can be a success where the masses are led by one or a few individuals, no matter how democratic these leaders may be.

Not until the middle of the last century was the new order of society, based on industrial democracy, conceived in the mind of Karl Marx, who thereby became one of the greatest men the world has given us; and not until 1906 was a definite movement begun to establish this new order. Having benefited by the examples of history, a little group of men skilled in the labor movement met in Chicago and formed the nucleus of the new industrial union, our own I. W. W., destined to set the proletariat of all the world free. Unselfish in their motives, they planned to educate the workers of the world, putting the future of the proletariat into the workers' own hands, letting them solve their own problems, instead of blindly following their blind leaders.

Conditions being different from those of the ancients, the industrial union is able to use different methods in accomplishing its purpose. Political governments in their struggle for existence and supremacy were compelled to educate the masses. The workers were taught to read and write and the avenues to knowledge were opened to them. As I said, the master-class was compelled to educate the workers in order to prolong its existence. It was their last resort, and the thing the masters dreaded most thruout the world's history came to pass. Three thousand years ago the masters held their slaves as carefully in the mire of ignorance as the white man in the South tries to keep the Negro uneducated, and the employer of the North attempts thru a reign of terror to stop the spreading of industrial unionism among his wage slaves. Carefully have the educators of the slaves been killed, burned, lynched, and tarred and feathered thruout the ages. Little do we know about the earliest of educators, as the burning of the world's greatest library at Alexandria deprived us of the only source of information. No one knows what tales of human suffering in the upward struggle of the world's workers were lost in that fire, but the name of its girl librarian, Hypathia, lives forth eternally. She, the champion of the workers, was caught in the horrible act of educating the slaves to industrial emancipation, a crime that is even today punishable by death.

She was chosen as victim by the counterpart of the modern Chamber of Commerce. With the shells of clams did these respectable citizens slowly scrape and gouge the flesh from her bones until she died. And the next day prayers of thanks arose from all prominent churches, and undoubtedly the mouth-pieces of the ancient masters proclaimed loudly that the world once more had been made safe for democracy, while some Slimy announced in flowery language that Egyptianism—which must be some

quality like Americanism, had triumphed and that labor and capital once more were firmly united. But Hypathia's name lives forth in the hearts of the class-conscious workers along with their Christ, Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, Ferrer of Spain, Frank Little, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and other champions of the working class, tho the names of her murderers have long been forgotten, even as the mobbers and lynchers of today shall be forgotten in the new society of industrial democracy, when the principles and ideals of their victims shall have been universally accepted and put into practice. The education of the masses cannot be stopped, for where one worker falls down a dozen others step forward to take his place.

And there is good reason for the masters to fear the education of the workers, for no educated mass of people can be held in subjection by a few masters and their hirelings, as political governments totter when the workers realize their industrial power. Thus the way for education was paved in America's first industrial union. Thousands upon thousands of workers that had been kicked about the industrial centers of America, wondering at their miserable position in the world and puzzling how to improve their conditions, learned for the first time the causes of their suffering and conceived the way out.

Quoting the words of Charles Ashleigh:

A great new light had come upon the land;
A trumpet blare that woke men's hearts to fire;
A call of stout rebellion to the horde
Of bondsmen stewing in their dismal mire.

In all the places where great wealth is won;
Down in the shadowed mine, upon the seas,
Before the whirling belt and screaming wheel,
Where millions toil that some may have their ease.

A word swept by, lighting on lips a torch,
Lifting tired hearts out of their apathy,
Swinging dead hopes to heights of budding life,—
The word of power: Solidarity!

And in the mass there moved a growing might,
A stirring of new life on giant limbs;
And sullen lips, that knew naught but a curse,
Broke into warrior songs, embattled hymns!

Legion by legion rose this union,
Lifting from mob to order and to form,
The workers trod the path that led to power
And hungered for the peace beyond the storm.

Some may ask why these workers did not look towards the American Federation of Labor for assistance, but it was just this A. F. of L. that tried to keep them where they were. Their industrial union was as different from the A. F. of L. as could be possible. Let us compare the structures and aims of these two organizations:

As an autocratic organization the A. F. of L. is autocratically managed. The supreme lawmaking body of the A. F. of L. is the annual convention, where the leaders meet and make the laws that the workers must obey or lose their opportunity to work.

As a democratic organization the I. W. W. is democratically managed. The I. W. W. has no

leaders. The secretaries and speakers are chosen from the membership by the members, and lose even their vote after accepting their position. All laws are initiated, voted on, and enforced by the members.

As an aristocratic body the A. F. of L. aims to keep its membership as low as possible in order to greater benefit the few inside the organization. With a membership of about three million there are laws in the A. F. of L. that prohibit over twelve million workers in the U. S. from becoming members even if they desired to do so. Restrictions are placed to keep out foreign, colored, or female labor. Even the number of those eligible for membership is kept low by prohibitive initiation fees and monthly dues, and closing the books whenever members consider it to their selfish interest to exclude new workers, thus creating a job monopoly. The initiation fees range from \$2 to \$500 for different unions, and the dues are high in proportion. Many locals cover only a small group of workers, there being twenty-three different craft unions in the printing industry of the city of New York alone. The fighting strength of the workers of any industry is only the strength of one local, as the tie that binds the different locals of any one industry together is merely a vague phrase set on paper. Indeed, many locals cover such a small group of men that many workers, if they desire to be steadily employed, are forced to belong to more than one union, sometimes four or five, paying initiation fees and keeping up dues in all of these.

The I. W. W., as a democratic organization, aims to benefit all workers and allows no discrimination against color, race, creed, nationality, sex, or age. Any productive worker, being regarded as a useful member of society, is admitted into the ranks of the organization; on the other hand, people that take no active part in the world's work are not admitted. The initiation fee is \$2, the monthly dues are never to be more than \$1 and are usually 50 cents. Belonging to one branch, the worker may transfer to any other branch, without having to pay another initiation fee or keeping up dues in more than one branch.

As a conservative body, the A. F. of L. tries to keep the existing order as it is, its only aim being to have full stomachs for its membership, and full pocket books for its leaders.

As a revolutionary organization, the I. W. W. is not primarily interested in the raising of wages, altho it strives, especially thru shortening the work-day, to improve conditions in the industries so that further education in the industrial field may be possible. Having inscribed on its banner: Education, Organization, Emancipation, the industrial union knows that education is necessary to organization, and that organization, in turn, is the lever that will emancipate the workers to industrial democracy. This industrial emancipation is the aim of the I. W. W.

Going back to the A. F. of L. we find their ideal expressed by John P. Mitchel when he said: "The

is a day coming when labor and capital shall meet in the same room, look each other square in the eye, and talk things over, knowing that they depend on each other." Oh yes, John P., if you mean that the A. F. of L. leaders shall meet capitalists and kings on friendly terms behind closed doors and talk things over, you are right, but labor and capital coming together in such a way—not yet. Not until the lion and the lamb shall lie together in peace; the lion shall be outside of the lamb.

The stand of the I. W. W. on the same question is clearly expressed in the opening sentence of its preamble: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Did you ever see a dog violently exercising one of his extremities in the effort to rid himself of an alien enemy? I have some respect for that dog. There is nothing in the world that could convince him that he has anything in common with the insect that lives off his flesh and blood. I repeat that I have some respect for that dog; he exhibits more intelligence than the worker who still thinks that he has anything in common with the class that lives off his flesh and blood.

The A. F. of L. sanctions wage slavery, endorses it, and hopes to benefit by it. Yes, queer as it may seem, there were always slaves who believed in slavery.

Continuing the preamble of the I. W. W. we read: "There can be no peace so 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 wages system."

The aim of the I. W. W. is thus clearly the abolition of wage slavery, the abolition of the present system that permits human labor, that is human life, to be bought and sold by the hour, day or month just like any article or commodity is bought and sold by the ounce, pound, or ton. It is beyond all understanding to see people that are sincerely opposed to chattel slavery uphold as sincerely the present system of wage slavery. Surely, if it is wrong to steal, it is just as wrong to steal one nickel as it is to steal a thousand dollars, especially if you continue stealing nickel after nickel until you have your thousand dollars; and if it is wrong to buy human flesh and blood, if it is wrong to buy the lives of our brothers and sisters, then it is just as wrong to buy them by the hour or day as it is to buy them for a life-time, especially if you keep up buying them day after day and hour after hour until you have bought their entire lives. The industrial union believes that wage slavery has outlived its usefulness, that civilization does no longer depend upon it, that it has become an obstacle to further civilization.

Civilization, necessarily, has always depended upon a subservient element, as no human society can attain any degree of refinement while struggling from early morn till late into the night for

a livelihood. First it was the chattel slave, that enabled the advancement of the early cultured nations, later the serf and the wage slave. But the present system of machine production renders it unnecessary to continue one element of the human race to base its civilization on the backs of a working element. The time has come that the entire human race base its civilization on the modern slave, the machine; the machine that may give wealth and leisure to all mankind if it were used for this purpose, instead of the piling up of fortunes in the hands of a few.

This education of the workers to the ideals of industrial evolution was the task of the organizers of the I. W. W. Great was this task, for as the master class realized the growing strength of industrial unionism, they arranged all the powers of the present system, the press, the church, the school, and courts against it.

"On their black thrones the purple lords grew faint
With fearing at the nearing of new day.
They yelped their vile commands; they cut the
thongs

And set their dripping hounds upon the prey:

"Go sink your fangs in the throats of men!
Lash and jail and rope!—
Kill and imprison! Bind with steel
These darkling fools that grope!
And fill with dust those daring mouths
That voice the rebel hope!"

Then was let loose a plague upon the land;
And liberty and truth were made a shame.
With solemn forms to cloak their coward rage
They raped their own loud creeds in freedom's
name.

Wide were the jail doors opened; and within
Their vastnesses, with pomp and law's display
They thrust some working men who dared to stand
That man might look beyond a meager pay.

With mummery of courts and empty sound
They sought to stop the rushing of the sea!
With jails they sought to stop relentless time!
With chains to bind the world's new destiny!

But the work of education goes on, and once a worker sees the light of emancipation, he is won for the cause. Nothing in the world can drive him back into his night of ignorance. Well do the masters realize that the effectiveness of their own guns is inferior to the appeal to intellect and reason of the Russian proletariat, and they fear not without foundation that Bolshevism will capture the earth before autocracy can crush the proletarian revolution in blood. In spite of the barbarous persecution the propaganda goes on in all countries of the world, and before long the industrial union hopes to lead the workers of the world into a happier commonwealth of industrial democracy.

That form of social organization known as the Industrial Democracy is not at all a hazy conception, an indefinite dream, it is the logical outgrowth of our system of machine production. There is no way out of it, nothing can stop or to any extent retard the evolution of society. The masters may slightly prolong their rule by force or cunning, tho their intervention in Russia and their antagoniz-

ing of labor by picking a quarrel wherever possible, instead of avoiding trouble, is so stupid that they prove incapable of cunning.

As our Industrial Democracy must necessarily be based on the present system of machine production, so the nucleus of that democracy will lie in the nucleus of our economic life, the shop. Upon these shop units or branches the entire structure of our society must be built, so that direction and administration will come democratically from a scientific linking of these branches first into industrial unions, which take in all the shops of a certain industry. These industrial unions shall be united into larger units, not confined by artificial and imaginary boundary lines like our present states and nations, boundaries set up by the masters to divide the workers, but confined by geographical or climatic conditions; for example: the great agricultural region of the central states, or the mountainous industrial section stretching from Lake Superior to Alabama, or the natural center of ocean transportation, England. These larger geographical units will finally be organized into the great world union, the only logical and practical realization of the "League of Nations" brainstorm.

This is our dream of the future, more than that,

it is our plan that we are going to realize within the short span of a few years. Go ahead, masters, kill and imprison, enrage the workers, tease the workers, and the sooner they will sweep you aside, or crush you in the onrush of industrial progress. This is our dream, our ideal; a world of happy, industrious humanity, efficient thru their industries, beautiful with the art products of their hands, their brains, their souls. A world in which war and strife has ceased, a world in which man shall labor for happiness, whether it be thru the efficient production of material things or thru the efficient management and leadership in the soviets; a world in which want and misery cannot exist. Go ahead then, masters, but remember that in the days when whirlwinds of rebellion shake the earth you shall be treated according to the way you treat us. We believe in peace, in kindness, in love, and the brotherhood of man, but if bayonets and machine guns stand in our way, if you try to hang onto your brief spell of exploitation by force, you must take the consequences, we have no choice, the world must progress. And the next step in the world's evolution will lead all humanity into the Industrial Democracy of the world.



THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

By Covington Ami.

In recent issues of "TRUTH" there appeared a series of articles by John Reed and others on the attitude of the I. W. W. to Bolshevism. Reed asserted the ignorance of Sandgren and other writers in the Industrial press and marveled at their lack of knowledge of the Russia state. He then gave me the first information as to the true character of the Soviet, stating that it was a *political institution*; whereas from his own writings and those of others who had been in Russia I had gathered the impression that the Soviet was practically what we here call an Industrial District Council. If, therefore, we were in error, Reed and the rest of the reporters were to blame and not their readers.

It being true that the Soviet is a political institution, and it being further true that the I. W. W. has been from its inception the "goat" of all political parties, it is rather unfair to charge that the Union has learned nothing from the World War; this since everywhere it turns its eyes it is clear that it is thru its ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS that the Working Class is coming into power today, for the simple reason that it is only the Economic Organization that can carry on production, distribution and exchange. Having suffered bitter persecution at the hands of politicians, it is impossible that the I. W. W. could rapidly change its mind in regard to any political faction, whether of the States or the Crafts, and those who insist that it change its policy in this regard should look back over its history and go easier in their attacks.

From the date that the I. W. W. came absolutely into Working Class hands, that is from the Fourth Convention on, it has steadfastly held to the principle of Industrial Democracy, the central idea of which is that in this industrialized world all real power is vested, not in the Political, but in the Industrial organizations by and thru which the Race feeds, clothes and shelters itself; that in building up and unifying these organization the I. W. W. is "building the structure of the New Society within the shell of the Old"; that without the co-ordination of its economic power, the Working Class is helpless to TAKE and HOLD, and the HOLDING is *everything*.

The world-sweep of its ideas seems to indicate the correctness of its position. All this in no matter changes my knowledge that the Russian Revolution is the greatest epoch-making event that has ever occurred in WORKING CLASS History; that whether or not it immediately develops into a pure Industrial Democracy, the future of Free Labor is bound up in the fate of the Soviet Republic, and that for its own interests the Working Class must defend that Republic by every means within its power. From all I can see and hear, the Workers are conscious of this and are doing it to the best of their ability.

But this in no way compels one to agree that Lenin is wrong when he warns the Workers of other countries not to slavishly copy the methods and mistakes of the Russian conquest of power; for the United States is the most highly industrialized nation on Earth and, when the revolution comes here, the Workers MUST be prepared to take over Production, Distribution and EXCHANGE, and that act is purely the function of the Economic Organizations of Society: in them alone abides the power to prevent social chaos when Capitalism collapses, and it is, here and everywhere, rapidly disintegrating.

Nor by this do I mean to say that it was ever dreamed of that the Working Class could be "One hundred per cent organized" before the collapse of Capitalism, nor is it necessary that it should be, but it is necessary that within the Basic Industries organization should have proceeded to the point where the conscious Workers would have the power to swing these governing units for the establishment of an Industrial Commonwealth.

It avails nothing to point out the fact that the jails of this and other countries are filled with Industrialists, for that has been true of the heralds of the New Age from time immemorial; it was as true of the Militants of Political Democracy one hundred and fifty years ago as it is of the Militants of Industrial Democracy today, but the Kings over the State are gone, and the Kings over Industry will as surely follow them into oblivion, for they are warring against the Spirit of the Times.

That this is so, that Political Society is passing with incredible swiftness and the idea of Industrial Democracy fast conquering its place in the sun, is borne witness to by the fact that the vast majority of thinking men closely connected with the Industries, whether they be of the working force or of the management, are bitterly opposed to the politicians interfering in the processes of production, distribution and exchange; further, the idea has also spread far and wide among the Actual Working Farmers; and for the reason that they instinctively see that the State, as it is now organized, is something *outside of and alien to* the actual social organism and, therefore, at enmity to it; for the Modern State in the United States has become in recent times nothing more nor less than a composite organization of special privileges and vested rights, of Capitalist Associations and Craft Unions; and, as such, cuts across and disturbs the industrial processes, not only by territorial representation, but by economic isolation, as well, and hence, more and more every day, takes on an anti-social form, and is compelled to do so. Whatever may be its words, it has already become in fact a pure Parasitism, and the Laws of Nature doom all Parasitisms to extinction.

By this I do not mean to say that the Kept Classes are going to surrender their position as social pro-

titutes without a struggle; they are not made that way; it is not in the nature of the Kept to do otherwise than despise the Keepers they have ruled and cajoled so easily and so long. Besides, they are "Citizens" and we are only—"Workers." They are economically enfranchised, and we are economically disfranchised. Hence their bitter attacks on the I. W. W. and all other Unions that dare demand the ECONOMIC ENFRANCHISEMENT OF LABOR, for such a demand translated into actuality means a CLASSLESS SOCIETY; and, so, the Kept can be counted on to resist just as long as any large number of their Keepers consider them worth while dying to retain, and the United States seems to have its full share of these economic cuckolds in overalls and celluloid collars.

But, in reality, these are only the side issues in the Great Issue facing the United States and the World, and that Great Issue is: Shall the Socialism that is ALREADY HERE be an Industrial Despotism or an Industrial Democracy?

If it is to be an Industrial Democracy it follows as the day the night, inexorably, that the State (I speak of it in the American sense, as a body social) MUST be organized on ECONOMIC LINES, and this is surely the work of the Industrial Organizations of the Working Class, since they alone have the machinery in embryo and the live-interests necessary to carry it to completion.

To attain this end it is vitally important that the common sense of the workers be fully and always centered on Economic Organization of Society, and it is because of its blurring of the Economic Sense that the Industrialist is so exceedingly hostile to the injection of Politicalism into the Labor Movement; for, whether it be the hamstringing of the once great Dock and Cot-Council in New Orleans, Louisiana, or the tragic outcome of the last General Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Industrialist sees politics acting everywhere as an emasculating force. Not only is this true, but from the beginning American Labor has never had a real political policy; has, in fact, ever held the Politician in distrust; and these historic facts the Left Wing should not overlook, for, unless I greatly mistake the signs of the hour, this is the rock on which the Gompers Machine is soon destined to smash and wreck itself.

