

# The One Big Union *Monthly*



# 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.

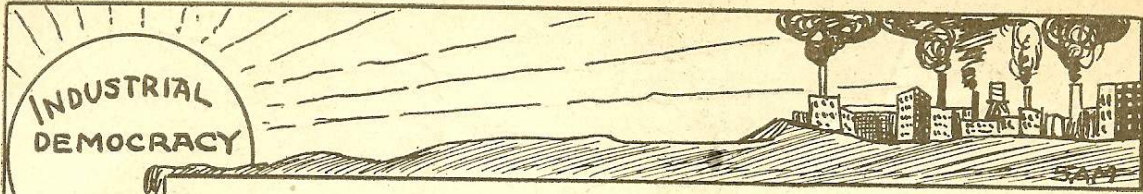
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the 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."

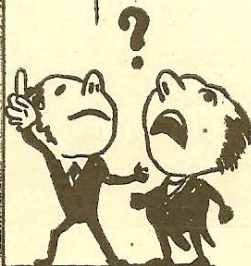
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure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





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THE WHITE TERROR

# THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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## With Drops of Blood

The History of

## The Industrial Workers of the World Has Been Written

Ever since the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, there has been an inquisitorial campaign against its life and growth, inaugurated by the Chambers of Commerce, Profiteers, large and small, and authorities of State and Nation in temporary power.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a Labor organization composed of sober, honest, industrious men and women. Its chief purposes are to abolish the system of wage slavery and to improve the conditions of those who toil.

This organization has been foully dealt with; drops of blood, bitter tears of anguish, frightful heart pains have marked its every step in its onward march of progress.

- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been murdered.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been imprisoned.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been tarred and feathered.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been deported.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been starved.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been beaten.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of citizenship.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been exiled.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their homes invaded.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their private property and papers seized.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the privilege of defense.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been held in exorbitant bail.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to involuntary servitude.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been kidnapped.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been "framed" and unjustly accused.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been excessively fined.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have died in jail waiting for trial.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been driven insane through persecution.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the use of the mails.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right to organize.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free speech.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free press.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free assembly.
- I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the bill of

Rights.

**I. W. W. MEMBERS** have been denied the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence.—Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

**I. W. W. Halls, Offices and Headquarters** have been raided.

**I. W. W. property**, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature, office fixtures have been unlawfully seized.

**I. W. W.** as an organization and its membership have been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted.

The charges set forth in this indictment would count for nothing unless evidence and proof were at hand to sustain them. A record of every charge can be found in the annals of the press, the court records of the land, the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and other reports of the Government of the United States.

We charge that **I. W. W. MEMBERS** have been murdered, and mention here a few of those who lost their lives:

**Joseph Michalish** was shot to death by a mob of so-called citizens.

**Michael Hoey** was beaten to death in San Diego.

**Samuel Chinn** was so brutally beaten in the county jail at Spokane, Washington, that he died from the injuries.

**Joseph Hillstrom** was judicially murdered within the walls of the penitentiary at Salt Lake City, Utah.

**Anna Lopeza**, a textile worker, was shot and killed, and two other Fellow Workers were murdered during the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

**Frank Little**, a cripple, was lynched by hirelings of the Copper Trust at Butte, Montana.

**John Looney, A. Robinowitz, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, Felix Baron**, and others were killed by a mob of Lumber Trust gunmen on the Steamer Verona at the dock at Everett, Washington.

**J. A. Kelly** was arrested and re-arrested at Seattle, Washington; finally died from the effects of the frightful treatment he received.

**Four members of the I. W. W.** were killed at Grabow, Louisiana, where thirty were shot and seriously wounded.

**Two members** were dragged to death behind an automobile at Ketchikan, Alaska.

These are but a few of the many who have given up their lives on the altar of Greed, sacrificed in the ages-long struggle for Industrial Freedom.

We charge that many thousands of members of this organization have been imprisoned, on most occasions arrested without warrant and held without charge. To verify this statement it is but necessary that you read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations wherein is given testimony of those who know of conditions at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where nearly 900 men and women were thrown into prison during the Textile Workers' strike at that place. This same report recites the fact that during the Silk Workers' Strike at Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 1,900 men and women were cast into jail without charge or reason. Throughout the Northwest this kind of outrages has been continually perpetrated against members of the I. W. W. County jails and city prisons in nearly every state in the Union have held or are holding members of this organization.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been tarred and feathered. **Frank H. Meyers** was tarred and feathered by a gang of prominent citizens at North Yakima, Washington. **D. S. Dietz** was tarred and feathered by a mob led by representatives of the Lumber Trust at Sedro Wooley, Washington. **John L. Metzen**, attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, was tarred and feathered by a mob of citizens at Staunton, Illinois. At Tulsa, Oklahoma, a mob of bankers and other business men gathered up seventeen members of the I. W. W., loaded them in automobiles, carried them out of town to a patch of woods, and there tarred and feathered them and beat them with rope.

We charge that members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been deported, and cite the cases of Bisbee, Arizona, where 1,164 miners, many of them members of the I. W. W., and their friends were dragged out of their homes, loaded into box cars, and sent out of the camp. They were confined for months at Columbus, New Mexico. Many cases are now pending against the copper companies and business men of Bisbee. A large number of members were deported from Jerome, Arizona. Seven members of the I. W. W. were deported from Florence, Oregon, and were lost in the woods for days. **Tom Lassiter**, a crippled news vender, was taken out in the middle of the night and badly beaten by a mob for selling the Liberator and other radical papers.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been cruelly and inhumanly beaten. Hundreds of members can show scars upon their lacerated bodies that were inflicted upon them when they were compelled to run the gauntlet. Joe Marko and many others were treated in this fashion at San Diego, California. James Rowan was nearly beaten to death at Everett, Washington. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, the thugs of the Textile Trust beat men and women who had been forced to go on strike to get a little more of the good things of life. The shock and cruel whipping which they gave one little Italian woman caused her to give premature birth to a child. At Red Lodge, Montana, a member's home was invaded and he was hung by the neck before his screaming wife and children. At Franklin, New Jersey, August 29, 1917, John Avila, an I. W. W., was taken in broad daylight by the chief of police and an auto-load of business men to a woods near the town and there hung to a tree. He was cut down before death ensued and badly beaten. It was five hours before Avila regained consciousness, after which the town "judge" sentenced him to three months at hard labor.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been starved. This statement can be verified by the conditions existing in most any county jail where members of the I. W. W. are confined. A very recent instance is at Topeka, Kansas, where members were compelled to go on a hunger strike as a means of securing food for themselves that would sustain life. Members have been forced to resort to the hunger strike as a means of getting better food in many places. You are requested to read the story written by Winthrop D. Lane, which appears in the September 6, 1919, number of "The Survey." This story is a graphic description of the county jails of Kansas.

We charge that I. W. W. members have been denied the right of citizenship, and in each instance the judge frankly told the applicants that they were refused on account of membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, accompanying this with abusive remarks; members were denied their citizenship papers by Judge Hanford at Seattle, Washington, and Judge Paul O'Boyle at Scranton, Pennsylvania.

We charge that members of this organization have been exiled from the shores of this land for no other reason than because of their membership in the I. W. W., and we give as proof these several instances: William Field, Thomas Rimmer, Donald McPherson, Fritz Holm, Olaf Finnstad, James Cully, Joseph Kennedy, two young Scotch girls—Margaret and Janet Roy; others have been slipped through without a chance of communicating with friends or conferring with counsel.

We charge that the homes of members, which are supposed to be sacred, have been invaded. Their private and personal property has been rummaged and seized. In some cases these invasions have taken place in the night time, without warrant.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been denied the privilege of defense. This being an organization of working men who had little or no funds of their own, it was necessary to appeal to the membership and the working class generally for funds to provide a proper defense. The postal authorities, acting under orders from the Postmaster-General at Washington, D. C., have deliberately prevented the transportation of our appeals, our subscription lists, our newspapers. These have been piled up in the postoffices and we have never received a return of the stamps affixed for mailing.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been held in exorbitant bail. As an instance, there is the case of Pietro Pierre, held in the county jail at Topeka, Kansas. His bond was fixed at \$5,000, and when the amount was tendered it was immediately raised to \$10,000. This is only one of the many instances that could be recorded.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been compelled to submit to involuntary servitude. This does not refer to members confined in the penitentiaries, but would recall the reader's attention to an I. W. W. member under arrest in Birmingham, Alabama, taken from prison and placed on exhibition at a fair given in that city, where admission of 25 cents was charged to see an I. W. W.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been kidnapped. To prove this assertion, William D. Haywood was carried from his home in Denver, Colorado, to Boise, Idaho, where he was held in prison for eighteen months until finally acquitted of the charge of murder preferred against him. Frank Little was taken out of jail at Iron River, Michigan, thrown into an automobile which drove out of town. He was lashed with ropes and left in a storm to die. George Speed and William Thorne were kidnapped at Aberdeen, Washington. Many other similar cases have occurred.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have suffered cruel and unusual punishment. At Fresno, California, where the jail was crowded with members, the fire department was called and a stream of water was turned upon the helpless men.

Their only protection was mattresses and blankets; one man had his eye torn out by the water. This method of treatment was also adopted at San Diego, California.