In this sense especially, for good or evil, is the I. W. W. an AMERICAN INSTITUTION; it cannot, therefore, scientifically be accused of economic error when it instinctively acts on the historic consciousness of the people that gave it birth. Neither can it be blamed if, in this "Classic Land of Capitalism," as Marx so well called the United States, is cannot see the usefulness or the necessity of following wheresoever the Russians or any other people may tread on their way to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

There is another fact that has been almost entirely overlooked by Socialist and Radical writers and organizers in the attempt to socialize the United

States, and that is this: **Jeffersonianism**, especially in the West and South, is still a living factor in this land, a thing the "Democratic" party is soon to learn by drinking to the last dregs the aloes in the bowl of defeat. The Jeffersonian literally hates the Servile State. He has no trust in and no use for Centralized Power, whether in the State or the Union. He is always for Decentralization, for Home Rule. Hence it is no accident that it was out of the West and the South that first came the idea of the Industrial District Council with its corollary of the DIFFUSION OF POWER. It is this, Jeffersonianism, that explains why the Socialist party has heretofore made such a poor showing in our elections—they could not impose the German State on the American People, and for the very good reason that they instinctively and correctly regarded its boasted "Soul" as a Demon incarnate. It was this thing, its highly Decentralized form of organization, that "made it so hard to handle the I. W. W.," and this was openly confessed by the huntsmen of the Wilson-Gompers Administration. It is well to consider the Psychic part of a People as well as their Economic interests in an attempt to mass their power for freedom.

This article is all philosophy, but we what need just at present is more articles like that of Jim Larkin's in a recent issue of TRUTH dealing with "Scientific Industrial Unionism," for it shows, the briefly, the tremendous possibilities inherent in Modern Industry once the dead hand of Capital has been lifted from the throttle valve and the Workers are given liberty to produce wealth for USE; for it is in this Scientific consideration of Production, Distribution and Exchange, that our literature is now lamentably lacking. Also there is a great void in all our literature in dealing with the Land Question that should be soon filled in. The Law of OCCUPANCY and USE should be advocated and explained, and it should be applied to the Machinery of Production, Distribution and Exchange, as well as to the Farm lands and other Natural Resources, such as Mines, Harbors, Waterpowers, etc., for the LAW of OCCUPANCY and USE is the NATURAL LAW on which will rest ALL the superstructure of the INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH.

I am coming to think that this line of attack will be far more hateful to the Capitalists and far more profitable to the Workers than any other ever launched, for THEY HAVE NO ANSWER TO IT. This is clear when one considers that the Modern Working Class has no direct interests in the preservation of Private Property Rights in and to the Land and the great Basic Industries; that, in fact, these "rights" all tend to interfere with a rapid rise in the INCOME of the Workers and are, therefore, an incubus on their advancement; are, in fact, keeping them poor, homeless, aliens in all the lands.

We are living in an Industrial Age. Let us try to think and act INDUSTRIALLY. This is what I am seeking today.

An Open Letter to Construction Workers

The man who is doing construction work is working in one of the most essential of the industries in the present scheme of production. The wheels of all industries would soon cease to turn if the construction workers were to remain idle for any length of time. Rich deposits of coal and iron would be valueless if the construction worker did not bridge the streams, pierce the mountains and build the railroads over which the raw materials is transported to the industrial centers.

Millions of acres of desert waste would have never been reclaimed if the construction worker had not built the reservoirs and the miles of irrigation ditches so the life giving water might flow over the land. Of what use would be the great quantities of foodstuffs grown on the rich farm lands if the worker did not build the roads and the high-ways so the grain and vegetables might be hauled to the railroads and then to the markets to be distributed among the great masses of people who are so far removed from the soil. Think of the millions of people who would soon be without a roof over their heads if the construction workers were to build no more houses to shelter them.

The construction worker is the pioneer of industry. Step by step the progress of the wall of civilization can be traced by the forging ahead of his work. Foremost to him are only those engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The construction worker builds the trails and the wagon roads into the new and undeveloped country, the houses that shelter pioneers, next the railroads that connect them with the outside world and finally the schools, the hospitals, the paved streets, the skyscrapers, and all that make the great cities of today.

By this we cannot fail to see that the construction worker does an important part in the work of production and distribution.

We will now look into the manner in which the construction worker lives, dealing especially with those, who owing to the nature of their work, have no permanent place of abode. It was not until quite recently that the contractors in the western states furnished as much as a dirty blanket for the worker to sleep under. Nor as yet do they all provide bedding of any kind. In many camps springs and mattresses are unknown and white sheets are only associated with the beds in the vermin infested lodging houses where the worker sleeps when on his periodical trips to the cities.

His only shelter from the elements is a torn and leaky tent or a shack, of rough lumber and tar paper, often with only one opening called a door, windows being entirely forgotten. The first has its advantages in fair weather as we all know that a tent at least provides for plenty of fresh air, but in stormy weather the rag house is a decided failure. For the last we can speak no good word, for the

tar paper shack is unbearably hot under the summer sun and when the wintery winds blow through the numerous cracks no number of stoves will furnish heat enough to make it comfortable. The only light to be had in these miserable holes is generally candles bought by the worker from his meagre wages. Where light is furnished the best is a smoky kerosene lamp or a broken lantern.

No bathing facilities are provided for the worker who is often engaged in the dirtiest kind of work. Miles and miles from the nearest laundry, the only way he can wash his clothing is in a tin can with water heated over an open fire. The food the worker in a construction camp must eat is often of the worst kind. Fresh fruits and vegetables are rarely included in his bill of fare. Such food as he has is in many instances poorly cooked and eaten at a table over which swarms a multitude of flies and in arid regions both table and food are likely to be generously covered with a thick coating of dust.

In addition to living and working condition such as afore mentioned the construction worker receives a wage that is on the average lower than the wages received by men engaged in work of a like nature, such as those employed on the farms and in the woods.

We know that the construction worker is engaged in useful labor and is a necessary factor in carrying on production. Has he got a right to share the good things of life on the same basis as the workers in other industries? We do not mean to infer that any group of workers has begun to receive the returns it should from its labor. In the struggle for better things the construction worker has been unduly slow in helping himself and as a consequence is not enjoying the main concessions that workers in other industries have forced the employing class to yield.

As a comparison the eight hour day is established in practically all industries and in the more progressive industries the workers are planning as the next step the six hour work day. This does not hold true for those engaged in construction work. Granting that in some of the western states and in a few of the eastern ones state laws specify that eight hours shall be the work day on public work, the major portion of the workers who are building the railroads, the highways, and other large projects are now working nine, ten and even twelve hours a day.

The city worker has at least some choice in where he lives and from whom he buys the necessities of life. The worker in the camp must sleep in the place provided for him and eat such food as is furnished him and buy his clothing and necessary sundries from a commissary run by the contractor and at which the most prohibitive prices are charged. The city worker has some place for amusement and recreation, such as the moving picture show, the theater and the parks; the camp worker is far

away from anything such as this. The city worker has some facilities for keeping his body and clothing clean; the camp worker has none.

In many of the industries the worker is insured of steady employment. The worker in the construction camp is never sure of employment from one day to the next. Many construction jobs are of short duration, all are subject to be shut down on account of inclement weather and numerous other things, so the worker is continually on the move from the slave market to the job and back to the slave market, with no chance of ever having a home of his own or enjoying the companionship of the rest of his fellow workers.

These conditions must be changed. The construction workers must get the things that are necessary for them to live as human beings should and not as beasts. Every concession wrested from the employing class has been gained only by the organized efforts of the workers. Nothing but absolute freedom from wage slavery will give the workers the things of life. In organizing to gain their immediate demands the workers should organize in such a way that the chains of wage slavery can be shaken off and production can be carried on when this end is attained.

The Industrial Workers of the World have as their final aim "the wresting of power from the Industrial Lords and the ownership and management of the industries by and for the workers."

The foundation of the I. W. W. IS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. All workers in any industry are organized into an INDUSTRIAL UNION of ALL the workers in the entire industry, these INDUSTRIAL UNIONS in turn are organized into INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS of connecting or kindred industries, while are brought together in THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

For the construction workers, the I. W. W. has the Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573. All workers engaged in the construction of buildings, railroads, highways and bridges are organized in this industrial union. There is a free transfer from this industrial union to all other industrial unions. The basis on which the C.W.I.U. is formed is the group of workers on the job and the industrial union branches. These in turn form a district covering a given area. The membership of each district elect by referendum a Secretary-Treasurer who is under the immediate supervision of an organization committee of from five to seven members. Of the whole is formed the C.W.I.U. 573 with a Secretary-Treasurer and General Organization Committee of seven members elected by the membership of the entire industrial union. The connecting link between the men on the job and the branch and district offices is the job delegate. He is empowered to collect dues, initiate new members and transfer members into the industry in which they are working.

All members who have been in good standing in the I. W. W. for six months are eligible to carry credentials as a job delegate. This gives every

member who has the interest and welfare of the organization at heart the chance to be an organizer.

With such a democratic and scientific form of organization the workers cannot fail in their struggle with the employing class. With as their demands the shortening of the work day and the improving of living conditions, they can wage incessant war against the industrial lords and have a form of organization that is adapted to their needs when the workers as a class are finally free from the bonds of wage slavery.

To the construction worker who is unorganized we ask that you come to the aid of yourself and your class and join the Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573. The initiation fee is two dollars and the dues are fifty cents per month. Join through the nearest branch or from the job delegate on the job where you work.

To you who are members of the organization we ask that you get credentials today, get them from the traveling delegate when he visits your camp, from the branch secretary or from Bert Lewis, Secy. Treas. S. W. I. U. 573, 1101 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Roy Gammon, Secy. Treas. Seattle District C.W.I.U. No. 573, Box 365, Seattle, Wash. C. F. Bentley, Secy. Treas. California District C.W. I.U. No. 573, Box 845, Stockton, Calif.

If the Mooney strike had no other effect it did good in this manner that it drove the A. F. of L., leaders and politicians to strenuous political activity, in order to keep the Mooney case from falling into the hands of radicals. They have succeeded in getting the case before congress where a resolution was adopted calling for an investigation.

Thus Mooney is apt to get free via politics, not because of any sense of justice in the politicians but to remove a case which furnishes too much fuel for the radical bonfire. And if it happens, they will of course virtuously strike their chests and show how wrong we are not to trust every thing to the "civilized" actions of politicians. But if they do anything at all, it is because they are driven to it by fear of "radicalism."

Sexual perverts are terrorizing Chicago. The misery came to a head recently when a six year old girl was murdered in an inconceivably brutal manner. There is talk of a special session of the state legislature to cope with the terror.

The fruits of capitalism are ripening. It has ruined relations between man and woman, until sexual instincts run into abnormal channels. We will soon be as bad as Sodom and Gomorrah, Babylon and old Rome. It is another sign of the collapse of capitalism. But these evils cannot be eradicated by legislation. To get at the root of them we will have to abolish capitalism, which is constantly producing perverts of all kinds.

Get one of our blank books for subscription agents and help spread our publications.

The Coal Mining Industry

By DELEGATES M-120 and M-659

THE purpose of industrial unionism is to organize ALL WORKERS in ALL industries so as to be able to take over those industries and to manage them for the workers' benefit.

Of the three most essential industries, coal mining is the most widely spread out, and employs more than any other industry except iron and steel. All other industries are largely dependent upon this basic industry. And in 48 hours the coal miners, if industrially organized, could take over and manage the mines without slipping a cog.

In the United States alone there are a million or more men working in the coal mines. The major part of these men began while they were mere boys as trappers or nippers, and from this fundamental position have spent their entire lives working in every capacity in and around the mines.

The trapper is the boy that opens up the door in the entry for the mule driver or the motorman. These doors assist with the ventilation also, and the CLOSING of the door is of as much importance as opening it. Trapping is one of the most important occupations in the mine—yet it is left to boys who are paid from 50 cents to \$1.50 a day. These boys are often hardly big enough to pull the door open, and before the advance of the machine process, the lunch pail left its trail in the snow alongside the little fellow's tracks. Now larger boys are employed. The change is not due to any desire to relieve the boys, but because of the introduction of more modern machinery, automatic doors, etc. But the men who work the mines today were initiated before these improvements were introduced, and began in these fundamental positions.

A "nipper" travels along with the driver, helps couple cars, puts in and takes out "sprags," which serve as brakes, acting as general assistant to the driver on about the same pay as a trapper.

After serving these apprenticeships, the next step is to become a driver—or "mule skinner." In this capacity, the worker takes the empty cars to the coal miners, and returns the loads to the rope, shaft or tunnel parting. That is, some miner sends loads by means of a rope cable up a "slope" to the "tipple" where it is weighed and dumped. In others, a "cage" (a sort of freight elevator) is used to hoist the cars up. In others the drivers take the coal out to the "tipple" direct thru the tunnel. A driver gets at the present time from \$4.50 to \$6.00 a day. In the past—before the war—they received from \$1.50 to \$3.25 a day. Many men stay at this one occupation till they are fifty or sixty years old. These men become very efficient. Certainly these men know their work well enough to be able to continue it without the assistance of John D., or other coal barons.

Not all the men begin as nippers, trappers or drivers. In some cases where the struggle for existence is too much for the father, he takes his boy with him to learn to be a coal digger.

The coal diggers' duty in the past, before the introduction of modern machinery, was to mine the coal with a hand pick. In places where the roof and other conditions permitted, the coal was "bumped off the hand" with powder. For this work the men made anywhere from \$45 to \$50 a month, working from 10 to 16 hours a day. Such conditions forced the men to put their boys into the mines just as soon as he could be allowed a quarter or half turn. Boys as young as eight years, were at one time taken in with the men. These boys could do nothing. They were set up in their fathers' shirts or coats to keep warm. But they had to be there so that the father could claim an extra car in four (a quarter turn) or an extra car in two (a half turn). The father did all the work and killed himself at piece-work in order to get a little more bread and butter for the wife and other smaller kiddies at home.

These boys who sat in the "gob" yesterday are in the mines today, operating the modern machinery and they know the game from start to finish. The old pick miner is nearly an extinct worker. Part of the "modern machinery" is a big electrical device which cuts the coal at the bottom of the vein in a four inch trench for six feet back. Then higher up in the vein, holes are drilled back as far as the trench is cut. These holes are filled with powder to break down the coal. A man with hand pick breaks up the larger chunks. The miner does ALL the work without boss' help or suggestion. When the boss does tell the miner anything, it is merely a show of authority. Any miner could go about and keep the mine in good condition and see that the various branches of work are properly coordinated. In fact the present day mine foreman is chosen from the ranks of miners by the company because of certain lickspittle qualities he possesses to look after the employers' interests. He is not usually the most efficient type of miner and is often taken out of one mine to work in another to bulldoze his former fellow workers into doing certain dead work, such as carry timbers, etc., without pay, or with small pay. Like other bosses he is a stool pigeon and his chief value to the capitalist is in this light. He is of no value industrially and could be excelled many times over by a man elected by the miners themselves to coordinate the work in the mines.

Above the foreman is the superintendent, the chief mogul of the master. He evaluates a foreman's efficiency as follows: "He's a fine fellow. He can get more 'dead' work done for less pay than any other boss. He don't give the s—o—b—'s anything." The foreman's wages are \$125 to \$250 a month. The superintendent is the big pay man, but is industrially useless. He merely runs in between the miner, the actual producer, and the parasitic investor, the coal baron.

To go back to modern mine machinery. There is the air puncher, which works somewhat similar to the electrical machine except that it cuts away more

coal, making a digger's trench. It is operated by means of compressed air and human labor.

The duties of the coal miner today is to load up the cars, "shoot down" the coal from the face, or breast, after the machinery has done its work, to keep track laid up to the working face and to keep the working place well timbered. All this work the miner does himself. He thoroughly understands it, neither gets nor needs suggestions from any save the fellow workers along by his side. No coal baron contributes anything (except misery) to his life and yet for each dollar the miner gets in wages the capitalist gets four dollars in profit. (Industrial Relations Commission Report; Gov't Statistics).

In addition to nippers, trappers and coal diggers, there are track layers, timbermen, pumpmen, and firebosses.

The tracklayer keeps up the tracks in the entries and on the slope and in main haulage ways. He puts in new switches. He is master of his work. Boss says, "Jack, switch to be laid 5th east, room 21"—Jack takes his tools, about enough for two burros to carry, only Jack puts them all on his own back (on the ass's back, he's an ass for doing it), and proceeds to room 21, 5th East and lays the track without any further assistance from said boss, which all goes to show that the boss is a dog tick and merely sucks the blood from the workers who are the dogs in this case. Tracklayer gets about the same pay as a driver or sometimes twenty-five cents a day extra for being called "boss" tracklayer. When there is no track to be laid, the "boss" tracklayer becomes a handy Andy to pull spikes out of old ties what time he isn't smashing his fingers or cussing or dragging rails or doing some other work a mule ought to do.

Timbermen enjoy blessings equal to those of the trackmen if not greater ones, for which he gets about the same pay. His work is to retimber places liable to cave. This is not to prevent accident to miner or other mere man, but to protect the mules and property of the boss, so as not to stop the output of coal and the coal barons' income. He often has to go into the most dangerous places in the mine, sometimes working alone, in a remote place where there would be small chance of rescue in case of accident. He lugs and carries big, heavy wet timbers all day long and his reward is another job of the same kind next day—or a can tied onto him for not doing enough.

The pumpman watches pumps. He is the lowest paid man in the mine, usually. He often wades into water to his neck to see that nothing interferes with the suction or to put on a piece of pipe. He has longer hours generally than the others, is considered very unimportant and still if the pump stopped the mine would have to shut down. And this fundamental work is left to the old men almost ready for the scrap heap, or to the boys just beginning. Oh, human capitalism! Neither the young nor the aged are spared, but all are ground into profit by your merciless system!

The most important function of the whole mine is

the work of the fireboss. He has the safety of the miners in his hands. First shot in the morning, he makes a run of the entire mine, old workings and all—ofttimes scrambling on his belly over caves and thru dangerous places searching for "fire-damp," an explosive gas. He tests for "fire-damp" with the little safety lamp, a light the size of a lightning bug and while making this test, there is not a living soul in the mine but himself. If he gets in the dark he must crawl back to air thru the blackness, feeling his way thru danger. He dare not strike a match for fear of "fire-damp." He goes thru every nook and cranny of the mine, old workings and new, inspecting to see if the working places are "safe" for the force that is coming on, that is to see if the places are free from "fire-damp" and in working condition. After running the mine for "fire-damp" he goes on top to report a clear mine, and his next work is to go thru the airways to see that brodishes, overcasts, splits, and doors are all in good working shape. His day's work begins anywhere from two to four o'clock in the morning—eight hour day. In some cases he works another eight-hours shift, after having run the mine as fireboss, at other mine work. His wages run about a dollar a day more than the rest of the company men. He often acts in the capacity of straw-boss. If there is a streak of yellow in him—and there often is—he reports "clear mine" to the men but, secretly, to the superintendent only he tells of the "fire-damp" in some part of the old workings. The miners would refuse to go into the mine if they knew it were dangerous. If there should be a cave in the old workings or if the air should be cut off the "fire-damp" would be forced down onto the men at the working faces and an explosion would occur. This explains why the yellow, servile, fireboss, more mindful of the boss's profit than of his fellow workers' lives, is often chosen as mine foreman. While he is a fireboss, he is fundamentally important industrially and when he is true fire boss and tells the men the exact conditions he doesn't last long as fire boss and has no chance of being promoted. But when he crawls to the superintendent he is apt to get the better paid job of mine foreman.