We charge that members of this organization have been unjustly accused and framed. This statement is proved by the present case against Pietro Pierre and R. J. Bobba, the latter out on bond, the former now confined in Topeka, Kansas, jail. Charles Krieger has been held for months in jail at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is guiltless of any crime except that of being a member of the I. W. W.

Our literature, our letters and telegrams, pamphlets and songs have been misinterpreted and used against us.

This communication is addressed to the working class of the world. This is a voice from the men and women employed in the industries. It is a demand for a square deal. The outrages that have been imposed upon us will yet be suffered by you if you do not help us in our need. Our fight is your fight. We want you to stand shoulder to shoulder with us. Funds are necessary. Checks and money orders can be made out to the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

*W<sup>m</sup> D Haywood.*

Secretary.



SERIOUS TIMES AHEAD.



## CIVILIZATION

By JACK GAVEEL.

Cook County Jail, Chicago.

Wondrous things I had heard about this much vaunted civilization. Huge machines enabling one puny man to do the task that formerly required the brain and muscle of many. Glittering bands of steel binding the most remote hamlets to the great industrial centres. Marvelous ships, vitalized by steam, like grey hounds fleet of feet racing the oceans linking the continents, negating the influence over human affairs of time and space bringing prosperity and happiness. The omnipotence of God made to look ridiculously pathetic by man, flinging his voice a 1000 miles and then some, living in New York and London at the same time. And over all, like a new crowned divinity, superseding the helpless gods of the savage, science penetrating with its wonderful eyes to the light of the farthest stars, therefrom to read their internal composition and structure, thus establishing the unity of all nature and the universality of Law. Gone now are the hobgoblins and spooks of the mind, great and small, which at one time arbitrarily sent pestilence and disease. Their place has been filled by hygiene and medicine, which laughing to scorn the crude and infantile ways of sorcerer and devil banisher, lay their finger on the treacherous cess pool and pointing at it as the vomiter of disease and death order swamps drained, sewers laid while at the same time, looking for natural causes in hell as well as heaven, they replace prayer by action, having for its end the destruction of deadly germs and bacteria.

Thus dreaming I then went on to compare the animal existence of our prehuman ancestors, who without any of these great inventions and discoveries, were like toy things in the hands of the elements, with all this vast and mountainous improvement of an age of supermen and my head went dizzy with thoughts inspired by the contemplation of this wide and deep chasm separating the modern from the primitive. Did ever genius of fiction create out of its fertile imagination a thing more dazzling, more stupendous. Indeed, I thought, blessed are the people enjoying life in such a civilization for theirs is the mastery over the forces of nature and plenitude of all that which goes to make life worth living.

And yet tonight finds me walking the stone floor of a prison cell, counting my steps automatically. One, two, three — iron bars. Comes a turning around and again three steps then a wall of stone, hard as the granite of primordial rocks. Stone above, below, behind, to the left, the right and in front a barrier of steel. Every second ticking off the flight of time is a particle lost from my body, stolen out of my life, while— oh how fast they speed those precious seconds and speeding measure the velocity at which my life is wasted in a filthy dungeon. I know that every tick of the clock might have been brought happiness of life might have been an architect for the good and the beautiful.

I think of the other cells surrounding me on all sides and I know that in every one of them lies a wretch. Blasted lives, sacrificed on the altar of mammon. Fathers and mothers these once-men had and wives and babes too. But that was in the long ago. Who cares for them now? Forgotten already without having to wait till the time when the worms shall gnaw their bones.

And this then is civilization? A society founded on bars, bolts and foul dungeons constituting a running sore on the fair face of the land. Hell holes where are yearly sent unnumberless victims of a brutal and ignorant class rule. A society where babes die faster than flies on account of economic helplessness of parents. A society that presents the spectacle of an industrial battlefield where die more workers than ever did soldiers in war, where the life of the toiler is of far shorter duration, on account of malnutrition, scant shelter, unsanitary conditions and resulting in greater liability to disease and death, than the mollycoddled lives of parasites who never did a day's useful work in their time.

Of what use, I thought, your science, art and literature, your wealth and great productivity to the child slaves in the mills of the South or to the slum dwellers of New York City.

And I laughed aloud in the still blackness of my cell, a harsh laugh at the mockery of it all. Said I: "Your boasted civilization is a sham, a fraud, an empty catch word, wherewith to hold crouching in the filth and slime of the gutter the restless, surging millions of the unwashed and unkempt. For see, already are stretching forth ominously, covetously disfigured hands stained with the grime of toil towards your gaily lit palaces where lie insecure your stolen millions. Already can you hear the deep rumblings of an earthquake wide in scope as the world, sending a tremor thru those foundations on which you had ignorantly imagined yourself perched snugly, permanently.