Now the day's wages are not what they seem on the face of the statement for this reason. There are, on the average, about four months steady work for coal miners and all the rest of the year the men work from one to three days a week. Thus the yearly wage averages at present about \$840 and this is not the low average nor the high.

Organization

Now each of these men understands his work thoroughly. He does it alone, unassisted from above. All he needs to take over and manage these industries for himself is an organization with a program which will give himself confidence. That's all he needs. He has the experience. He needs an organization where rank and file rules—not an organization which is controlled by a machine composed of officials whose main interest is to protect their own highly paid jobs, with some fake union. An organization of workers whose interest is in the workers

and the workers only. An organization which is class-conscious, not wage conscious. This is the kind of an organization that the coal miners need and this the kind of an organization which the Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 900 I. W. W. is.

C. M. W. I. U. No. 900 I. W. W. takes in all the men, women or children, from office helper to trap-per, who work in and around the mines, into one industrial union.

Initiation Fees and Dues

Initiation fee is \$2.00 universal, or a paid up card in any labor organization is accepted in lieu of initiation fee. Dues are 50 cents a month with no forced assessments.

Power

In the C. M. W. I. U. No. 900 the power is rested in the miners' own hands. If it is found necessary to call a strike to enforce demands the man on the job takes action as he sees fit. He meets with his fellow workers; they make decisions which are first, final, and only. They need not consult any official anywhere for they understand their own needs better than any official possibly can. They sometimes need to act more quickly than even a telegraph goes, and anyway the men on the job are the ones who are doing the work, therefore they should have the full controlling power. They have full power in C. M. W. I. U. No. 900 I. W. W.

The strike is conducted by a central committee elected by the local body of miners. The miners have the power to recall any one or all of the committee at all times. Thus there is no chance for the miners to be betrayed by those chosen to serve them. No chance for "strike officials" to graft with the employers at the expense of the miners. Strikes are always won when managed in this way.

Such management would have won the Colorado strike of 1913-14. This strike was a fair sample of craft union strike. The Colorado men—twenty thousand of them—responded to the call for strike Sept. 23, 1913. It lasted for fourteen months, yet all the while miners in other places were working, carrying the same card, belonging to the same union, continued to produce coal to fill the Colorado contracts. Thus thru the notion that "contracts are sacred" "brother" miners forced the Colorado boys back onto the jobs under even worse conditions than those they had sought to improve. This after fourteen months of starvation, man-handling and jail abuse, not to speak of travesties committed upon wives and daughters—even to the burning alive of mothers and babes in Ludlow!

Under industrial unionism such strike abuses would be impossible because if any part of an industry becomes affected with a strike or a lockout, the rest of the workers in the industry thruout the world would cease work unless an agreement can be reached in a reasonable time by the strikers. It would be difficult to imagine such cooperation meeting with failure but if they should do so, then the remainder of the industries would also cease and there would be the General Strike!

Transfers

In the I. W. W. there is a universal free transfer system. When a worker leaves any industry to go into another, his card is still good. He simply transfers, carries the same card and is still a union man. If his dues were paid ahead in his old work, they are paid ahead in the new. The I. W. W. is a working man's union for the workingman's benefit—not a boss's union for the boss's benefit.

The General Plan

The general plan of organization can be learned. The I. W. W. press offers papers in Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Polish, Jewish, Croatian and English. Of the later **New Solidarity**, Chicago **Rebel Worker**, New York, **Industrial Worker**, Seattle, and a monthly magazine, **The One Big Union Monthly**. For further information write to Thos Whitehead, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago. Subscription price for all papers and magazine \$1.50 a year.

The Future

When organized industrially, the coal miners will run the mines, elect their own managers and divide the work up evenly, shortening the day, and receive the full product of their toil as a reward. They will thus assure to all security and justice.

Organize!

Regain that which has been stolen from you by master thieves. You have only your chains to lose and all the world and life to gain."

A Vision of the Future

By ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with word of love and truth—a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which no gibbet's shadow falls; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl trying to win bread with the needle—the needle, that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame. I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without a disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, the married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.



THE SWIMMING HOLE

The Realism of the Bolsheviks

By John Gabriel Soltis.

The Bolsheviks are realists of the finest ilk. It is an outstanding trait of theirs, to the existence of which, men and events alike testify. As regards their political enemies at home, the Bolsheviks opposed to the *words* of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, *acts, deeds*. Likewise is this true when they deal with the grandiloquent professions of the diplomats of the Allies, in the matter of their Russian policy, which is based on murder.

When the March revolution was consummated, and the Soviets sprang into existence, the Bolsheviks were confronted with a pressing and tremendous problem, namely: the capture of the Soviets for the Bolsheviks. With the steady stream of exiles pouring back to Russia, men and women who knew the meaning of political democracy, by a contact and collision with it for several years, the question of obtaining control of the Soviets became, in those early days of the Revolution, the supreme task for the Bolsheviks. How did they tackle the situation?

It is well known that in the first months of the Revolution, the Bolsheviks were a small but significant group in the Petrograd soviet. They were, however, considered by the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, as a fanatical outfit, and were

amply advertised as such, in the crucial period of the Revolution, just as in most central trade union assemblies of our own country, the I. W. W. member is stigmatized as a fellow out of sorts, so, in the Soviets, the glorious Bolsheviks were painted in horrible colors. But what appeared to be, and what was in fact, a colossal feat, was performed by the masters of the social revolution, the Bolsheviks—the winning of the soviets to their point of view.

Their opportunity came in the form of great problems that had to be solved, and for whose immediate solution, all Russia vigorously clamored. As these mighty issues of the nation came up, there also came the inevitable alignment of social groups and forces. It was the duty, therefore, of the Bolsheviks to interpret the line up, and deduce therefrom the conclusions. This they did with wondrous success.

The first clash that the Bolsheviks precipitated was on the all important problem of power. They held that a division of power was an absurdity; that the Soviet must not share power with the organ of the Capitalist class, the Duma, subsequently altered to the Constituent Assembly. Either the one or the other must rule. Hence the cry, "All power to the Soviets." This slogan drove the wedge be-

tween the real adherents to the co-operative commonwealth, and the phrase-mongers; between the friends of Socialism and its enemies. On this issue the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks wavered, vacillated, until the Bolsheviks could point, with facts before them, to the allegiance the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks gave the Capitalist class. that the soviet must not share power with the organ

The proletariat of Russia demanded peace immediately. In fact, it was the rallying cry of the revolution. The parliamentarians of all shades, sought to emaciate the force of that deep, irresistible desire of the masses, by a policy of continuous shuffling in the chambers of parliament. To this dilly-dally attitude of the parliamentarians, the Bolsheviks lost no time in explaining its sinister purport. The Imperialists, with the help of the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks were stalling for time and occasion, to choke the revolution. Now if the Revolution was to be saved and transformed into a genuine proletarian victory over the forces of capitalism, then, "All power to the Soviets."

The Bolsheviks had in mind all the time the erection of an Industrial Republic whose magnificent achievements are today startling friend and foe alike. But first they had to get control of the organizations of the workers, where they were in disfavor. Never for a moment however, did they lose their astounding faith in the masses, which faith is so characteristic of the Russians. Events were with their side.

Instead of realizing peace, the parliamentarians started a war in Galicia. That offensive was what the Bolsheviks needed. It confirmed in toto the warning of the Bolsheviks, so generously given in the Soviets. If you want peace, then take, "all power to the soviets," and negotiate it. As far as the capitalists and socialist parliamentarians are concerned, the peace they have for you, is a longer war: Behold Galicia!

In the course of a few months, the "fanatics" (afterwards "criminals") by pursuing a policy of realism within the soviets, became the statesmen of the International Proletarian Revolution.

To win the workers to their program of direct action, the Bolsheviks identified themselves with the slogans of the workers. There was no demand of the workers, soldiers and sailors, but it was championed by the Bolsheviks, however moderate it may have been. By doing that, they won the confidence of the masses; and when it was gained, then the Bolsheviks were in a position to write a few slogans on their own account! slogans, as we know, that have shaken the structure of capitalist society from—London to Hong Kong.

Once the power is in the hands of the soviet, then its evolution toward Industrial Democracy is as swift as lightning. Once liberated from the legalistic and ideologic shackles of Capitalism, as they are wrapped up in the parliaments of the dominant economic class, the workers cannot but accept every social and economic measure that is calculated to elevate them into the great heights of industrial

freedom. No need for convincing argument then; the strong motive power of self-interest is the driving force. Freed of all capitalistic barriers, the workers surge forward toward the sublime goal, with an impetus that centuries of repression and slavery have held in the breasts of the proletariat. Like a stream which has been pent up for many a day, and which is suddenly let free, breaking out with a roar immense, flowing, rushing at a terrific pace, down the countryside, carrying everything that stands in the wake of the flood, so this mighty urge for Freedom, stifled for generations and generations, once let loose, conquers everything before it, in its march for liberty. It is the flood triumphal, sweeping away all the debris of the hated system of exploitation. Victor Hugo certainly had a prophetic vision of Russia.

In the parliaments, the elemental creative force of the proletariat is a matter of subjugation, of annihilation. The Bolsheviks knew that. But in the Industrial organization, the divine force of Life, received a form of expression which is full and complete. It is open, direct, free. The Bolsheviks also knew this. Hence, "all power to the Soviets." The realism of the Bolsheviks finds an echo in our popular American phrase. "If you want to have anything done, do it yourself."

The Soviets of Russia, like the Industrial Workers of the World organizations are but instruments with which the workers do things themselves for themselves.

(The above is recommended in particular to those who would copy the bolsheviks in everything. As the author so well points out, the bolsheviks struck out as pioneers in the wilderness of revolution, unhampered by theories having nobody to copy or imitate, adjusting themselves to the needs of the hour with a charming realism. Their imitators in this country, on the other hand, have an equally charming disregard for actual conditions in this country and would walk in the foot-prints of the Bolsheviks, step by step, even to repeating their blunders and mistakes. Instead of being American realists, they are bolshevik imitators. To carry out their program presupposes a preceding transformation of American grievance into Russian pro-revolutionary grievances, in order to get a right start.

They generally lose sight of the fact that America is a highly developed industrial country, while Russia was largely agricultural. They fail to recognize that different conditions require somewhat different action. The line of action of the Bolsheviks brought fine results because it was suited to Russian conditions. The same line of action here — if it could be conceived — is absurd and would result in disaster. Bolshevik propaganda in U. S. is bound to become outlandish and freakish and can never gather in the matter-of-fact and intensely realistic American people. The I. W. W. — The One Big Union movement — is the natural expression of the revolutionary will in industrial countries — not bolshevism. — Editor.)



ONE FOR ALL, ALL FOR ONE

Compromising with the Left Wing

By PH. KURINSKY

EVERY radical change is a good sign, symbol that things are moving forward, an evidence of dissatisfaction with the old, and a desire for the creation of new conditions. We must view the present unrest in the labor world with satisfaction since it expresses the urge of the workers towards better things, but we should not deceive ourselves into the belief that the results must inevitably be better than the conditions which are sought to be remedied. The fact that those, who initiate new movements, are earnest in their work and honestly seeking to cast off the old conditions, is no proof that they are clear in vision or definite in their purpose and methods. It often occurs that the future is altogether hidden from the advocates of new ideas and experience shows that, in the main, they travel a vicious circle and only arrive again at the same things and the same faults that they sought to avoid or correct. For this reason, we should not be too hasty to embrace new movements—too often. Their subsidence is frequently as rapid as their rise. And we should remember that the only thing that gives stability to any movement is the soundness of the basic idea and the depth of conviction on which its principles are founded.

In considering the Left Wing movement let us observe that its principles are no more than a duplication of the ancient principles of the Socialist Party and still clouded by the belief in parliamentarism and the inclusion of the bourgeois elements. The fact that they recognize Industrial Unionism as the main factor in the labor movement does not help their case, for, under the influence of these disturbing elements, they must gradually sink again into the sump of politics and, sooner or later, be led to the same compromises and the same opportunist methods that have distinguished the Socialist Party. The revolutionary spirit of which they prate will become befogged with the old ideas of the Social Democrats and the trend of their influence in the labor movement will be, not towards Industrial Unionism, but again in the direction of parliamentarism, pure and simple.

After the First International, the "right" of the Socialists was, for a long time, quite as Marxian as is now the newly formed "left wing" and the leaders were just such revolutionary spirits, as are now the present left wing leaders. But they were gradually deflected and Malatesta, speaking of the evident change, said "The revolutionary spirit was drowned in the muddy rivers of parliamentarism." Bebel was once a vigorous revolutionary character, but his belief in parliamentarism led him to state in the German Reichstag that "in case of war we will go shoulder to shoulder with the other soldiers to defend the Fatherland." Millerand, from the same cause sustained the French war minister in his prohibition of the spread of socialist propaganda amongst the soldiers of France. Our beloved Debs pleads strongly for industrial unionism, but his be-

lief in parliamentarism led him to say, at the time of the execution of Joe Hill, that the teachings of the I. W. W. leads to the Anarchist doctrine of the "propaganda of the deed."

The left wing recognizes the union movement as the main factor, but this is no new thought. The Social Democratic Congress at Manheim decided, 306 to 65, to recognize the union movement as the main factor in the betterment of social conditions, yet, whenever a strike developed a revolutionary character, it was betrayed through the "legality" propaganda of the socialists. Everything was done for the sake of politics, every trick to get votes, every means to attain place in the Reichstag was, as the Jews say, "Kosher." And the result was, as Kropotkin said "the Social Democratic Party did not gain the political power—politics gained the Social Democracy."

It is a question: shall we go on and compromise with a body that wants to repeat politics again? Are we permitted to make such a compromise when experience should convince us that the logical development of the Left Wing will be a renewed chasing after politics? While they are weak, they will be orthodox and strong for industrial unionism, but, so soon as they gather strength, may we not expect that they will tend towards compromises? Will not their belief in parliamentarism drive them to it?

We have persisted in the propagation of our principles of direct Industrial Unionism since 1905. The whole labor movement is shaping its course in our direction. Even the Left Wing cannot escape the logic of our position—they have endorsed the principle. Then let the wage earners amongst them come in and strengthen the Industrial Unions—be consistent with their professions of faith.

They urge the mass action of the proletariat. We agree. Let us have it—Organized Industrial Mass Action. And in regard to politics, we are not autocrats, but democrats, and, surely, we will not hinder any person to use political action—outside the labor organization. Experience is the great teacher, and perhaps our left wing friends may yet discover that Industrial Unionism is good enough to solve the problems of the working class and gain the goal of world-wide Industrial Democracy.

A. F. of L. officialdom with Gompers at the head has now been driven into a corner where it fights for its life as misleader of workers. The slogan "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" has been substituted for an appeal in the name of "liberty", "democracy" and "civilization" with the purpose of fighting and crushing The One Big Union. It now stands practically alone with the unenviable distinction of being practically the only yellow labor organization in the world. We need not worry much about the A. F. of L. Its own rank and file will take care of it.

The Story of the I. W. W.

By Harold Lord Varney

CHAPTER SEVEN.

ENTER THE MIGRATORY WORKER

It is related that, after the withdrawal of the S. L. P. delegates, St. John and his handful of followers gazed cynically at each other. The tension was broken by one of the delegates, who leaped to his feet. "We are the I. W. W.," he cried, indicating the tiny group which surrounded him. "Let us go out and build up a new organization."

The loss of the S. L. P. faction certainly left the I. W. W. in an extremely depleted condition. There were no industrial locals of any size in the organization. The real nucleus had hitherto been the "Mixed" or propaganda locals. These bodies, existing in nearly every city, really functioned as voluntary organizing committees. They were filled with enthusiastic devotees of the industrial union philosophy who were ready, at any time, to press the claims of the I. W. W. in whatever emergencies arose in their districts. Hitherto, the life of the mixed locals had been the S. L. P. members. Their withdrawal was, temporarily, a severe loss.

It was necessary to find a new following. The old supporters of the first three years were gone beyond recall. Among the millions of unorganized workers there lay a fertile field for action. The problem of the I. W. W. was to specialize its efforts upon some one particular group. They did not have far to search. The I. W. W. found its new following among the migratory workers.

From this point on, this history is indissolubly woven with the history and movements of the migratory workers. It will not be out of place to pause for a moment for a brief study of this class.

The migratory worker is a by-product of unemployment. In normal, pre-war days it was estimated that there always existed a surplus of at least 2,000,000 workers, over and above the needs of industry. This number oscillates above and below the 2,000,000 mark in direct proportion to the prosperity of the country. During the "hard times" of 1914-15, the unemployment rose to nearly 8,000,000. At present (1918), it is considerably below the 2,000,000 mark.

These surplus workers gradually gravitate into the migratory industries. They follow the seasons and harvest the crops. They "ship out" to rude camps where they are segregated on temporary construction jobs. In the north and northwest, they put in some months each year in the forests. The west is their natural habitat. There, they are distinctive features of every community and city, trudging along with their blankets bound upon their backs. When they wish to migrate, the freight trains offer a facile opportunity for free transportation.

Homeless, womanless, franchiseless, doomed to wander through a monotonous labyrinth of miseries, their lot is deplorable. Of all the social driftwood of capitalism, the migratory worker is the most tragically pitiable. He is not to be confused with the tramp and beggar. The migratory worker is a ready and willing worker. He does work of infinite usefulness to society. His labor is basic and fundamental; the substratum that underlies all the constructive industries. To harvest the food, to garner the fruit, to cut and drive the lumber, to excavate the quarries, to lay the tracks of the railways, these are vital functions in the system of production. Included in the same psychological group with the migratory workers, we may mention the miners and the sailors, particularly the sailors on the Great Lakes. Practically all migratory workers drift into these two industries at intervals.

In his helpless and sodden condition, the migra-

tory worker is the prey of an army of vultures. Hosts of employment sharks have sprung up in every city to wreak fees from him for his every job. Saloons rob him of his hard earnings and reduce him to a brutish intoxication. Foul hotels, reeking with filth and vermin, poisonous with the germs of tuberculosis, are the only lodgings that he can find. Religious grafters steal his confidence by pretended friendship and then betray him to professional strike breakers or trick him into accepting some job of virtual peonage.

Terrible as is the tale of his wrongs, there is no protection for him in the law. The law is always his enemy. The law is always in league with the grafters who exploit him. If he fights or quarrels to maintain his right, it is he who is always arrested. When he comes into court, he finds that he is already prejudged as a migratory worker before he is even heard. Having no friends, no money and no vote, he is victimized mercilessly by those cowards who are ever ready to prey upon weakness.

When he is travelling on the road, he is again menaced by the law. Every officious chief of police in the small towns is on the watch for him. If, when arrested, money is found in his pocket, he will be fined the total amount by the "kangaroo" judge. Thus, many a worker, returning to the city after months of brutish work in the harvest or in some camp, will be robbed of every cent of his savings by the high hand of "the law" and turned adrift, penniless. If he has no money, he will be sent to the workhouse and the country will exploit his labor for some arbitrary length of time. In the south, some states have vagrancy laws whereby a hobo can be impressed into prison camps for the natural period of his life. This is maneuvered by a crafty system of fines and charges. As soon as his sentence has expired, the miserable victim finds himself detained until he has worked out an ever increasing assessment of fines. In Mississippi, an old fugitive slave law which dates back to 1844, an unrepealed statute of chattel slavery, is still being applied to migratory workers. Under its sweeping provisions, strangers can be seized and sent to contract labor camps for a period of eleven months and twenty nine days.

Naturally then, the migratory worker is a rebel against the law. More clearly than any other worker does he see through its class nature and its shams. The sufferings which he has experienced have suffused his life with bitterness. The loyalties which glue all other workers to the existing order of things, have long ago snapped for the migratory worker. Society and its cruel laws have made him an outcast. Society has proven itself to be his enemy. Therefore, he has become an enemy against society.

In the welter of their misery, the migratory workers had hitherto been without organizations. An instinct of solidarity, engendered of common sufferings, existed among them. But labor unionism had hitherto been inconceivable and impossible. To organize them seemed the task of a Hercules. Among the migratory workers there were no natural classifications by which they could be shaded off into industrial groups. There were no hard and fast boundary lines between them. The lumber worker of yesterday was a harvest worker today. Tomorrow he might be found in the mine. And of course, to organize them as a class was equally impossible because migratory labor was only an arbitrary classification. Their class was in a perpetual state of change. It expanded and contracted with kaleidoscopic rapidity.

But, where the A. F. of L. was impotent by its rigid jurisdictional divisions, the I. W. W. found

itself peculiarly adapted to handle such a problem. There was a fluidity and flexibility in industrial unionism which surmounted every previous obstacle.

No matter how the migratory worker was employed, or even if he was not employed at all, he was eligible to enter the mixed or recruiting unions which the I. W. W. maintained in every city. When a minimum of twenty on any one job had been initiated, they branched off from the recruiting union and started their own industrial local union. If the job was temporary, the member of such a local would not be obliged to drop out of the union when it was completed. He would simply return to the recruiting union and keep his card in good standing. Perhaps, when he worked on his next job, he would find another industrial local of the I. W. W. He would simply transfer again from the recruiting union. Everywhere, in every industry, it was the same union. One initiation fee admitted him to all. With a universal transfer system, he merely needed to go through the formality of a transfer, to pass from one industrial union to another. In case he ceased to be a migratory worker and settled down on a permanent job, he was still able to remain in the I. W. W., either in a recruiting union or else in an industrial union of the new industry he had entered.

The ideals of the I. W. W. also appealed to him. The immensity of its plan and the reach of its social vision intoxicated his senses. Here was a union which cut across all distinctions of skill and craft. In its halls, he, the despised migratory worker, was on an equal plane with the skilled and high paid mechanic. All of his hideous and smothered wrongs now found a voice with which to speak. For the bitter impotence of his past, the I. W. W. substituted the strong weapon of working class solidarity.

It required little effort on the part of the new national officers, to secure a strong following among this class. The A. L. U. and W. F. of M. had done an immense amount of preparatory work. New locals sprung up throughout the west. The I. W. W. halls became more than business offices. They took on the aspect of social clubs. The hitherto homeless migratory worker now had a haven in every city, where he found a welcome. It was a happy substitute for the degrading obscenity of the bar-room. In the welcoming warmth of the I. W. W., he was recalled once more to his higher self. Here he found friendship, brotherhood and even culture. His mind was stimulated by lectures and books. He was constantly schooled in those instincts of class solidarity which the I. W. W. inspired. His life found an object and a purpose—to fight with all his powers for the hastening of the day when working class solidarity would build a new heaven and a new earth.

The importance to the I. W. W. of this acquisition cannot be overestimated. In the whole field of labor, no wiser choice of a following could have been made. The migratory worker was ripe for revolutionary ideas. The hard buffetings of his life had disciplined his instincts into revolutionary channels. When once he accepted this definite creed, he could throw himself wholeheartedly into the struggle. He was unencumbered by wife or dependents. He had no home or little property which agitation would endanger. He was not even deterred by the necessity of safeguarding a job, for such miserable jobs as he possessed, were easily replaced. He had no faith in political panaceas because his unsettled residence deprived him even of his vote. All those subtle influences which tend to make the factory worker conservative were non-existent in his migratory brother.

As a propagandist, he was unexcelled. Contrary opinion notwithstanding, the migratory worker is much more intelligent than the average factory worker. He has travelled widely and his perspective is rich in experience. His wits have been sharpened by the dire necessities of the road. He has more

leisure than the factory worker and so he reads much more widely. His broad experience has made him much more adaptable to strangers and he is a natural mixer.

A story is told in the Old Testament of how Samson once destroyed a corn field. He fastened torches to the tails of foxes and set them loose with their burning flambents. Running in and out through the field, they kindled every stalk with their flames. Somewhat similar is the influence of the migratory agitator. He goes everywhere and he meets everybody. Wherever he travels, he leaves behind him the germs of his ideas. The most dormant "jobite" reacts to his infection. Since they entered the I. W. W., this army of migratory workers has planted the revolutionary idea in the remotest nooks of industry.

Of course, the migratory worker has drawbacks in his effectiveness. The most serious of these arises from the natural instincts which grain the working class off into inter-group antagonisms. William English Walling has well demonstrated that the working class is not an absolutely homogeneous class but rather a broad classification, which expresses a series of groups. These sub-classes are, to a certain extent, mutually hostile. Thus, in a factory, there are rivalries between the skilled and the unskilled. Some groups of crafts seem to be more intimately related than others. For example, there are certain industries which, by the hazardousness of their nature, attract only men of a daring temperament. There are the structural iron workers, the steel workers and the miners. These industrial groups are inter-related by a similarity of psychology. The tenant farmer presents another industrial anomaly. And so on, indefinitely.

Now the migratory worker is the most intensely individualistic of all. He is a phenomenon, born of the inadequacies of an archaic form of industry. The unconventional uncouthness of his life has created in him an almost extra-racial psychology.

He is an invert to half the stimuli of conventional life. He is mute to its inhibitions. His thoughts are strikingly anarchic. His sex life is abnormal. And, what is more significant, he has even created a new vernacular or dialects of speech. Philologists have established it as a law that the growth of a new dialect betokens the differentiation of a new race. To reproduce the vernacular of the migratory or hobo workers would give alarming emphasis to the argument that they have developed a race life of their own. So far has the migratory worker escaped beyond the pale of social similarities.

While, of course, the scientific phases of the subject are irrelevant, they are interesting in that they throw added light upon the significance of this class division. They also reveal the fatal flaw which checkmates the propagandic success of the migratory worker. When he mingles with the so called "home guard" workers, he is alien in both culture and viewpoint. There is an invisible barrier of caste. This cripples his effectiveness to an incalculable degree.

But, in spite of this limitation, the migratory workers have brought a profound increment of strength to the organization. With the zeal of missionaries, they have scattered their propaganda. With a courage sprung of their passionate yearnings, they have fought their way, step by step, to success.

The old revolutionary minority of the W. F. of M. and the A. L. U. which still clung to the I. W. W., easily fused with the new comers. The miners and the migratory workers are closely akin. Many of the latter were old blacklisted members of the W. F. of M. The personality of one of the leaders of this period well illustrates this amalgamation. Frank H. Little, a former officer of the W. F. of M., was elected to the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. in 1909. He was one of the leaders in the campaign to line up

the migratory workers. Courageous, with all the passionate bravado of the west, he soon came to impregnate the instincts of this new element. During all the years of his activity, he was regarded with an affection bordering on love, by the thousands whom he led in the rough and tumble skirmishes of the early years. He was, however, merely the spokesman of the new attitude of the I. W. W.

Gradually, the spirit of the migratory workers succeeded in leavening the organization. Under the regime of Sherman and during the two years of S.

L. P. domination, the I. W. W. was only blindly groping for a policy. Success did not come because the membership had not yet become a homogeneous unit. With the influx of the new element, the deadlock came to an end. The vague and disheartening failures of the first three years were forgotten. The temporizing spirit gave way to a spirit of struggle. The historic policy of the I. W. W. began to assume outlines. Industrial unionism had, at last, struck its stride.

SOUTHERN CONDITIONS

By Covington Ami.

I note that The Monthly wants news from all foreign countries, so I thought the editor might be interested in a few items from the strange Land of Dixie, especially as to the drift in the Lone Star State.

First, the inhabitants down here are being jealously guardd from all "dangerous thoughts," but strict as has been the censorship, the serpents seem to be trailing thru this "democratic" Eden, for ex-Senator Bailey, now said to be of "26 Broadway", has lately been among us to organize a brand new, or rather, a brand old political party; he wants to go back to the times and principles of Thomas Jefferson, with, of course, all Jeffersonianism cut out. This makes the 13th. new political party I've recently heard about, which seems to indicate that the politicians are fast going up in the air. How true is Marx's statement that "When the working class moves all the superstructure of society is sent up into the air"!

Second, and more important, the Oil Operators Association met on July 31st. and recommended an advance for all workers in the industry, this, of course, to head off the growing sentiment for a Big Union in the industry. The Oil Workers will sure be suckers to let this stop them from organizing. The minimum wages in the Oil Fields is said to be \$7.00 a day, this in the Burkburnett and Ranger Fields, with H. C. L. still in the lead "and then some", which last probably accounts for the "ingratitude" of the workers, for the Belly sure beats the Brain when it comes to agitating for better days and conditions.

Farm and other "common" labor is getting wages from \$2.50 a day up, with cotton around 30 cents a pound, and still the workers and working farmers are not "satisfied", tho their discontent has not yet taken on intelligence, that is to say, this section has so far made no real move to ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY, which is the main thing worth striving for these days. But the restlessness must be steadily on the increase, for not a day passes now but local papers carry some wild story about the I.W.W. and the radicals, giving lurid accounts of all the awful things the Union intends to do, tho strangely they never quote its official literature, but that of some other organization. The latest story is that of today, August 2d., where it is strongly insinuated, using

garbled quotations from a live Negro magazine, that the Union is trying to start "a Race War in the South" and that the Bourbons "will not be responsible for anything that may happen". When one considers that all these sheets support the alleged Democratic Party that has lived off of and prospered on race hatred for more than 50 years, and which has done its level best all during the World War to still further divide the people of this Nation into race hatreds and riots, and further considers that from vital self-interest the I. W. W. has thru out its history done everything in its power to ally racial hatreds, all one can say for the Southern "Democratic" Press in that it, like the party it represents, is a true descendant of the God of Hypocrisy.

I have heard that a new A. F. of L. Union of Lumber Workers had been organized at Lake Charles, La., and was making headway, but I feel sorry for the boys in it; for, had the A. F. of L. Machine really wanted to organize the Oil and Lumber Workers of the South it could easily have done so during the War, but my opinion is that it had no such desire, for the reason that this would have brought the Gompers Machine into open collision with the Machine of the Democratic Party, which was something that the Morgan-Wilson-Gompers Oligarchy could not then, or now, afford, and so the Workers, as usual, "paid the price". All of which makes me wonder how much longer the Workers of this country are going to wait for some Moses to lead them somewhere, which is usually nowhere. "God helps those who help themselvs", is as true today as ever, and he helps no others.

In New Orleans and Houston the boys tell me they get the Monthly, New Solidarity, and like papers pretty regularly, but in Dallas I never get Solidarity and The Monthly except by accident, for which I hunch that the Dallas Postoffice has set up a little censorship all by its lonely, tho I fail to see howinhel the papers mentioned could possibly hurt me and the other fellows who want to read them; besides by these tactics the Plutes are fast driving all the Bergerites over to the Left Wing, and I sure would weep to see Bergerism banished from Dixie.

Also the "Land Question" is showing signs of coming to the front fast. With one "Ranch", the King, claiming nearly 1,500,000 acres of land; the

Taft ranch 160,000 acres and a few towns; the Kirby Lumber crowd holding 1,240,000 acres; the Long-Bell bunch holding not less than 2,000,000 acres in Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana; with one man in Texas "owning" 3,000,000 acres and another Eleven Hundred SECTIONS of land, you could just naturally see that, sooner or later, more and more people were bound to rise and ask why God (?) had been so damn generous to certain plain citizens and why the Race should stand for it? Some people are actually getting so blasphemous as to say they don't believe God had anything at all to do with swiping at all and that the land should be immedi-

ately un-swiped. All of which is certainly "seditious" or something and should be burlesoned at once.

-In connection with this terrible land monopoly, which is undoubtedly one of the greatest curses to the South, it is being whispered over Texas that the economic cause of Attorney General Gregory's bitter hunting down of the I. W. W. was because his wife was a member of one of the richest lumber families in the State, but I do not believe so great a man would allow himself to be influenced by any such marital reasons.

Still Colonel House is said to be a Christian Scientist and it is a fact that Capitalism is "wonderfully and fearfully made."

An Appeal to the Membership

By GEORGE ADLERCRANTS

SEEING the necessity for using system in handling the great mass of work still left to be done by our organization, in order to fulfill, what we have set out to do, namely to so arouse the proletarians that they may realize the tremendous necessity of organizing themselves for a better relationship in industry.

I have made a study of the methods we have been using to dispose of the information we happened to have, in order to find a better method whereby we can depend for far greater results, in fact, a scientific method based upon supply and demand, conditions and circumstances underlying the problem of efficient organization work.

There is not much need of explaining the function of the so-called "business" meeting, but sometimes, and lots of times in the past, this institution has served the purpose of exchanging views, either in the form of reports of individual experiences or else reports of a group of workers that are up against one difficult problem or another. Then the meeting, after duly considering THE FACTS, either accepts the report, because it realizes action is needed, or else rejects it.

After a report has been accepted, either by a regular motion or by acclamation, the question arises as to "what to do" in regards to program method and practice. Questions on program must be decided on first. The regular practice of electing a committee to handle the work to be accomplished, without first considering what we expect that committee to act under, is unscientific in the extreme.

Fellow Workers, let us use system in doing whatever we can towards fulfilling what we desire to do. The membership must be fully informed about the necessity for "spontaneous" and voluntary co-operation in deciding what shall be done and how to go about it. Therefore it behoves us to AGITATE among OURSELVES for efficient co-operation. The result will be, naturally, that every member informed, that understands and realizes the necessity for participation, and has ability and opportunity, will do his utmost to further our constructive work.

To make provision for the functioning of committees is the next step. Of course, where no need of committees can be seen, none should or can function. Especially is this true, when the membership are so well informed of the needs of the moment, as to be able to act automatically according to necessity and desires. To fully organize a committee ten things are necessary:

FIRST—To make provision for the personnel and this is done by appointing the right number of members, consistent with the aims, methods and amount of work there is for the committee to perform.

SECOND—By developing proper contact with the committee, through analyzing its work; to accept or to reject the work done; and to INSTRUCT it as to the particular work, necessary to be done. This may be improved by accepting the work done by the committee according to its RESULTS only, and not that of mere membership or function.

THIRD—By new suggestions given to the committee, whenever it reports its work done. Any member who has workable ideas should avail himself of the opportunity to help the committee become efficient, because the membership alone is responsible for the progress made.

FOURTH—The newly appointed committee must, of necessity co-ordinate all the work it is to handle, in all its details, and place a person of known reliability in charge of the particular function to be performed. To do this, efficiently, requires a conference, which must be held when necessity dictates it, and in this meeting the detail work must be planned, specialists trained, investigations of conditions reported, the proper action discussed, and All the records pertaining to the functioning of the committee members made, in order to be available when required. Each member of a committee must understand and realize the necessity of making regular and special reports of his functioning, and the committee proper will then make final reports to the Regular Branch Meetings, whereupon the results of the committee work will either be accepted or rejected. This will insure a minimum of friction, and makes IMPOSSIBLE "a bum job."

FIFTH—In order to insure the work to be done by the committee members under abnormal conditions, such as during hostilities, it is necessary to provide for "understudies," to take the place, automatically, whenever anyone or all of the personnel have been stopped in their work.

SIXTH—To effectively **PLAN** the future work, to be done by a committee, it is necessary to so operate the function of each member as to cause no hitch in carrying out the program. This is best done by considering:

1. The demand of specific work to be done.
2. The conditions under which to do the work.
3. The permanency of the work begun, and
4. The machinery for carrying out the work.

Discuss freely each one of these principles and you can get incentive and be able to apply almost anything along the line of your function.

SEVENTH—Although the **RESPONSIBILITY** of all committee work lies with the Branch organization as a whole, it behoves each member of a committee not to mix up the work done outside the committee meeting, for which the committee, itself,

is responsible. Be sure and teach the members this responsibility by proper contact while serving on the committee.

EIGHTH—To **STANDARDIZE** the function of each committee or committee member, means to insure

1. Individual competence.
2. Initiative to act, irrespective of other functionaries.
3. Ability to hold **HIMSELF** responsible for his own acts, and
4. Opportunity of setting the best example as a member of the organization.

NINTH—The **OBJECTIVE** of the work of a committee is to be able to work together harmoniously within the organization with forces that are easily applied, to insure success in the shortest possible time, to study out all the conditions necessary for Solidaric Action and to **APPLY THEM** at the point of contact with the membership as a whole.

TENTH—The most **COMPLICATED** work to be carried out, is separated from the more simpler—and is either carried out above the committee—or else left until more favorable opportunities arrive.

Craft Unionism Must Go!

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

HISTORY tells of a Roman senator, Cato, who (being, even in his day, a good enough "Marxian scholar" to foresee the inevitableness of a decisive conflict between Rome and her chief rival for foreign trade) never rose to speak without declaring in his most vigorous tones; "Carthago must be destroyed!" In like manner, the man or woman today who has come to understand the fatal and ineradicable defects of the trade union will never miss a chance to declare that **craft unionism must go**.

Craft unionism must go because, as long as it lasts, wage slavery will last; as long as it lasts, the workers will be weakened in their daily and hourly struggle with their exploiters; as long as it lasts, the workers will continue to be fooled and tricked misled and betrayed by shrewd politicians manipulating the complicated machinery of trade unionism. As long as craft unionism lasts, the workers, instead of being united against their common enemy, will be divided among themselves by the false divisions of medieval craft distinctions.