All over the world organization becomes the shibboleth among the toilers and such organization never knew history its like. Compared to it that which you now call your organization looks puny indeed because by it your class as such will be swept out of existence, blotted from off the fair face of the earth. We cannot do it you say. Oh, but that's just the great mistake your class has always made, you are so wrapped up in the sordid dehumanizing pursuit of profits that think clearly ye cannot, far less understand. Everything you measure with the yard stick of profits.

But know well that our class has behind it the accumulated experience of the ages and that it speaks with the stern voice of historic necessity, when it proclaims a government of industrial workers to be the next logical step in humanity's march to Freedom.

Man from the earliest times has been a tool using

animal. His tools he has continuously improved, thereby reproducing himself. For the evolution of the tool has at all times determined the evolution of society, its various historical stages. Today man's tools are of giant proportion necessitating social cooperation in production. In sharp antagonism to this social production stands the private ownership in the means of life. It is with this ownership and the legal and political institutions adapted thereto that the modern forces of production are colliding. As the antagonism increases so must the momentum and swing of the forces aligning themselves with progress (even now the structure of the new society is forming within the shell of the old) till there comes a moment when evolution has run its course and resting looks to revolution to close up the cycle.

The forces of production, no longer to be ignored, break their fetters which tied them and made their further development impossible. History speaks. Capitalist society collapses and on its ruins arises the Industrial Democracy. For the first time in history men becomes free. From now on he consciously shapes his own destiny, because now he understands and controls the social forces. No longer is his whole mind occupied with the problem of how to make a living. Progress becomes universal, the common privilege of all the members of society. Civilization at last becomes a fact. The working class steps into its heritage, the accumulated treasures of the ages, piled up by labor and now at last "The world has been made safe for Democracy."

## A Voice from the Idaho Prisons

As the Fellow Workers will remember, a great number of our Fellow Workers were given heavy sentences in the various Idaho prisons during the last two years. Of course, for no other reason than that they were true champions of the principles for which the I. W. W. stands. Little has been heard from them of late, due to the great number of prison affairs we have to deal with. For that reason, the Fellow Workers will probably be glad to hear from one of them who is serving a ten-year sentence in Boise, Idaho. This is the letter:

Fellow Worker—I have read a few numbers of the Swedish I. W. W. paper, the New World, and the One Big Union Monthly, which a Fellow Worker sent me. But as I have had no opportunity to get more of them and as I wish to keep posted on what takes place in the labor movement, I ask you to send me those publications. I am not now in a position to pay for them. The reason is that the director of the prisons of Idaho doesn't allow me to take out money on my account to subscribe for radical papers. No radical papers are allowed to come within the walls of the prison, but have an opportunity to receive papers now, being that I have been moved from the prison to the Soldiers' Home. Forward to that place and my letters and papers are not confiscated here.

I suppose you remember the reason why and the circumstances under which I and fifteen other Fellow Workers, all members of the I. W. W., are now serving prison terms in Idaho, so will not go over this matter again, but only give you a few lines about prison life.

The first five months and a half we were shut up in the cell house and were not allowed the "liberties" given the other prisoners to be out in the prison yard. During this time we also were made acquainted with the bread and water cure as a punishment for our request for better food.

At the beginning of the year a new group of politicians took charge of the State government and in the prisons there was also a complete change of men from director down to guards. Improvements of all kinds had been promised, but instead

more stringent rules were put in force. About the end of March, twelve of the Fellow Workers were sent to a farm belonging to the prison, but the food was bad and when the Fellow Workers let the honorable gentlemen know this they were immediately taken back to prison and seven of them were locked into the black hole on bread and water for four days. Four of the Fellow Workers were thereafter sent back to the farm and remained there for a time, but were again taken back to prison. After a short time in prison the above-mentioned four were again taken to the farm but this time only for a week. At the same time, myself and Fellow Worker Charles Carlson were taken to prison from this place, but after two weeks in prison we were sent back here again. Only we two are now outside the prison. Three of the Fellow Workers took the opportunity to leave without permission, being tired of prison life. One of them was captured the following day and is now serving a fifteen days' term in the black hole on bread and water. The other two have not been heard from yet, and I wish them a happy journey. Life in prison for any extended time is tiresome and the food is bad and insufficient. We get just about enough to exist. But in spite of all unpleasantness, we are all in fairly good health and are all hoping that the working class in the near future shall wake up and overthrow the oppressors of the people.

The question was put to me and to my Fellow Workers here if we would abjure our principles that we would be given our freedom at an early date, and not have to serve the full ten-year term. But wish to say that I would rather rot to death in prison than abjure my principles.