Craft unionism is the friend of the employing class and, therefore, the enemy of labor. It is a wolf in sheep's clothing, pretending to offer the workers protection and strength, but, in reality, delivering them, divided and helpless, into the hands of their enemy. When Charles M. Schwab, sitting the other day at a banquet beside his friend and associate, Samuel Gompers, King of the Craft Unions of America, he declared that he had formerly been opposed to the trade unions, but now believes in them heartily; when the American Newspaper Publishers Association, at its recent convention, adopted resolutions urging its members to "assist the trade union

officials to maintain their supremacy," they admitted the value of the trade union as a protection to their "vested interests."

The craft unions, by its structure, splits the workers' strength and thereby adds to the masters' power. Examples of this are of such frequency in the annals of labor as not to need special mention. But craft unionism has subtler and not less harmful consequences in other directions.

By pitting the workers against one another in fictitious craft rivalries, craft unionism works against the development of a clear consciousness of the solidarity of interests of all the workers. The result is willingness to scab on one another, unwillingness to support one another in strikes and other emergencies. The underhand action of the International Association of Machinists in seeking to wrest control of the Acme Die Casting shop in Brooklyn from another labor union, through a secret deal with the employer, is but another incident in the long tale of A. F. of L. scabbing.

Craft unionism, by its established policy of "harmonizing" the interests of labor and capital, dulls the fighting edge of the worker's spirit. It leads him insidiously to feel that, after all, the working class and the employing class have something in common. In announcing the opening of a recent "strike" of the N. Y. cloakmakers, the international president of their union stated in the N. Y. Times, "The very best feeling exists between the manufacturers' representatives and the heads of the union." Small wonder if, the inspiration of such milk and water belligerency, the strikers spend their time dancing, knitting and gossiping, as in the case of the recent waistmakers' strike (according to the ac-

counts in the N. Y. Call) under the same "warlike" leadership.

This official "harmonizing" of the unharmonizable interests of the worker and the man who robs him of the fruit of his labor has now reached a stage where all camouflage is torn off and the A. F. of L. stands, naked and unashamed, as the bosom friend of the master class. In Philadelphia a few weeks ago, when the International Federation of Hotel Workers called on its members to strike on May First as a protest against the continued imprisonment of labor's militant workers, the local A. F. of L. waiters' organization at once issued orders to its members not to take part in the strike, adding that the A. F. of L. is against any strike.

Craft unionism, through its pyramiding of official machinery, effectually discourages initiative in the membership and kills the spirit of independence and self-reliance. The present "insurgent" movement in the garment trades in New York is a promising sign of a coming revolt of the rank and file against official autocracy.

The outright crimes of craft union officials in selling out the workers are too numerous to need more

than a passing mention. Among examples still fresh in our memory are the breaking of the recent N. Y. harbor strike by the international president of the Longshoremen's Association, through the "delivery" to the employers of three of the six craft unions forming the Marine Workers Affiliation, and the latest exposure of the notorious John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, through a letter from the American Woolen Co. assuring a customer that his order would not be delayed by the Lawrence strike, as it would be "put through" at their Maynard plant, which Golden would keep going "in return for the favor we are showing his organization."

Craft unionism must go! It is today one of the greatest obstacles in the way of developing a militant labor movement in this country. Until we have broken the strangle hold of the A. F. of L. on organized labor and followed the lead of Western Canada and Australia in replacing it with a genuine industrial union movement on the lines of the I. W. W., we can never hope to make any real progress toward the goal of labor's emancipation.

THE TEXTILE WORKERS' WAY

Paterson branch, Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1,000, I. W. W., is undertaking an educational campaign among its new members in order to make thorough-going "Wobblies" out of them. The branch is convinced that it is not enough to get the workers to line up, but they should be given the means of learning as quickly and thoroughly as possible what the I. W. W. stands for and how its members can function as industrial unionists, both in their shops and in the union.

A leaflet is being prepared in different languages, which will explain fully the principles, structure and methods of the I. W. W. A copy will be given to each new member as he enrolls and to all present members who wish to know more about the workings of the organization.

At the same time, arrangements have been made for mailing one of the official papers of the I. W. W. to every new member who pays the \$2.50 initiation fee. This free subscription will run for six months from date of admission and, it is expected, will lead to a larger circulation for the I. W. W. papers, as well as informing the new members about what is going on in the organization.

In order to put the new system into operation the regular bundle order of Branch Paterson for "New Solidarity" has been tripled, and the order for "Il Nuovo Proletario" substantially increased.

NEW SECRETARY IN PATERSON

Fellow Worker Adolph Lessig has resigned as secretary of Paterson branch, Textile Workers' Industrial Union 1,000, I. W. W., and Frederick A. Blossom has been elected in his stead. Communications and literature should be addressed to the new secretary at 48 Van Houten St., Paterson, N. J.

MACHINISTS ENDORSE O. B. U.

New York.—The smouldering fire of indignation that has long burned in the breasts of machinists of New York and vicinity found expression at the last meeting of Micrometer Lodge 460, International Association of Machinists, called to discuss conditions in the machine industry and to get the sentiment of the rank and file.

As a result of the meeting, which was attended by over 700 good-standing union men and women, the New York machinists reaffirmed their indorsement of the **One Big Union principle** and urged its application to their industry, for the purpose of effecting the amalgamation of all the crafts in the metal industry into a powerful industrial organization.

The lodge further proposed a referendum vote on the proposition "that the I. A. M. shall immediately sever its affiliation with the A. F. of L."

TEXTILE WORKERS ISSUE PAPER

A new paper, "The Textile Worker," devoted to the interests of the workers in the textile industry, has just been launched by the Paterson branch of Textile Worker's Industrial Union No. 1,000 of the I.W.W. The first number is dated August first. Copies may be secured by sending postage to Frederick A. Blossom, sec., 48 Van Houten St., Paterson New Jersey.

NEW GERMAN I. W. W. PAPER

"Der Klassenkampf" (The Class Struggle), the new German I. W. W. paper, appears Aug. 15, \$2 per year, \$1 for six months. Contributions needed. Send all remittances to Fred Freedman, 1001 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

The Story of No. 400

WHEN the A. W. O. was first organized in the spring of 1915 we went over in fine shape. In spite of the fact that there was some who predicted dire failure and who were constantly raising the cry of "you can't organize the harvest stiffs." While it is true that these few crepe-hangers were proven bum prophets, there is no denying the facts that our task did appear to be almost a hopeless one, for the conditions in the harvest fields were indeed pitiful.

The long hours of hard work, the uncertainty of the job lasting any length of time, the poor food and the poorer pay together with the brutality of the small town marshall, hostile railroad shacks, the dangers from unscrupulous and merciless hi-jacks (hold-up men) all tended to weaken the stamina of the habitual harvest worker.

Never the less the job of organizing him was undertaken and none knew better the hard and difficult task it was to be than those that met at the first convention at Kansas City and those who first took out credentials in the new union of Agriculture Workers No. 400 at a time when the I. W. W. was almost financially and numerically bankrupt. It was under these most adverse conditions that the A. W. O. was launched.

No money in the treasury, the members almost penniless. But while there was a lack of finances there was an abundant supply of courage and a will to do or die possessed by those who tackled the job and said it could be done.

With pockets lined with supplies and literature we left Kansas City on every available freight train. Some going into the fruit belts of Missouri and Arkansas, others spread themselves over the state of Kansas and Oklahoma and every where they went, with every slave they met on the job in the jungles or on freight trains, they talked I. W. W. distributed their literature and pointed out the advantage of being organized into a real labor union. Day in and day out the topic of conversation was the I. W. W. and the new Agricultural Union No. 400.

One every hand stickers and leaflets calling on the harvest slaves to organize were prominently displayed, the delegates were everywhere; men who never before had heard of the I. W. W. and those who had heard of it were beginning to discuss the advisability of joining and a great many of them did so.

After spending their last few dollars for initiation fee and dues and after a most successful drive through Oklahoma and Kansas the delegates came right up into Nebraska and North and South Dakota and even into Canada while others went into Montana and Washington and also Idaho.

Everywhere they went the good work went on, the organization gathering tremendous momentum all the way. Along with the large increase of the

membership the status of the harvest stiff was perceptibly improved.

Small town marshalls became a little more respectful in their bearing towards any groups of workers who carried the little red card and the 4000 boys once or twice. As for the hi-jacks and bullying and bo-ditching shack had a wonderful change of heart after coming in contact with the boot-leggers one or two examples of "Direct Action" from an organized bunch of harvest workers served to show them that the good old days at last for them was now over, and that there was a vast difference between a helpless and unorganized harvest stiff and an organized harvest worker. But best of all the farmer after one or two salutary examples of solidarity invariably gave in to the modest request of the organized workers, with the result that wages were raised, grub was improved nad hours shortened. Those farmers that had full I. W. W. crews were highly satisfied, and many stated that from that time on they would hire none but I. W. W.

Everything went along well with the Agriculture workers for two years, and then the raids in the fall of 1917 upset the organization, and in the summer of 1918 the A. W. I. U. found itself with only about a score of delegates in the middle of June and the result was that we did not get one new member from the entire Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska harvests.

About one month later our delegates got started through the fields again and we did very well considering that many of our active members were drafted into the Army and many others were in class five and liable to be called away at any time; when everything that we were up against last season is considered we certainly did very well and all last winter the members were laying plans for a gigantic drive which would start in Oklahoma and be carried on up through the Dakotas in to Canada.

There was a convention held at Sioux City this Spring and it was broken up by the Sheriff and 300 Gunmen of that town but the membership present there decided that they would finish their meeting and they did so. Officers were elected on the streets where the meeting was concluded, and the boys started down through Oklahoma and Kansas and the financial report for the month of July which shows an increase of membership of over 1300 is a testimony to the work they did.

The harvest is now on in the Dakotas and the delegates writing in state that they are out for an increase of 10,000 new members for the month of August; everyone who can read and write is taking out credentials and every job in the Dakotas will have at least one delegate on it for the next three months.

MAT K. FOX,

Sec'y-Treas.

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

Bulletin No. 45

August 11, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

Last week's bulletin stated that we had taken in over 1,300 new members for July and that delegates were writing in that we were sure to reach the 10,000 mark for the month of August. During the first week in August we got over 1,000 new members despite the fact that we were short of supplies.

The General Office has had trouble getting cards from the printers for the past two weeks, but from now on we are almost sure to get enough to supply every delegate in the country. There has been some dissatisfaction caused among the delegates through this shortage of due books, but it is not the fault of the stationery delegate at Fargo that he has been short or of the traveling delegates or the A. W. I. U. office, either; we have begged, borrowed and — all the cards which we could from every possible source.

We have around five hundred active delegates in the fields at this time, but there is a large field to cover and this number should be doubled before the end of the month. There are quite a few thousand different jobs through the Dakotas and we should have at least one delegate on each job in order to make the A. W. I. U. the power that it should be in the agricultural fields.

Many of the fellow workers travel around with delegates but that is not sufficient; get credentials and supplies yourself and the active delegates can always get plenty of new members who are not eligible to carry credentials to travel with him; the train committees should have credentials themselves and should impress upon all members the necessity of getting stocked up immediately.

Remember, that one active delegate with credentials and supplies is a hundred times better for the organization than a dozen who make a loud noise and sit around and criticize what others are doing without doing any real organization work themselves; also

Remember, that we have about one thousand active members lying in jails all over the country and we should have at least one active delegate in the A. W. I. U. for each member who is doing time for his past activities.

The General Defense Committee has been reorganized and is composed of the secretaries of the various industrial unions located in Chicago as well as the editors of all our publications in Chicago, the manager of the Publishing Bureau, the general secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., and Wm. D. Haywood, who is now secretary of the defense.

John Atwood, a prominent lawyer in Kansas City, Mo., has been hired for the Wichita case and in connection with the latter all members and sympathizers of the I. W. W. should send letters and wires to Judge Pollock at Topeka, Kansas, voicing a protest against the members of the I. W. W. being held in the filthy jail at Wichita during their trials which will come up probably in September; ask that

the men be released on their own recognizance or else housed at some suitable hotel during the coming trial. These fellow workers have already served a two years' sentence and have not even been tried yet, so they surely are entitled to some consideration.

Letters coming from the various jails indicate that the men there are well pleased with the progress being made by us at this time and what bothers them most is that they have to remain inactive when you fellows are carrying on the fight. How long they will remain in this position rests entirely with you. First, we need new members and we also need money. Every penny that can be spared should be sent immediately to see that all men in jail get an adequate defense and enough tobacco and other necessities pending trial or appeal.

Take up collections at every possible opportunity

It seems that members are too busy to send in job news; most of our mail only contains a few lines stating that there is a report and money order enclosed, but at this time threshing is on all over South Dakota and, in fact, south of Aberdeen around Dolan, Redfield and vicinity it is nearly over; east of Aberdeen as far as Groton on the Milwaukee threshing is in full blast and we get a few good reports from that section of the country. Conde was good for a while, but was queered recently by the gamblers and members may as well stay away from that town now.

On the Great Northern out of Aberdeen up towards Rutland and around Hankinson, Fairmont, Wapeton, Wyndmere and over towards Oakes on the Soo there is a pretty good crop and men are not over-plentiful.

Around LaMoure, Lisbon, Valley City and Jamestown there are fairly good crops, but at the latter place there are some hard boiled railroad dicks who have relieved some fellow workers of their cards; on the N. P. from Jamestown to Bismark there is a good crop, but in the immediate vicinity of Bismark the crop is not so good and there will be no great demand for help.

The main line of the Soo is good all the way up to Minot; east of Minot on the Big G. as far as Churches Ferry things are pretty fair and threshing will be starting up about the end of this week, but around Devil's Lake and New Rockford the crop has been hailed out and wages are sure to be low; there is also an oversupply of help around these territories because the crop was burned out in Montana and there are lots of dry-landers with their own teams and wagons; the latter sympathize with the POOR FARMERS and as long as they get a job they seem to be satisfied.

Let your slogan be "10,000 new members each month."

With best wishes, we are,

Yours for the big increase,

D. N. Simpson, Chairman, G. O. C.,
Mat K. Fox, Sec'y-Treas., A. W. I. U.

Financial Statement, A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.

for month of July, 1919

RECEIPTS

Personal Deposits	\$ 165.00
Initiations	2640.00
Due Stamps	2870.00
Relief Stamps	505.00
Organization Stamps	377.00
Gen. Def. Stamps	443.00
Gen. Def. Misc. Receipts.....	252.85
Buttons, Pins, etc.....	82.25
Lit., card cases, dups., etc.,.....	419.35
Subs.....	3.75
Monies paid on acct., by delegates.....	996.50
Special Days Wage Fund.....	53.00
A. W. W. I. U. Assessment Stamps.....	97.50
Miscellaneous receipts	151.49

Dues and Initiations for other Unions:

41		No. 500	20.50
24	2	No. 300	16.00
34	3	No. 800	23.00
4		No. 8	2.00
3		No. 480	1.50
34		G. R. U.	17.00
9		No. 1100	4.50
2		No. 700	1.00
2		No. 325	1.00
29	4	No. 600	22.50
244	29	No. 573	180.00

Total \$9345.69

DISBURSEMENTS

Per Capita, General Headquarters.....	\$ 22.50
Personal Deposits	20.00
Acct. Supplies Gen. Headquarters.....	625.85
Literature	134.92
Dels. wages and commissions.....	1266.75
Mileage	168.83
Acct. Supplies other unions.....	158.25
Monies held on acct. by dels. and Sec's.....	1199.91
Relief	13.90
Defense	669.75
Main office salaries	268.00
Rent, Heat, Light.....	301.94
Stationary and fixtures	47.84
Postage and express.....	103.04
Adv. acct. 573 Org. Com. member.....	16.79
Bert Lewis, acct. Convention expense.....	27.00
Towel Supply Co.....	2.00
International Ptg. Co.....	70.20
Water Supply Co.....	25.50

Total \$5142.95

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts	\$ 9345.69
On hand July 1st.....	1712.00
Grand Total	\$11057.69
Disbursements	5142.95
Cash on hand August 1st.....	\$ 5914.74

CASH DISBURSEMENTS

1, T. Whitehead (Relief, Def. and Org.)..	\$ 612.75
2, Chas. H. Kerr Co. (books).....	2.34
5, Hungarian Paper	1.20
E. Serviss, Wages.....	15.00
Wm. Danton Relief at Wichita.....	3.00
D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Mat K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
7, W. W. White, Ballot Committee.....	12.00
8, W. W. White, acct. trip with supplies.....	30.00
Swedish paper	13.65
Spanish paper	7.50
T. Whitehead, Office supplies.....	7.10
James Doyle, N.Y. Defense Com.....	50.00
Mat K. Fox, acct. O. Weaver, pr. Dep.....	10.00
9, Robt. Nelson, office supplies.....	2.50
Bert Lewis, June reports No. 573.....	71.50
O. N. Ogden, June reports No. 600.....	7.50
B. Lewis, acct. Joint del. from Calif.....	27.00
11, E. R. Thomas, June rep. from No. 300.....	1.75
C. N. Ogden, office supplies.....	2.05
12, Eva Serviss, wages.....	15.00
D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Mat K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
14, T. Whitehead, office supplies.....	6.70
Thos. Whitehead, rent.....	100.00
Thos. Whitehead, membership cards.....	200.00
Towel Supply Co.....	2.00
15, D. N. Simpson, acct. trip with supplies.....	100.00
Chas. H. Kerr Co., Books.....	1.80
16, International Printing Co.....	26.10
Stanley Brown, Relief, Leavenworth.....	5.00
Martin Gunderson, Rel., Leavenworth.....	5.00
19, Eva Serviss, wages.....	15.00
James Doyle, wages.....	12.00
Mat K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
22, T. Whitehead, membership books.....	400.00
T. Whitehead, office supplies.....	18.75
D. N. Simpson, Postage.....	30.00
24, Rebel Worker, bundle orders.....	67.50
25, International Ptg. Co.....	44.10
C. E. Smith on acct.....	30.00
26, Mat K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Eva Serviss, wages.....	15.00
Mat K. Fox, acct. Geo. Keys.....	100.00
H. Varney, acct. trip with supplies.....	14.91
Smith Water Supply Co.....	25.50
Mat. K. Fox, Postage.....	4.54

Cash disbursements July.....\$2311.74

RECAPITULATION

Cash Receipts for July.....	\$6514.48
Cash on hand July 1st.....	1712.00
Grand Total	\$8226.48
Cash Disbursements	2311.74
Cash on hand August 1st.....	\$5914.74

MAT K. FOX,
Sec'y-Treas.

The time has passed when we used to get excited over the formation of a new I. W. W. branch or the gaining of a dozen new members. Such Branches are now being formed every day, and members are coming in by the thousands every month, and we just take it as the most natural thing in the world. There is nothing in being excited anyhow.

There is no better way of reaching your fellow workers with the idea of industrial unionism than by getting him to read The O. B. U. Monthly. See that he reads it!

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

July 1 to July 31, 1919

BULLETIN NO. 4

August 1, 1919

The July report shows that Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300 is holding its own through the summer season. The coming winter ought to be a winter of unprecedented growth. There is every indication that No. 300 is on the threshold of a big increase of members. In the meanwhile, the big drive is being prepared.

Three organizers are now in the field, working directly out of the No. 300 office. A district delegate system is being inaugurated.

Fellow Worker Mike Chik is handling the general organization work among the Hungarian workers. He has visited three branches and installed the delegate system. Our greatest membership is in the Hungarian Branches. Chik is co-ordinating these branches for the big fall drive.

Fellow Worker Leon E. Shuff is opening up new territory in the Middle West. He is now organizing a new branch in a large automobile city.

Fellow Worker Jack Friedrich is handling the Eastern branches. There are several defunct branches in the New York district: Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, New Brunswick and Trenton. All these branches are to be revived and placed on a solvent basis.

At present, three of our No. 300 Branches are entering the stage of job organization. In New York shop meetings are being held and results are increasing. A group of workers in a musical instrument factory joined No. 300 last week. Demands were drawn up and presented to the company.

- 1.—For a 30% increase in wages.
- 2.—Time and a half for overtime.
- 3.—Double time for Sundays and holidays, including May 1st.
- 4.—That wages be paid in cash every Saturday.
- 5.—That a fellow worker who had been discharged be restored to work.

The company was given five hours to grant these demands. And it granted them—the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th completely—the 1st, with a compromise of 25% increase for workers receiving less than \$25.00 a week; 15% increase for workers receiving more than \$25.00 a week.

Thus No. 300 has won its first strike in New York. An I. W. W. shop committee was elected and only paid-up members of No. 300 will be permitted on the job. Further shop organization is in progress in the "Big Town".

In Detroit, No. 300 conducted a short strike at the Great Lake Engineering Works (ship yards). Although the strike was not successful, over fifty strikers were lined up and a Detroit Branch of Ship-builders' I. U. No. 325 was chartered. A successful shop-meeting was held among the employees of another Detroit machine shop. A No. 300 group was formed and job delegates were credentialed.

In Chicago, No. 300 is carrying on a campaign in several shops. The chandelier workers are being fast lined up, shop by shop, and a drive will be made in the fall for a 100% organization. Two shop meetings have been held for two large machine shops and many new job delegates have been credentialed.

The Cleveland branch is holding its own. Although the Cleveland hall is closed, the job delegate system is keeping the 'Finks' guessing. Last week, twenty-four new job delegates were credentialed.

Three new branches have been chartered this month, Brooklyn, N. Y., Lackawanna, N. Y., and the Ukrainian Branch of Newark, N. J. Four more branches are being organized.

Good results have come to No. 300 in the past. Let us resolve to make them bigger. Altogether now, for the fall drive. Let our slogan be: "A thousand new members for No. 300."

The Chicago Branch at its meeting, July 25th, requested the Secretary-Treasurer to transmit the following motion to the branches.

That an auditing committee be elected by the Chicago Branch and that this auditing committee be empowered to audit the books of the General Secretary-Treasurer, monthly.

The motion was passed owing to the fact that the Organization Committee meets only at six month intervals. It was felt that the experience with the former Secretary-Treasurer might have been avoided, had such a rule been in force.

The branches are requested to act promptly upon this motion.

The Cleveland Defense has been taken over by the No. 300 General Office. Relief of \$40.00 a week must be raised. In order that none of our organization funds need be directed to this relief purpose, the members are asked to donate to the No. 300 Defense Funds. Donation lists are out and have been circulated among the branches.

Don't forget the No. 300 Voluntary Assessment Stamps. With organizers in the field, we need a big increase of funds to defray our costs. No. 300 has mighty opportunities. Lack of finances may cripple us, if we do not wake up. Let every No. 300 member put an Assessment Stamp in his book. We'll get the results—we appeal to you to raise the expense.

Harold L. Varney,
Sec'y-Treas., No. 300.

With a craft union system of organization you may be able to stop production by going on strike, provided all the craft unions in the shop stick together. But the craft union is no good for taking over industry or carrying on production or distribution. To do that requires an industrial union comprising all the workers in the shop.

**METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS
I. U. No. 300**

July 1 to July 31, 1919

July		
1,	Brought forward from June 30.....	\$ 507.12
	Martti Lember, report	5.40
2,	Rona De Guerre, report	7.25
	Max R. Vollmer, report	5.00
	Max R. Vollmer, report	5.00
3,	Henry Van Dorn, report	20.00
	V. Kongo, report	3.00
	John Bulik, report	16.85
	Gust Litavsky, report	5.26
	Enst Litavsky, report	52.50
5,	Peo Monoldi, report	1.00
	Joseph Soos, report	5.00
7,	Oliver Lowder, report	4.00
	Office Report, report	1.50
	Check issued 2-19 to industrial Worker not deposited	1.50
8,	John Edenstrom, report	50.00
	A. Papoff, duplicate card .....	.25
	Thomas Whitehead, leaflets	6.00
9,	Rona De Guerre, report	3.00
	A. J. Nemeth, report	11.30
	Joe Brencich, report	10.50
	Martin Kalman, report	4.00
11,	Mat. K. Fox, No. 400, report	1.75
	W. W. White, No. 573, report	2.25
12,	V. Kongo, report	6.50
	J. H. Long, report	1.50
14,	Frank Honey, report	4.00
15,	Edward Yerke, report	1.00
	Gust. Litavsky, report	31.50
	Gust. Litavsky, report	16.80
	Octave Bartson, report	50.00
17,	A. K. Church, report	6.75
	Martin Stefanko, report	8.00
	Louis Levin, leaflets	3.00
18,	Gust Litavsky, relief donation	100.00
	Bert Lewis, No. 573, report	1.50
19,	John Malinovsky, report	9.75
	John Malinovsky, report	3.50
	John Edenstrom, report	25.00
	John Edenstrom, report	10.30
21,	Oliver Lowder, report	5.00
	A. J. Nemeth, report	21.25
22,	John Cullar, report	2.00
23,	Leon E. Shuff, report	5.50
	Jack Friedrich, report	6.00
	Jacob Israel, duplicate card .....	.25
	Adolph Ohlson, No. 1100, Charter fee	10.00
24,	E. Holman, No. 1100, report	1.25
	Al. Holger, report	12.00
25,	Chas. G. Fuller, report	2.50
26,	Rona De Guerre, report	5.50
	Andrew Newman, Relief donation	40.00
27,	M. Jordan, report	5.00
	Office report	2.50
	H. L. Varney, advanced	8.00
	Gust Litavsky, report	18.34
28,	John Mathews, literature	2.70
	Joseph Soos, report	1.00
	John Edenstrom, report	25.00
30,	E. D. Rumbaugh, report	1.50
	Jacob Israel, report .....	.25
	Peter Nagorny, report	14.00
	Jack Friedrich, report	6.00

\$1,204.07

CASH EXPENDITURES:

July		
2,	Horder's Stat. Store, Stat. ....	.40
	O. B. U. Monthly, Lit .....	.15
3,	New Solidarity, Subs.	34.00
5,	Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages	21.00
	Irving Freeman, Office, Wages	28.00
	Western Union Tel. Co., Wire	2.22
	P. O. Stat., Postage .....	.30

7,	Western Union Tel. Co., Wire	1.64
	H. L. Varney, Organizer, Mileage and Advance on Wages.....	35.00
	M. Chik, Organizer, Mileage, and Ad- vance on Wages	10.00
	J. Friedrich, Organizer, Mileage and Advance on Wages	10.00
	M. K. Fox, Stat.	25.00
	E. R. Thomas, Advance	28.00
8,	P. O. Stat., Postage	2.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Mileage	8.00
	P. O. Stat., Money Order .....	.08
	Western Union Tel. Co., Wire .....	.64
	Western Union Tel. Co., Wire	1.00
15,	Deficit Charged to E. R. Thomas	142.62
	M. Chik, organizer, Wages	12.00
	M. Chik, Organizer, Mileage	9.00
	J. Friedrich, Organizer, Wages	27.00
	J. Friedrich, Organizer, Mileage	30.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Wages	16.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Mileage	7.58
	H. L. Varney, Office, Wages	23.00
10,	Western Union Tel. Co., Wire	2.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Wages	4.00
12,	Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages	21.00
	Irving Freeman, Office, Wages	28.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Wages	4.00
	Inter. Print and Typeset. Co., Printing	15.60
18,	A. Newman, Relief Donation	60.00
	Horder's Stat. Store, Stat.	2.50
19,	Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages	21.00
	Postage	1.30
	Express .....	.44
	O. B. U. Monthly, Acc't of Glenn Fortney .....	.50
	Elmer Rumbaugh-Organizer, Mileage	3.40
	Mrs. S. Fromherc, relief	10.00
	Mrs. Timar, Relief	10.00
	Mrs. K. Pentek, Relief	10.00
	Mrs. Dan Radics, Relief	10.00
	Irving Freeman, Office, Wages	21.00
21,	Andrew Newman, Change on overpaid check	3.75
	Thomas Whitehead, Charter fee	10.00
22,	H. L. Varney, Office, Wages	28.00
	Postage .....	.40
	Thomas Whitehead, Bail Advanced for Rumbaugh	25.00
	Am. Express Co., Express .....	.72
	E. D. Rumbaugh, On acc't Wages	1.50
	Office Expense, Carefare .....	.10
23,	Thomas Whitehead, Charter fee	10.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Wages	28.00
	Leon E. Shuff, Organizer, Mileage	2.00
	Jack Friedrich, Organizer, Wages	28.00
	Cash—Petty Office, Expense	2.00
24,	M. Chik, Organizer, Wages	28.00
	M. Chik, Organizer, Mileage	4.26
	Cash, Postage .....	.25
25,	Golos Truzenika, Sub. ....	.50
	Inter. Print and Type. Co., Printing	39.25

Forward.....\$ 911.17

CASH RECEIPTS

	Brought forward	\$ 1204.07
31,	Vaino Kongo, report.....	3.65
	Leon E. Shuff, report	2.50
	Office report	16.63

Total \$ 1226.85

CASH EXPENDITURES

	Brought forward	\$ 911.17
26,	La Nueva Solidaridad, Subs.....	.75
	Helen Bowlen, Office, Wages.....	21.00
	Mrs. Fromerc, Relief.....	10.00
	Mrs. Timar, Relief.....	10.00
	Mrs. K. Pentek, Relief.....	10.00

Mrs. Dan Radic, Relief.....	10.00
E. D. Rambaugh, On Acct., Wages.....	10.00
28, Cash—petty office expense.....	2.00
30, H. L. Varney—Office, Wages.....	28.00
28, H. L. Varney, Refund.....	8.00
The Industrial Worker, Sub.....	.50
30, Postage in exchange.....	.25
A. Chik, Organizer, Wages and Mil.....	29.00
J. Friedrich, Organizer, Wages & Mil.....	35.06
E. D. Rambaugh, Organizer, Wages.....	5.90
31, Leon E. Shuff, Org. Wages and Mil.....	30.00

Total \$ 1121.63

TOTAL RECEIPTS

Initiations, 209	\$ 418.00
Due Stamps, 1144	572.00
General Organization Stamps.....	15.00
Class War Relief Stamps.....	1.00
Buttons	8.75
Literature	58.49
Credit Br. Sec'y and Br. Del.....	165.62
Donations	29.13
Donations to Cleveland Defense.....	140.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300 Stamps.....	23.00
General Defense	2.00
Hall Rent	3.00
Refunds on overpaid checks.....	11.75
Refunds	3.50
Duplicate cards	2.50
Card Cases	1.50
Returns from picnic	6.70
Charter fee	10.00
Check to Industrial Worker, not cashed....	1.50
Col. from str. meeting for north side hall	13.33

Total \$ 1486.77

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

General Office, per capita.....	\$ 30.00
General Office, Supplies.....	4.30
General Office, Charter fees.....	20.00
General Office, Literature.....	11.10
General Office, Subs.....	42.50
Br. Sec'y and Br. Del. Wages.....	482.40
Br. Sec'y and Br. Del., Mileage.....	161.42
On Account supplies.....	50.25
Held on hand by Br. Sec'y.....	280.87
Adver.	1.50
Advanced	28.00
Cash bail	25.00
Repayment to R. Reekstein.....	5.00
Repayment to E. Vespremyec.....	5.00
Main Office Wages.....	240.00
Rent, heat and light.....	206.35
Stat. and fixtures	43.12
Postage	28.41
Printing	66.85
Cleveland Donation	140.00
Refunded on overpaid checks.....	11.75
Cash—petty office expenses.....	4.25
Misc. ....	.40

Total \$ 1888.67

Total cash receipts \$1226.85

Total cash expenditures 1121.63

Cash on hand \$ 105.22

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

August 4, 1919

Bulletin No. 47

Branch secretaries and delegates are urged to push the sale of defense stamps. The appeal for the Chicago case, the Kansasac cases and Criminal Syndicalism cases in California and Washington will all have to be defended and all these will take funds. It has been stated that the treasury of the I. W. W. is in the pockets of the workers. The members in the various jails throughout the country are in for being class conscious workers. They are there for daring to express their views of the existing conditions of the workers and making determined efforts to change them. They look to us on the outside for help. Shall we fail them?

We sent out an appeal several weeks ago for donations for a day's pay from construction workers. To date we have no response to this. Fellow workers this is serious. Money must be raised to carry on these cases. Shall the men in the jails say that we have forgotten them. Donate, sell defense stamps, and take up collections.

Reports coming from construction workers throughout the country show that only a small percentage of the workers are organized. Where this is true we know that the conditions will not be the best, as the boss will not make conditions until forced to by the organized power of the worker.

This shows the imperative need of all members who are eligible to carry credentials and line up the workers on the job. This is where the real organization should be for workers to better their own conditions.

We again urge that members get credentials and that branch secretaries show to members the necessity of taking out supplies. The job delegate is the main spring of the organization.

We received several communications this week from members on the job asking that a delegate be sent to a camp. What is the matter Fellow Workers of writing in for credentials? We cannot tell job delegates where to go it is up to you yourself to get supplies.

The financial report for the month of July shows 620 new initiations, out of this about 500 comes from the west coast. There is no reason why this cannot be done in the middle-west and eastern country as reports show plenty of construction work.

Delegates and members who can use a bundle order of any of the I. W. W. papers are urged to write this office for the same, get the unorganized worker to read our papers and literature that he may get first hand information concerning the I. W. W.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT C. W. I. U. No. 573,
I. W. W., July, 1919**

RECEIPTS

Personal Deposits	\$ 5.00
Initiations	1,240.00
Dues	2,465.00
Assessments, Org. Stamps.....	444.00
Jail Relief Stamps	354.00
General Defense Stamps	218.50
Calif. Defense List No. 1.....	17.25
Gen. Def. List No. 126937.....	17.50
Defense	11.00
Buttons and Pins.....	75.25
Literature	312.44
Money remitted on Account Dist. Branch Secretaries and Delegates.....	2,491.83
Card Cases	85.00
Money refunded	50.50
Charter, Boston Branch.....	10.00
N. Y. reports confiscated by authorities.....	30.00
W. W. White rep. not entered of June.....	46.74
W. W. White, Donation.....	12.92
Hall collection Seattle Branch.....	8.10
S. B. I. U. index cards.....	8.75
Strike victims defense.....	9.00
R. R. Magazine Stamps.....	5.00
Comm. on Initiations, J. Weight.....	1.00
Duplicate cards	11.25
Pennants .....	.50
Business for other Industrial Unions	
I. U. No. 500, Initiations.....	2.00
I. U. No. 500, Dues.....	147.00
I. U. No. 400, Initiations.....	36.00
I. U. No. 400, Dues.....	74.00
I. U. No. 300, Initiations.....	6.00
I. U. No. 300, Dues.....	11.00
I. U. No. 800, Initiations.....	2.00
I. U. No. 800, Dues.....	9.00
I. U. No. 1,100, Initiations.....	2.00
I. U. No. 1,100, Dues.....	8.00
G. R. U. Initiations.....	2.00
G. R. U. Dues.....	8.50
I. U. No. 600, Initiations.....	2.00
I. U. No. 600, Dues.....	5.50
I. U. No. 700, Dues.....	15.00

I. U. No. 100, Dues.....	1.50
I. U. No. 1,000, Dues.....	1.00
P. S. W. Dues.....	5.00
I. U. No. 325.....	1.00

Grand Total \$8,269.03

EXPENDITURES

Personal Deposits	\$ 5.00
Thos. Whitehead, per capita.....	130.00
Thos. Whitehead, supplies.....	563.75
Literature	321.20
Wages and Comm. Br. Sec'y's and Del.....	1,515.73
Mileage	425.80
Allowance other I. U. supplies.....	92.00
Charge cash acct. other I. U.'s.....	127.50
Money held on acct. Dist. Br. and Del.....	2,540.45
Main office wages.....	321.00
Rent, Light, Heat and etc.....	242.38
Stationary and Fixtures.....	130.43
Postage, Wires and Express.....	115.54
Relief from Milw. Br. collection.....	3.50
Jail stamps	4.50
Calif. Def. List.....	17.25
Advance Sec'y and G.O.C. by Seattle Dist.....	400.0
Adv. Bail & Bond Comm., Seattle Dist.....	50.00
Seattle C. E. C.....	59.32
Seattle C. E. C.....	15.00
Adv. on acct. L. Gross, D. O. C.....	10.00
Adv. on acct. J. Kennedy, D. O. C.....	10.00
Portland branch to Wm. Ford.....	10.00
Moving expenses Milw. Branch.....	5.00
Seattle Hall Collections Federated Unions.....	8.10

Total Expenditures \$7,123.45

RECAPITULATION

Receipts for July.....	\$ 8,269.03
Cash on hand July 1.....	3,066.52
Grand Total \$11,335.55	
Disbursements for July.....	\$ 7,123.45
Cash on Hand Aug. 1.....	\$ 4,212.10

Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 8, I. W. W.