I see from all reports that our organization is making splendid progress in spite of all attempts to exterminate it, and I am confident that it will soon be strong enough to resist all attacks from the shameless upper class.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Charles L. Anderson,  
Soldier's Home Hospital, Boise, Idaho."

## A Voice from the Stockade

The capitalist class is on the verge of disappearance and they realize the fact more so than the workers. They are employing every agency available to block the wheels of evolution. The capitalist class is confronted with one principal question: What is the next step of the working class of the world? Every capitalist organization on the face of the globe, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, etc., are discussing ways and means to block the coming change, altho they realize that all their efforts will not stop the wheel of progress. The lying kept press is trying with all its power to influence the workers and are trying to make the workers believe that the capitalists are our friends, but the workers are beginning to realize that they are duped and bullied by the different agencies of capitalism. Yet in this "Land of the free and the home of the brave," men and women are being clubbed, lynched and put in prisons for expressing the true meaning of Democracy. Look at your fellow workers in Russia and Germany. Russia with her populace consid-

ered uncivilized, Germany with her so-called barbarian civilization have made a revolution and demand capitalism should go into the discard, and the masses man the wheels of industry.

Don't be discouraged; Nature is more perfect than we are, yet she produces many a crooked tree and blights many a harvest. Are you going to live idly while thousands of men and women are being jailed for speaking the truth? Are you going to condone this grave injustice and let your fellow workers rot in the Bastiles of Capitalism? Organize like the capitalist class does; They believe in the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and they are acting on that belief.

Our enemies are of more service to us than our friends, for they point out the wrongs which we may remedy.

FRED MANN, Card No. 251734.

King County Stockade,  
Kirkland, Wash., R. 2. Box 44.

## The Case of Louise Olivereau

By ANNE GALLAGHER.

It is but natural, with hundreds of Class War prisoners in jails throuthout the country, that some cases are not given the publicity they deserve. This has been the fate of Miss Louise Olivereau, of Seattle, who is now serving a ten year sentence in the State Penitentiary at Canon City, Colo.

Miss Olivereau's crime was the usual one, that of standing for the interests of her class against those of the masters. At the time of her arrest, in the fall of 1917. Miss Olivereau was employed as a stenographer in the office of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500, I. W. W., and that was, no doubt, a determining factor in deciding her guilt.

While it is unfortunate, perhaps, for the purposes of this article, that we cannot thoroughly sympathize with Miss Olivereau's purely individualistic position, yet the efforts of the prosecution to implicate the I. W. W., in Miss Olivereau's "crime", showed clearly the animus of the Court, and makes it incumbent upon us to consider her, in spirit at least. one of our prisoners.

Miss Olivereau thought that war was a bad thing, and she believed that if enough persons thought as she did, there would be no more wars. On that supposition, she wrote and had printed and circulated at her own expense, letters urging that those who were about to engage in the project of war, seriously consider what it is. She did not advocate draft resistance, or violence in any way, but merely made an appeal to the individual conscience of the prospective soldier. That was her crime.

However, as was pointed out at her trial, these printed letters circulated freely thru the mails until, in a raid on the I. W. W. headquarters in Seattle, some of them were discovered on the premises. Miss

Olivereau was then arrested and those who took her into custody made strenuous efforts to prove that those letters were circulated at the instigation of the I. W. W., and that the expense of printing and circulating them was met with "German Money," and it was no doubt the chagrin of the prosecution at being unable to prove their contention that lead to the severity of Miss Olivereau's sentence.

She was brought to trial in November, 1917 and on Nov. 30th was pronounced guilty by a jury which decided the case in 30 minutes. On Dec. 3rd she was sentenced to 45 years, on six counts, sentences to run concurrently. Ten years is the time she is to spend in the penitentiary for the crime of asking her fellow men to consider seriously the proposition of taking human life for the profits of the master class.

Miss Olivereau conducted her own defense and in a masterly address to the jury, boldly declaring herself an Anarchist, proclaimed her belief in the right of the individual to consult his own conscience about his acts, and to criticize the laws he is called upon to obey.

Her position, viewed from the standpoint of the Class Conscious Mass Actionist, is not without it illogicality, for after all, it is the extreme individualism of capital society that is responsible for so much of its injustice. We elect men to public office because we approve of their private lives, not on account of their fitness for the office, or because of their ability to serve the community's best interests; we tolerate, as a people, the methods of big business, because we believe in the right of the individual to follow the dictates of his own unscrupulousness, and rather admire the conscienceless brute who can trample

his fellow men under foot, in the interest of profit, provided he "gets away with it;" in other words, it is our lack of social sense, that makes many of the lesser evils of our present day society possible. And when we come to examine the evils that are fundamental we find them necessary corollary of our system of production, not a matter of individual wrong doing. The real conflict, then, is between classes, not individuals, so an appeal to the individual conscience to right social wrongs, is based on a misconception of society.