For month of July, 1919

July

RECEIPTS

1, M. T. W. Org. Funds List 1 and 2.....	\$ 12.40
5, New York Branch Org. Stamps.....	5.00
New York Branch, Spanish Leaflets.....	15.00
7, M. T. W. Org. Fund, List 3.....	1.85
8, W. H. Kopping, Portland, Ore., Lit.....	2.50
9, M. T. W. Org. Fund, List 4 and 5.....	5.65
Delegate 51-B.....	5.50
New York Branch, Spanish Paper.....	10.25
N. Y. Branch, Assessment Stamps.....	5.50
N. Y. Branch, M.T.W. Org. Fund.....	3.00
10, Delegate 123.....	13.50
11, Philadelphia District, Acct. Supplies.....	36.00
N. Y. Branch, Swedish Paper.....	15.00
12, A. J. Meherin, Seattle.....	50.00
14, Wm. Hoglund, Don. Lit. Fund.....	34.50
N. Y. Branch, Spanish Paper.....	16.00
Clyde Smith, Toledo.....	2.75
M.T.W. Org. Fund, List 6.....	5.00
15, Delegate 126.....	5.00
17, Leonard Phillips, Superior.....	4.00
W. H. Koppings, Portland, Ore.....	25.00
18, General Recruiting Union.....	6.25
Delegate 137.....	3.50
H. Shuster, Duplicate Card.....	.25
19, Delegate 50-B.....	1.25

M.T.W. Org. Fund, List 7.....	14.10
20, M.T.W. Org. Fund, List 8.....	16.00
21, T. S. Wetter, Baltimore, Supplies.....	2.00
C.W.I.U. 573, Acct. Dues collected.....	2.25
M.T.W. Org. Fund, List 9-10-11.....	10.75
Delegate 137.....	12.00
23, New York Branch, On Acct.....	25.00
New York Branch, Supplies.....	6.75
New York Branch, Spanish Paper.....	5.00
New York Branch, Assessments.....	3.00
24, J. Rudensky, Paterson, Don. Lit. Fund.....	5.00
26, Delegate 122.....	2.14
28, Thos. Whitehead, Dues, G.R.U.....	3.50
Philadelphia District, Due Stamps.....	500.00
29, Gus. Kangas, Duluth.....	20.50
30, M.T.W. Org. Fund, List 12.....	3.00
31, Delegate 137.....	5.50

Total Receipts for July \$916.64

July

EXPENDITURES

1, Postage Stamps.....	\$ 2.00
5, T. Whitehead, Spanish Leaflets.....	18.75
T. Whitehead, Assessment Stamps.....	5.00
7, Graphic Press, Stickerettes.....	58.00
8, Postage Stamps.....	2.00

9, T. Whitehead, Spanish Paper.....	10.25
T. Whitehead, Assessment Stamps.....	5.50
11, Nya Varlden	15.79
12, J. Scott, Wages.....	28.00
T. Whitehead, Supplies.....	8.45
14, Postage Stamps.....	2.00
T. Whitehead, Re-org. Adv., Refunded.....	15.21
La Nueva Solidaridad.....	16.00
16, Telegram, Boston.....	.61
18, Postage Stamps.....	2.00
Thos. Whitehead, Supplies.....	6.25
19, Unions Stationary Co., Office Supplies.....	4.00
J. Scott, Wages.....	28.00
23, Rebel Worker, Cut for paper.....	3.45
Postage Stamps.....	3.00
26, T. Whitehead, Per-Capita.....	45.00
T. Whitehead, Supplies.....	19.00
T. Whitehead, Assessment Stamps.....	9.00
26, J. Scott, Wages.....	28.00
28, Postage Stamps.....	2.00
T. Whitehead, Per-Capita.....	250.00
29, Express Package from Chicago.....	1.71
30, T. Whitehead, Italian Leaflet.....	13.75
Drayage, moving new quarters.....	5.00
Graphic Press, Ballots.....	10.00
Graphic Press, Bill Heads.....	2.25
Registered letters as per vouchers.....	.60
31, Styvesant Press, Rubber Stamp.....	.55
Rental P. O. Box.....	2.70

Total Expenditures for July.....\$623.82

Receipts\$916.64
Expenditures 623.82

Balance\$292.82
On hand July 1st, 1919..... 75.21

On hand August 1st, 1919.....\$368.03

On account of the various branches having failed to report we are unable to give a general report of the M. T. W. I. U. No. 8. The above report is a report on the receipts of the main office only.

As the re-organization is now entirely completed we should be able to report next month on the number of due stamps sold and the number of new members initiated.

The following resolution has been turned in by Portland, Ore.:

Resolution by Columbia River District.

Resolved, That the Columbia River District favors an International Congress and be it further resolved that a date and place be fixed at an early date, and be it further resolved that all branches be notified and asked to take action on this resolution.

(Signed)

J. B. Hopkins, 255964 Ole Peterson, 345452
Louis Schaffman, 296534 Emil Hoff, 437249
W. H. Koppings, 316339 A. R. Minning, 434469

The Seattle Branch passed the following motion: That the M. T. W. I. U. issue a Special Assessment Stamp for the purpose of raising funds for the publication of an M. T. W. Magazine.

This stamp is to be a voluntary assessment stamp. Members and delegates passing through Milwaukee should get in touch with John Stephens, 221 Wells St., Milwaukee, Wis.

All mail and communications to the M. T. W. Main Office should be addressed as follows:

JAMES SCOTT,

Box 69, Station D.,

New York, N. Y.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

JAMES SCOTT,

Acting Sec'y-Treas.

Do not forget to send in your material for the M. T. W. Pamphlet.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers I. U. No. 1100, I. W. W.

Financial Statement—Month of July, 1919

RECEIPTS:

Initiations	\$ 191.00
Due Stamps	280.00
Relief Stamps	2.00
Defense Stamps	3.00
Organization Stamps	7.00
Buttons	8.00
Literature	44.55
Credit acc't of Cash Balance	102.49
Collection and Donations	28.50

Total Receipts from July 1-31.....\$ 666.54
Brought forward from June 30..... 293.97

Total Expenditures from July 1-31\$ 960.51
Cash on hand July 31 711.61

248.90

\$ 960.51

Ernest Holmen,
Sec'y.-Treas. No.1100.

EXPENDITURES:

Gen. Headquarter, Per Capita	\$ 21.50
Gen. Headquarter, Supplies	121.00
Subscriptions	1.60
Literature	1.00
Printing, Leaflets, etc.	57.75
Wages, Branch Sec., Organizers and Delegates	175.25
Mileage	22.70
On hand of branches and Delegates	43.65
Rent, Light, Heat	41.85
Sationery and Fixtures	11.63
Postage, Express and Wires	65.18
Main Office, Salaries	78.50
Business done by other Unions, allowance	70.00

Total.....\$ 711.61

Recent news from Greece informs us that there are numerous strikes on in that country. The One Big Union is making good headway and all labor organizations in that country have for their object to abolish capitalism.

From Bulgaria comes the news that the Syndicalist movement is gaining in strength. They are publishing a syndicalist paper called "Workers Thought" in Sofia. They are ordering a monthly supply of the I. W. W. paper "Probuda" in Bulgarian and say they think 1000 copies of each issue can be disposed of.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600, I. W. W.

Bulletin for July

Fellow Workers:

Business is picking up with No. 600, over 100 new members taken in during July. Let us all put our shoulder to the wheel and double it for this month. The railroad workers in many parts of the country are openly declaring themselves as being in favor of the O. B. U. and we are receiving daily requests to send organizers to different parts of the country, but have none to send; each member should write for credentials and supplies and become a voluntary organizer and help to build up the O. B. U. in your vicinity. Supplies can be secured from the I. W. W. branches, or by writing this office.

The new due stamps, also the new membership book, is out; delegates will be stocked up with them just as fast as we can get them from the General Headquarters. Owing to the fact that all the other industrial unions are in need of them, we can only get a small amount at a time. We have a good supply of the duplicate and continuation cards, in the new material. Owing to the cost of the new material the price of duplicates and continuation cards has been placed at 50 cents each. Same must be paid before the cards are sent out. When sending for duplicates or continuation cards, be sure and give as much of your record as possible, as our index files are not complete.

We are badly in need of good propoganda to help educate the workers on the railroads. If you have any articles, facts or figures about the conditions on the railroads, please send them to this office; also all job notes, whether good or bad. Be sure and give exact facts about the job.

The craft unions on the railroads had some heavy assessments in July. The B. of R. T. assessed the members \$3.75 each. Many of the members of the crafts are kicking, but kicking alone does no good. Action is what counts, fellow workers. If you are not satisfied with your conditions, the only way to change them is to organize into the O. B. U.; then when you become a member you can get organizer's credentials and supplies and go out and organize the others who are working along side of you.

In many places the railroad slaves are kicking against the H. C. of L. But just kicking will not help matters any. The best way to meet the H. C. of L. is to organize and raise the wages to meet it. If the H. C. of L. raises more, then raise the wages again.

The railroad men in South Dakota favor the red card, will not recognize any other on their trains; but very few have the red card themselves. Woe unto the man riding their trains without the red card. They are in favor of the O. B. U. but seem to want some one else to do the work for them. This is a good field for live delegates.

Several very successful meetings have been held for railroad workers in Colorado in the last few

weeks. We have three good organizers on the job. The slaves are ripe for the O. B. U. in Colorado. This is a fine field for live delegates.

In the last bulletin we mentioned the fact that thousands of dollars is needed to give the members now held in jail, some waiting trial, others asking for an appeal of their case. Three have been released from Leavenworth in the last two weeks; they are as follows: Fellow Worker Haywood, Francis Miller and Ralph Chaplin. Fellow Worker Wm. D. Haywood has been placed in charge of the defense as secretary. All communications should be addressed to him pertaining to defense work. Defense funds should be made payable to Thos. Whitehead. We have received no returns from the appeal for a day's pay from the members for the general defense. If you can not donate a day's pay, then send what you can afford; also take up collections, subscription lists and all other means to raise funds for the defense.

Several of the members have been held in jail for nearly two years without a trial; these fellow workers can be released for a small amount of bail. Two of the members in Leavenworth, whose cases are being appealed, are in very poor health. These members should be gotten out on bail as soon as possible as they are slowly dying. Four others in Leavenworth are in permanent isolation and should be bailed out as soon as possible. Information dealing with bail and bond matters should be addressed to William D. Haywood, or to this office.

Do not forget that every railroad magazine stamp that you place in your book is a boost to organization work on the railroads. They sell at 50 cents each. Same can be secured from delegates or by writing this office. Just had a new supply printed. Send for supply today.

RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION

No. 600.

July Report.

SUMMARY RECEIPTS

Personal Deposits	\$ 2.00
108 Initiations	216.00
Due stamps	248.50
Relief stamps C. W.	6.00
Organization stamps	7.00
Defense stamps	2.50
Defense donations	9.00
Strike victims' defense	2.00
R. R. Mag. stamps	34.50
Buttons and duplicate cards	3.60
Literature	18.10
Papers, B. O.	7.68
Donation to No. 600, org. expenses.....	50.00
O. B. U. Monthly, B. O.	12.50
Credit Gen. Hdqts. for funds held on hand for No. 600, from Sept. 1, 1917.....	317.75
Credit Del. & Br. Secretaries	171.41
Credit Ind. Unions	4.75
Total Summary Receipts	\$1,113.19

SUMMARY EXPENDITURES	
G. O. Supplies	\$169.01
Papers and Magazines, B. O.	56.43
Branch, and delegates wages	243.62
Commission to delegates	16.60
Mileage	48.22
Main office wages	102.00
Rent, Heat and Light	26.75
Stationery and Fixtures	7.15
Postage, Express and Wires	39.38
Printing	17.70
Charges, Del. accounts	124.41
Charges, Ind. Unions, accounts	29.25
Allowance, Ind. Unions, supplies	39.50
G. O. account Balance of loan	148.74
Total Summary Disbursements	\$1,068.76

RECAPITULATION	
Total Receipts	\$1,113.19
Cash on Hand July 1	207.07
Grand Total Receipts	\$1,320.26
Total Expenditures	1,068.76
Balance cash on hand Aug. 1, 1919	\$251.50
Yours for the O. B. U.,	
C. N. OGDEN,	
Secretary-Treasurer R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.	

Shipbuilding Workers' Industrial Union No. 325, I. W. W.

Financial Statement From July 1 to August 1, 1919

		Cash Receipts	
C. S.	Delegate	75	\$13.50
R. G. G.	"	75	5.00
J. C. E.	"	76	5.00
T. P. Mc.	"	81	10.00
E. J. W.	"	90	75.50
E. J. T.	"	91	53.00
A. R. Mc.	"	106	6.00
A. E. A.	"	113	2.00
H. W.	"	114	34.00
A. P. S.	"	115	18.00
W. F. M.	"	119	86.75
J. K.	"	121	11.50
J. S.	"	122	57.50
P. M.	"	124	3.00
F. A. L.	"	125	12.00
A. C. G.	"	126	51.00
J. H.	"	167	45.75
A. E.	"	173	3.00
M. D.	"	175	23.00
F. F.	"	176	26.75
C. N.	"	177	13.50
C. A. M.	"	178	32.00
J. H.	"	181	22.00
W. F. W.	"	183	2.00
J. V.	"	185	2.25
J. B.	"	186	9.50
R. J.	"	187	6.00
J. K.	"	189	2.50
R. S.	"	194	47.00
H. McC.	"	195	2.50
G. E. C.	"	197	12.50
J. B.	"	198	247.15
L. J.	"	200	8.50
C. N.	"	201	1.00
L. P.	"	203	7.50
J. W. E.	"	218	7.50
L. E. S.	"	219	5.50
F. M.	"	239	11.85
L. W. I. U. No. 500			1.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573			1.25
A. P. 1557			8.40
G. R. U.			10.25
F. H. Card No. 191418			40.00
Picnic proceeds			46.30
Picnic committee			26.50
Raffle proceeds			65.00
G. R. U. supplies			95.25
G. R. U. pro-rata			118.09
Total			\$1,394.64
		Cash expenditures	
Rent of office, July			\$20.00
Stationery and fixtures			13.15
Donation to Industrial Worker			50.00

Ad in Union Record	15.60
Postage and express	19.38
Stationery del. wages, June 29 to July 26	108.00
Ser'y wages, June 29 to July 26	96.00
Clerk wages, June 29 to July 26	80.00
Auditing committee wages	12.00
Donated to Chicago Defense	246.30
Thos. Whitehead for supplies	48.85
Raffle Tickets, Form No. 90 Voc. report to Del. No. 198	6.25
Storage room rent	6.50
C. P. C. pro-rata expenses	133.20
C. P. C. literature	4.20
Publicity comm. expenses	4.20
Advanced Bail committee	150.00
Local Printing Co.	215.65
Del. No. 125, wages for getting out Bulletin	16.00
Open-air meeting expenses	3.00
From Report Del. 120 Voc. 364	16.00
Typewriter rent	5.00
Adv. Del. 194, organizing expenses	40.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800	10.25
L. W. I. U. No. 500	5.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573	9.25
G. R. U.	2.00
Remitted to Thos. Whitehead	365.80
Remitted to Dist. Defense	92.00
Total	\$1,794.08

Recapitulation	
Total cash receipts	\$1,394.64
Cash on hand, July 1	483.70
Total	\$1,878.34
Cash expenditures	1,794.08
Cash on hand, August 1	\$ 84.26

Gross Receipts	
213 init. (2 A. F. of L. cards)	\$422.00
1,199 Due stamps	599.50
C. W. P. relief stamps	117.00
General Organization stamps	76.00
General Defense stamps	32.00
General Strike Vict. stamps	18.00
Buttons	33.25
Literature	9.50
Raffle tickets on report	6.25
Duplicate cards	1.75
Proceeds of picnic	46.30
From picnic committee	25.60
Raffle proceeds	65.00
G. R. U. pro-rata expenses	118.09
Total	\$1,570.24

Gross Expenditures

Supplies Headquarters	\$234.80
Per-capita Headquarters	179.85
Literature	4.20
Del. comm. and wages	133.26
On acc't cash balance	92.74
Main office wages	176.00
Stationery and fixtures	16.50
Rent, etc.	20.00
Postage and express	21.63
Donation to Industrial Worker	50.00
Al in Union Record	15.60
Stationery Del. wages	108.00
Auditing committee wages	12.00
Donation Chicago defense	246.30
Del. No. 198, Raffle tickets	6.25
Storage room	6.50
C. P. C. pro-rata expenses	133.20
Advanced Bail committee	150.00

ocal printing company	215.65
F. A. L. No. 125 wages for getting out Bulletin	16.00
Pro-rata to Publiciyt committee	4.20
Open-air meeting expenses	3.00
Typewriter rent	5.00
Supplies sold for other I. U.'s	27.00
Remitted to dist. defense	92.00
Total	\$1,969.68
Gross receipts	1,570.24
Cash on hand, July 1	483.70
Grand total	\$2,053.94
Total expenditures	1,969.68
Cash on hand, August 1	\$ 84.26

Thos. McKinley,
Sec'y-Treas. S. B. I. U. No. 325.

Industrial Workers of the World

General Office Bulletin

Fellow Workers: Aug. 9, 1919.
The Ballot committee report the results of the general referendum as follows:
For General Secretary-Treasurer—Thos. Whitehead.

Editor New Solidarity—Ben. H. Williams.
Editor, One Big Union Monthly—John Sandgren.
General Executive Board Members—George Bradley, George Speed, John Jackson, Henry Bradley, Fred Nelson, W. J. Lemon, James King.

All amendments carried by a large majority, as well as the resolution in favor of continuing legal defense.

The new Goss printing press is now set up and waiting only for the set of rolls which should be delivered within the week. New Solidarity, when printed on this press, will be larger, containing seven columns instead of six, making the addition of reading matter about equal to an extra page.

The first issue of the German paper is expected to be out Aug. 16. All orders should be addressed to the German Press Committee, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

The Ukrainian branch of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300 have published the One Big Union pamphlet in this language. For single copies and bundle orders address Sauka, 178 W. Kiney street, Newark, New Jersey.

R. J. Bobba is released on \$3,000 bond. Pietro Pierre is still confined at Topeka, and is said to be failing fast.

The International Revolutionary Syndicalist Congress meets at Amsterdam, Holland, Aug. 5 to 10, 1919, to whom we have sent the following telegram:

B. Linsink, Jr., Aug. 2, 1919.
N. A. S. Bloemgracht, 134,
Amsterdam, Holland.

Industrial Workers of the World extend greetings. Will earnestly support all class conscious action of congress.

Thos. Whitehead, Secretary-Treasurer.
The organization is showing great signs of ac-

tivity. Naturally, the greatest drive is in the agricultural industry. During the month of July, 1,320 new members were initiated, which will be doubled or trebled during both August and September. During the months of June and July eighteen industrial union branch charters were issued. They are as follows: 2 to No. 46; 4 to No. 300; 1 to No. 573; 6 to No. 800; 2 to No. 1,000; 2 to No. 1,100, and 1 to No. 1,500. On with the good work!

Fellow Worker Haywood is looking after the publicity work of the defense. Re-organization of Defense Committee is under way. All local defense committees should send in regular reports of their activities so that co-operation is possible by all these groups functioning in this capacity.

Arrangements with the clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals were made as to the printing of the bill of exceptions so as to safeguard the interests of the non-citizens by depositing \$2,000, and as the printing proceeds, he will notify us to deposit more money on account until completed.

Attorney Christensen writes from San Francisco that nearly all the important problems in connection with the appeal of the Sacramento cases have been satisfactorily cleared up. There are two formal matters which will be required to submit to the attention of the full court, which sits Monday, Aug. 4.

The Seattle Bail and Bond Committee is meeting with great success in collecting Liberty bonds, War Savings stamps and cash. This example should be followed by every center of activity throughout the country. Remember, every one of our class-war prisoners under indictment should have a chance to be out of jail pending appeal.

Industrial conditions all over the country makes the present the most favorable opportunity to present to the workers the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism. The industrial unrest is rapidly awakening the workers to realize their position in society. We must measure up to the occasion by spreading literature and our papers in all languages with greater persistence than ever before. Funds are urgently needed for the many legal cases

we must defend. Also to get out the needed literature to meet the ever-increasing demands.

Let every member get busy—get credentials and supplies from the secretaries of the industrial unions you belong to and build up the industrial union branch in your vicinity. Remember, the job delegate is the backbone of our organization.

Yours for industrial solidarity,
Thos. Whitehead, General Secretary-Treasurer.

Cash and Liberty Bonds

On hand at Headquarters to be used as bail for Leavenworth men:		
J. T. Doran, bonds.....	\$100.00	\$100.00
Ragnar Johanson, bonds.....	\$100.00	\$100.00
Jack Law, bonds.....	\$1,350.00	
Jack Law, cash.....	970.00	\$2,320.00
J. I. Turner, bonds.....	\$50.00	
J. I. Turner, cash.....	410.00	\$460.00
George Hardy, cash.....	\$130.00	
Charles McKinnon, bonds.....	60.00	

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, I. W. W.

Financial Report.

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS

July, 1919.

Due Stamps	\$3,106.35	
Organization Supplies	2,603.40	
Assessment Stamps	1,721.00	
Literature	152.25	
Receipts from Publications.....	4,860.47	
Office Rent from Unions.....	100.00	
Refund on Office Expenses.....	14.78	
Miscellaneous receipts and cash discounts	5.51	
		\$12,563.76
Contributions:		
General Defense	\$3,081.97	
Relief	876.57	
Organization	4.25	
California Defense	25.00	
Defense for P. Pierre.....	73.00	
		4,060.79
Deposits:		
General Recruiting Union.....	\$1,367.36	
Joint Sec'y Workers' Hall.....	139.25	
Industrial Unions	34.43	
Personal Accounts	208.36	
For Bail Fund	1,864.50	
		3,613.90
Advance on Krieger Case returned.....	225.00	
Currency drawn to pay wage checks....	200.00	
Portland Delegate Council for R. R. W. Organization	50.00	
Total Receipts		\$20,715.45

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS

Wages	\$650.00
Stationery and Supplies	68.93
Parcel Post and Express.....	31.07
Postage	40.00
Repairs of machines	1.75
Light	22.49
Rent	250.00
Telegraph & Telephone	33.72
Towel and Time Service	4.50

Window Cleaning.....	4.00
Sweeping Compound	3.25
Water Coupons	8.50
Water Tax, 6 months to Nev. I	15.75
Bank Exchange	2.80
	\$ 1,136.76
Publications, wages, printing, etc.....	\$3,955.06
For literature, pamphlets and leaflets.....	169.45
Check for currency	200.00
Two weeks' wages, J. Scott, M. T. W. I. U.	48.00
To unions, on account deposits.....	25.75
On account personal accounts.....	65.32
Advance for organization.....	50.00
Remittance from Portland Del. Council to R. R. W.....	50.00
Advanced to attorneys, not yet charged to defense	3,182.24
Donation to P. Pierre turned over.....	73.00
Rail funds turned over.....	1,625.00
Office fixtures, 1 Monarch typewriter.....	30.00
Organization supplies	2,359.40
Check for press donation returned by bank Workers' Hall, Joint Secretary Work	2.00
Rent	\$ 100.00
Literature and bundle orders.....	12.50
Collections turned over to Industrial unions	49.00
Water tax	15.38
	\$176.88

Organization Expense

Tax on tickets for picnic for organization	\$ 12.00
M. Herrere, attending M. T. W. Conference	10.00
Allowance to A. Foglia, No. 46. for organization expenses.....	10.00
Cartoonists' wages, for all kinds of work.....	92.00
	\$124.00

General Defense Expense

Wages	\$ 62.95
Printing, 15,000 pledges.....	26.00
Dup. check to M. Miller for check cancelled	15.00
Fine for No. 500 member.....	12.50
Express on Liberty bonds.....	5.04
Installment on Chicago appeal	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	1.35
Check for defense returned by bank	5.00
Counsel fees and expenses.....	1,794.92
	\$3,922.76
Relief	946.42

General Recruiting Union

Wages	\$ 102.00
Initiations and dues	185.50
Assessments charged against deficit acct.....	81.00
Remittance for S. Martignon turned over	85.00
Bundle orders	250.45
	\$ 703.95

Total disbursements

	\$18,846.99
Recapitulation	
Cash on hand, July 1, 1919.....	\$ 5,861.70
Receipts for July, 1919.....	20,713.45
	\$26,575.15
Disbursements for July, 1919.....	18,846.99

Cash balance on hand, Aug. 1, 1919..... \$ 7,728.16

STATEMENT SHOWING CONDITION OF PUBLICATIONS Aug. 1, 1919

New Solidarity	
Deficit on June 1, 1919.....	\$2,686.24
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$189.00

Printing	458.00	
Cuts	24.58	
Express and postage....	74.37	
Office supplies	1.35	
Clippings, news service	17.52	
Acct. check dishonored ..	.25	
Prorata of sub blanks..	8.94	774.01

Receipts for July, 1919..... \$3,450.25
1,167.66

Deficit, August 1, 1919..... \$2,292.59

One Big Union Monthly

Deficit to July 1, 1919..... \$ 847.02

Expenditures:

Wages	\$174.00	
Printing	478.39	
Cuts and supplies	33.50	
Sub. turned over.....	2.45	
Appeals to subscribers	11.85	
Express and postage....	49.36	
Clipping service	7.51	
Checks dishonored	2.25	
Refund to Bulgarian paper for magazines	4.53	
Prorata of sub blanks..	12.48	776.32

Receipts for July, 1919..... \$1,623.34
708.61

Deficit, August 1, 1919..... \$ 914.73

Italian Paper

Deficit to July 1, 1919..... \$1,429.76

Expenditures:

Wages	\$100.00	
Printing	356.53	
Prorata of sub blanks..	5.20	461.73

Receipts for July, 1919..... \$1,891.49
254.90

Deficit, August 1, 1919..... \$1,636.59

Swedish Paper

Deficit on July 1, 1919..... \$1,114.50

Expenditures:

Wages	\$120.00	
Printing	310.97	
Express and postage	11.00	
Prorata of sub blanks..	3.12	445.00

Receipts for July, 1919..... \$1,559.59
347.59

Deficit, August 1, 1919..... \$1,212.00

Spanish Paper

Deficit on July 1, 1919..... \$1,214.54

Expenditures:

Wages	\$ 84.00	
Printing	129.70	
Cuts and supplies	3.16	
Prorata of sub blanks..	2.60	219.46

Receipts for July, 1919..... \$1,434.00
105.05

Deficit, August 1, 1917..... \$1,328.95

Hungarian Paper

Credit balance, July 1, 1919..... \$29.29

Prorata of sub blanks....	\$6.24	
Cuts	3.82	10.06

Credit balance, August 1, 1919..... \$19.22

Bulgarian Paper

Credit balance, July 1, 1919..... \$368.42

Receipts for July, 1919..... 655.42

Total

Expenditures:

Wages	\$112.00	
Printing	241.02	
Literature	143.10	
Office supplies	6.20	
Prorata of sub blanks..	2.08	

\$ 489.45

Balance

Jewish Paper

Credit balance, July 1, 1919..... \$ 22.07

Receipts for July..... 182.65

\$204.72

Expenditures:

Wages	\$63.00	
Printing	59.40	
Cuts	11.69	
Prorata of sub blanks..	2.60	\$136.00

Credit balance, August 1, 1919..... \$ 68.08

Russian

Credit balance, July 1, 1919..... \$ 92.00

Receipts for July, 1919..... 778.45

Total

Expenditures:

Wages	\$212.00	
Printing	266.63	
Prorata sub blanks.....	5.20	
Cuts, literature and bundle orders	12.05	
Supplies	12.80	\$508.68

Credit balance, Aug. 1, 1919..... \$362.46

Croatian Paper

Receipts for July (do-

nations)..... \$444.70

Wages for July..... 42.00

Credit balance, Aug. 1, 1919..... \$402.70

Russian Magazine

Receipts for July..... \$155.60

Expenditures:

Printing	\$133.20	
Letterheads	3.85	
Binding and express....	7.36	
Prorata of sub blanks..	3.64	\$148.06

Credit balance, Aug. 1, 1919..... \$ 7.64

Polish Paper

Printing

Prorata of sub blanks..

Debit balance, August 1, 1919..... \$ 85.62

German Paper

Cuts, debit..... \$ 3.97

Net deficit, acct. publications..... \$6,080.01

Bail fund balance..... \$7,221.54

Relief fund deficit..... 197.85

Gen'l defense fund balance..... 1,929.47

Organization fund balance..... 3,426.83

Press fund balance..... 61.96

GENERAL REFERENDUM OFFICIAL RETURNS
Industrial Workers of the World
As sent Out by the Gen. Convention, May 16, 1919.

We, the undersigned members of the Ballot Committee counted the General Referendum Ballots and find the following number votes cast.

The Total number of Ballots returned to the General Headquarters was 1995. Of this number, four were void, being without either name or card number.

General Secretary-Treasurer:	
Thos. Whitehead	998
A. S. Embree	804
R. V. Lewis	164
Editor One Big Union Monthly:	
John Sandgren	719
H. L. Varney	564
Abner Woodruff	621
Editor, The New Solidarity:	
B. H. Williams	1025
C. E. Payne	882
General Executive Board:	
I. U. No. 500	
John Grady	728
August Walquist	684
Tom Scott	468
I. U. No. 800	
Nick Verbanac	628
John Jackson	859
I. U. No. 573	
C. F. Bentley	478
F. H. Bohn	620
George Speed	952
I. U. No. 400	
Henry Bradley	987
I. U. No. 480	
Fred Nelson	927
I. U. No. 325	
James King	770
M. T. W. I. U. No. 8-100-700	
George Bradley	989
I. U. No. 1000	
Henry Hochstetter	413
Chas. Miller	739
I. U. No. 600	
W. J. Lemon	804
G. R. U.	
J. H. Mitchell	562

Elected officers are:

General Secretary-Treasurer: Thos. Whitehead,	
998 votes.	
Editor One Big Union Monthly: John Sandgren,	
719 votes.	
Editor The New Solidarity: B. H. Williams,	
1025 votes.	
General Executive Board:	
George Bradley 8-100-700	989 votes
Henry Bradley, 400	987 "
George Speed, 573	952 "
Fred Nelson, 480	927 "
John Jackson, 800	859 "
W. J. Lemon, 600	804 "
James King, 325	770 "

Amendment to the Constitution.

No.	Yes	No
1-A	1534	84
1-B	1683	40
2	1793	35
3	1716	33
4	1711	38
5	1672	75
6	1460	149
7	1685	86
8	1758	58
9	1758	57
10	1710	104
11	1674	122
12	1697	75
13	1575	211
14	1727	47
15	1425	193
16	1731	38
17	1749	41
18	1690	78
19	1468	181
20	1696	52
21	1688	84
22	1628	54
23	1753	34
24	1666	58
25	1708	73
26	1568	149
27	1424	179
28	1743	29
29	1745	49
30	1716	73
31	1409	153
32	1485	123
33	1667	90
34	1709	49
35	1483	88
36	1721	50
37	1692	84
38	1693	65
39	1729	66
40	1477	140
41	928	134
42	1632	135
43	1718	91
44	1859	34
45	1725	75
46	1785	22
47	1746	63
48	1520	263
RESOLUTION		
49	1492	305

The Ballot Committee took six days to tabulate the full vote. This time was mostly taken up with counting the individual ballots. Had the Branch secretaries and Ballot Committees of the Branches done this tabulating before sending in the ballots it would have saved most of this time and expenses at the General Headquarters.

- Elmer D. Rumbaugh, No. 191,293, I. U. No. 300,
- John Korpi, No. 233,392, I. U. No. 800
- Geo. W. Tyssen, No. 100,785, I. U. No. 573.

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 600, I. W. W.

Financial Statement for the Month of July, 1919.

RECEIPTS

Initiations 730	\$1,460.00
Due Stamps, 5943	2,971.50
General Defense Stamps, 43	21.50
Relief Stamps, 76	76.00
Organization Stamps, 58	58.00
Buttons, Pins & Brooches	266.50
Card Cases	61.60
Literature, Duplicate Cards, Banners	478.20
Press Fund No. 200	24.81
Six-Hour Stamps, 115	50.60
Credits of Br. Sec'ies & Dels. Accounts	2,045.36
Contributions to General Defense	cmfwp
Charter Fee, 1	10.00
Personal Deposits	228.10
R. R. W., I. U. No. 800, 2 Initiations	4.00
R. R. W., I. U. No. 800, 11 Due Stamps	5.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, 14 Due Stamps	7.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, 1 Initiation	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, 48 Due Stamps	24.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, 3 Initiations	6.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, 32 Due Stamps	16.00
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100, 3 Initiations	6.00
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100, 14 Due Stamps	7.00
G. R. U., 5 Due Stamps	2.50
Total Receipts	\$8,825.39

EXPENDITURES

General Headquarters, Per Capita	\$1,015.00
General Headquarters, Supplies	75.00
Literature, Bulletins, etc.	735.28
Subscription	3.00
Wages to Br. Sec'ies & Delegates	2,331.83
Mileage	374.66
Charges, Br. Sec'ies & Delegates' Accts.	1,967.67
General Defense Account	871.20
General Headquarters, Forwarded:	
Bail Funds	\$248.75
Croatian Paper Fund	432.94
	681.69
Expenses Acct. Croatian Paper Fund	16.29
Main Office Salaries	500.25
Rent, Light, Heat	191.17
Stationery & Fixtures	120.12
Postage, Express, Wires	320.01
Miscellaneous	10.29
Personal Deposit Withdrawals	42.00
Total Expenditures	\$9,255.96

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts	\$8,825.39
Cash Balance, July 1, 1919	829.37
Grand Total	\$9,654.76
Total Expenditures	9,255.96
Cash Balance, July 31, 1919	\$398.80

A. E. EMBREE,

Secretary-Treasurer, M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.

DEMOCRACY.

THE aim of American capitalism is not to establish democracy in other countries but to enslave them economically and hinder their workingclass to overthrow capitalist rule. Their "Democracy" is only a false label for tyranny, oppression and exploitation. It is false pretense, cant and hypocrisy. The same men who force adulterated food upon us under attractive labels, are now trying to force slavery upon the world under the attractive label of "democracy."

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, I. W. W.

Financial Statement for the Month of July, 1919.

RECEIPTS

Initiations	\$1,259.00
Dues	4,188.50
General Organization Stamps	591.00
Class War Stamps	637.00
Buttons	46.75
Literature	350.67
Supplies	76.10
Relief and Defense	629.13
Miscellaneous	21.36
Total	\$7,799.51
In Advance—Seattle \$2,000, Spokane \$1,000	3,000.00
Open Accounts on Reports, Net	174.18
Cash Balance July 1	2,323.82
Total	\$13,296.82

DISBURSEMENT.

Literature	\$ 708.78
Organization Wages	2,108.55
Organization Mileage, Commission, etc.	660.62
Relief and Defense	1,198.45
Main Office Salaries	575.00
Rent, Light, Heat	178.52
Stationery and Fixtures	115.46
Postage, Express, Telegrams	150.46
Supplies	73.97
Miscellaneous	25.40
Total	\$5,795.21
Headquarters, Chicago	2,001.15
Cash Balance July 31	5,500.46
Total	\$13,296.82

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand July 1	\$2,323.13
Delegates	2,264.30
Seattle District \$4,000, Spokane District \$1,000	5,000.00
Open Accounts Repaid	87.25
Wm. Salo—Special Collection	18.55
Miscellaneous	36.86
Total	\$9,731.29

DISBURSEMENTS

Literature, etc.	\$ 501.30
Organization Wages	371.00
Organization Mileage, Commission, etc.	57.37
Main Office Salaries:	
Secretary	\$120.00
Bookkeepers	142.00
Shipping Clerk	112.00
Copy Clerk	18.00
Filing Clerk	99.00
Stenographer	78.00
Janitor	6.00
	575.00
Supplies	28.47
Stationery	71.01
Rent, Light, Heat, etc., Net	35.73
Postage, Express, Telegrams	83.37
Advances on Account	499.20
General Headquarters	2,001.15
Miscellaneous	7.23
Cash on hand July 31	5,500.46
Total	\$9,731.29

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the General Executive Board of I. W. W. Unions:

ENGLISH

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders 10 cents per copy.

THE NEW SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year, six months, 75 cents.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857
Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00.

THE REBEL WORKER

27 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.20 per year; six months, 75 cents.

THE TEXTILE WORKER

48 Van Houten street,
Paterson, N. J.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENKA

(The Voice of the Laborer), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00.

TRUDOVAJA MISL

(Labor Thought) Monthly. 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year. Six months \$1.00. Single copies 15 cents. Bundle orders 25% discount.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS

(Emancipation), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00.

SPANISH

LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD

(The New Solidarity), 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

ITALIAN

IL NUOVO PROLETARIO

(The New Proletarian), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year, six months, 75 cents.

SWEDISH

NYA VÄRLDEN

(The New World), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

PROBUDA

(Awakening), 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six months, 75 cents.

BULGARIAN

JEWISH

DER INDUSTRIALER ARBEITER

(The Industrial Worker), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year; six month 75 cents.

JEWISH

KLASSEN-KAMPF

(Class struggle) 27 E. 4th Street, New York, N. Y. — \$1.50 per year. Six months 75 cents.

LITHUANIAN

PROLETARAS

(The Proletaire) Monthly
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

POLISH

SOLIDARNOSC

(Solidarity). Monthly.
48 Van Houten St., Paterson, N. J.

GERMAN

DER KLASSENKAMPF

Class Struggle
1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.; \$2 per year, 6 month, \$1.

Published by Stock Companies:
Industrial Union Papers

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI

(The Industrialist)
Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.

TIE VAPAUTEEN

(Road to Freedom.)
Finnish Monthly.
1927 Madison Ave., New York City.
Single copies 25 cts. One year \$2.00.
Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

AHJO

(The Forge). Finnish Monthly.
Issued by The Work People's College, Box 464, Duluth, Minn. \$1 per year, 25 cents per copy.

SUBSCRIBE!