It was not, however, the illogic of Miss Olivereau's position that caused her to be pronounced guilty. She was judged and condemned before she came to trial, and the court proceedings merely emphasized that fact. The judge and prosecutor frustrated all of Miss Olivereau's attempts to have the case tried on the broad basis of whether in a democracy, the people have not the right to criticize the laws they are supposed to have made. She pointed out that the people had had no voice in the making of war, and altho her utterances on the subject were not as radical, perhaps, as those of many of our respectable citizens, a few Senators, Representatives, and some liberal minded persons, the jury was instructed to consider these fundamental questions only in relation to the prisoner. The question they were to decide was not, whether the law was right or wrong, but whether Miss Olivereau, by criticizing the law, had committed a crime.

When a small group of persons in a community

have the power, not only to make its laws, but also the power to pass laws forbidding criticism of them, then the individual who dares to protest has little to hope for, when being tried by the emissaries of the same powerful group.

Miss Olivereau's heroic stand in taking upon herself the full responsibility for the writing and circulating of her letters, her courage in acting upon her beliefs, and her able defense of her principles and ideals, have won her the admiration of all who are familiar with the case. She made no plea for herself, but stood firmly on what she conceived to be her rights, and accepted her punishment without fear or the slightest hint of recantation.

Miss Olivereau is an unassuming young woman, ties in labor circles, but she always did her work fairly well known on the Pacific Coast for her activity, evincing no desire for the spectacular, and it was quite characteristic of her that she went about propagating her ideas in the quiet, unassuming way she did, without thought of the consequences, and but for the accident of having been identified with the I. W. W. would perhaps never have come within range of the attention of our Courts and court officials.

It is only fair, therefore, that in protesting against the imprisonment of men and women whose crime is that they are active members of the working class, Miss Louise Olivereau should be counted with our Class War Prisoners.

## Communism in Hungary

The daily press is telling us that the Communist government in Hungary with Bela Kun at its head has been compelled to resign, that the new Socialist government formed by representatives of trade unions took over the responsibility and that finally the reactionaries have returned to power.

And according to the bourgeois press this would seal the fate of communism. This is supposed to prove how untenable it is in theory and how impractical and impossible it is in practice. The natural conclusion to draw would be that in the end private ownership is the best and that it is the only system of ownership fit to serve as a foundation of society, etc.

The fact of the matter is that the fall of the Bela Kun government proves nothing either for or against Communism.

The Bela Kun government was Communist only in name. Not as if the members of this government and the party standing behind it could rightly be accused of sailing under a false flag. Unquestionably their intention was, if they had been left in peace, to gradually substitute for private ownership and control of

property, ownership and control by the people. And there is no reason to believe that they would have succeeded worse or better than the Bolsheviks of Russia. If the Allied powers had not attacked them and laid obstacles in their way they would in all probability have established a firm dictatorship and gradually educated and organized the people to the level of industrial organization by means of which they would have taken over and carried on production. In a few years Communism might have been a reality in Hungary.

As it was, Communism in Hungary limited itself to a few proclamations on paper and a few experimental compulsory measures, more or less at random, measures which under the circumstances worked for dissolution and weakness, rather than for order and strength. They no doubt did the best they could but what was to be done? Only that government can survive which has in its power to satisfy the people's needs of food, clothing and shelter and the other necessities of life. During the prevailing state of war the so-called Communist government could not do this. For this reason they

lost the support of the starving masses. It was found more practical to go back to the old, at least in part. But thereby the impracticability of Communism has by no means been demonstrated. What has been demonstrated is merely the good old rule that one shouldn't 'try to swap horses while crossing the stream.' After thus having given the Hungarian Socialists all the credit justly due them for their good intentions we will again throw in their face the reproach which we have so frequently before thrown in the face of not only the Hungarian Socialists but the Russian Bolsheviks and political Socialists generally thruout the world that they have in the past sacrificed the welfare of the people on the altar of political success. We accuse them again of having during the last ten years knowingly and intentionally ignored and neglected the industrial organization, aye, of even having with ill will persecuted and resisted the syndicalists and I.W.W. movements in their attempts at spreading the knowledge of industrial organization as a mean of taking over and carrying on production.

They always came with the argument that we must first of all capture the political power and take possession of the machinery of the

State and the offices. Their hunger for power and offices lead them and us all to destruction. If the European political Socialists, ten years ago, had thrown the weight of their educational activities on the industrial field instead of on the political, they would by this time have had the skeleton of the Communist Society so nearly ready that the superstructure could easily have been added in time of revolution. Then the new order of society would have been saved and communism would have been about to become a reality.

The fate of the Hungarian Communists is a serious and instructive warning to the political Socialists of every country. To immediately drop everything and throw themselves, with their whole force, into the work of lining up the masses industrially before a general world catastrophe is over us. It is no longer enough to "endorse" Industrial Unionism making it a plank in the political platform, in order to gain votes. The Socialists must live as they teach. They must hurriedly enter their various industrial unions and form new ones where they do not exist.

Any revolutionary administration which cannot continue production without interruption, or nearly so, is doomed from the start.

## The Necessity of Raising the Dues in the I. W. W.

The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. now in session, has adopted a resolution calling for a referendum on the question of raising the monthly dues in the I. W. W. from 50 cents to \$1.00. This should be no surprise to the membership. The amount of 50 cents was considered a just and reasonable and sufficient sum when the I. W. W. was started some fourteen years ago. Everything has advanced since then, the cost of living, the cost of material, wages and expenses. The 50 cents dues no longer give a revenue sufficient for the upkeep of the organization as it should be kept up. All supplies handled by the general headquarters have gone up to about twice the price of earlier days. The wages paid to the permanent employes of the organization in the earlier days are in no way sufficient now. The expenses of traveling organizers, delegates and agents are also considerable increased. Altogether these increased expenses keep the treasury of the organization depleted, leaving no funds for the all important work of carrying on the propaganda, education and organization work, which is our object. There are

innumerable calls for organizers to be sent to the various parts of the country but seldom the treasury of the organization is in such a state that there requests can be complied with, however necessary it might be to do so.

The necessity of raising the dues from 50 cents to \$1.00 will probably not be disputed by anybody.

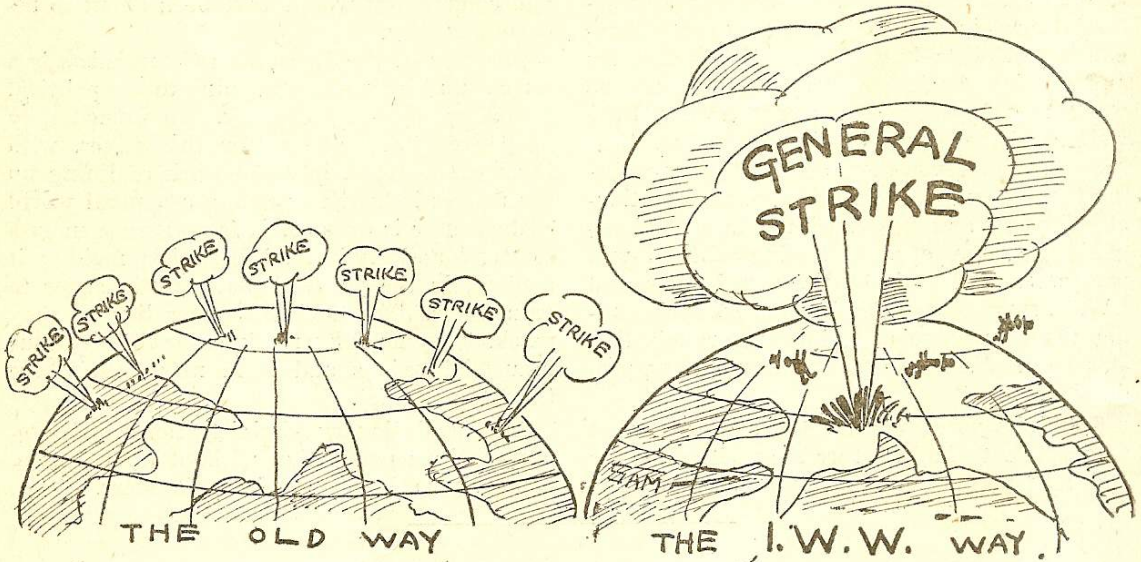
Another side of the question is, can the membership stand it? And will it not deter new members from joining? In regard to the ability of the membership to stand this increase it is hardly worth while discussing it seriously. What is 50 cents, more or less, a month to the man with an ideal when that 50 cents is needed in the service of that ideal? We are sure the majority of the members would cheerfully set the dues at two or three dollars a month if it were not for their fear of the deterring effect it might have on outsiders.

As to the workers outside the organization who are about to join us, the majority who do so are not doing it because our low dues are a special inducement to them, but because they believe in the One Big Union. The same argu-

ment in favor of an increase to \$1.00 a month dues which holds good for yourself as an old member of the organization, holds good for them also, seen as individuals.

But even if the increase to \$1.00 should have the tendency to act as a deterrent, what's to be done about it? As long as it is an irrefutable and unalterable fact that the organization cannot get along and prosper as it should under

lower dues, we have got to raise them irrespective of consequences, that's all. For every dozen that is deterred by the additional 50 cents we will gain a hundred by getting the resources that are necessary in order to produce the literature and send out organizers and speakers. By all means let us have the \$1.00 a month due stamp. It is the safest and the best investment a member of the I. W. W. could make.



**THE MOONEY DEFENSE ORGANIZATION HAS ARRANGED FOR A GENERAL STRIKE OF 24 HOURS ON OCT. 8, 1919. IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO MAKE THIS GENERAL STRIKE A DEMONSTRATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS.**

## Paterson Textile Workers in New Quarters

Paterson Branch, Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1,000 of the I. W. W. has moved to 20 Van Houten Street.

This forced removal is but another instance of systematic persecution of the militant working class organizations, which is coming to be a regular part of capitalism's campaign to hang on to its "right" to get rich off the toil of the workers. For months past, religious and "patriotic" organizations brought pressure to bear on the owner of the former headquarters to get him to turn the "Wobblies" out in the street. He protested vigorously, declaring that they were his best tenants, that they attended to their own business, paid their rent promptly and created no disturbance.

Finally, the business interests, seeing that they could not gain their ends by round-about methods, through their obedient tools in the religious and

patriotic bodies, came out into the open — more or less — and through the Chamber of Commerce, threatened the landlord that, if he did not kick the I. W. W. out, the Chamber of Commerce would start a campaign in the local papers against his two theater enterprises. Before this threat, he capitulated and gave the I. W. W. notice to vacate.

Much trouble was experienced in finding new quarters, on account of the general prejudice against the organization in the minds of the scissorbill public. Slides were even shown in the moving picture houses stating that the I. W. W. could not find a hall to rent — this being intended to spread the blacklist idea further. In spite of this campaign, a new office was secured that is as commodious and as centrally located as the former quarters.

The above is now the address of our paper "The Textile Worker".

F. A. Blossom.

## The High Cost of Living

"Produce more," says President Wilson, to the workers, "That will lower the cost of living."

That reminds us of the old method of taking possession of a country: "Breed, breed more, and you will crowd the others off the board." In other words, the President, wants us to stop striking and to work harder. If we keep that up for a while, he thinks that it would force the cost of living down. When the groceryman or the shoe dealer increases the prices 25 per cent we shouldn't go on strike for 25 per cent increase, in order to buy the necessary food and shoes, but we should stay on the job for the low pay that makes it impossible for us to live, at the same time, increasing the intensity of our labor with about 25 per cent, on the ground that the increased production means an increased supply of goods and an increased supply would mean lower prices. When the dealers increase the price by 100 per cent we would have to take in another hole in our belt and double the intensity of our labor again and so on.

The reasoning is of course based on the musty old law which says that the price of a commodity is determined first by its cost of production, and second by the supply and demand.

It is easy to see in whose behalf the President is speaking. He wants to roll the responsibility for the high prices largely on our shoulders, being that we increase the cost of production while demanding and getting higher wages, and on our poor shoulders he wants to place the terrible burden of lowering the prices thru a self-sacrificing mass production of goods which would, in the long run, force the prices down.

Now, everybody knows that we the workers have not got a word to say about the quantity of goods to be produced. That is all in the hands of those who own the fields and the factories and the mills and those owners would resent and repel any attempt on our part to determine the quantity of goods to be produced. If we tried to increase production in the shop by doubling the intensity of our work the only result would be that the employer would discharge one half of the labor force when he had enough on hand to fill his orders, or that he produces so much in stock that he becomes entirely independent of his workers and lowers their pay, or discharges them. Of course, this would have a tendency to lower the prices but it would hardly do the workers

any good because by that time they would either be worked to death or starved to death.

If we should stop striking for higher wages when it is impossible for us to make both ends meet, what would happen? If we don't make enough to pay the rent each month, the landlord would throw us out. If we pay the rent but don't make enough to buy food and clothing, in sufficient quantities, we will get sick and die. Neither course is one that the workers will voluntarily follow as both are disastrous. Strikes do not come about from an incomplete understanding of economic laws or from a hoggish desire to get rich quick. They come because the workers are not earning enough to live. To advise us, like Wilson does, to quit striking is the same as begging us to sacrifice ourselves and our children in order that the employers' profit shall not go down.

The President reasons like any capitalist or petty bourgeois. First he sets aside so much for profit, more rather than less, and then the rest will have to take care of itself. If anybody were to advance the idea that the capitalists should be compelled to not only forego their profit but to sacrifice part of their wealth for the welfare of all humanity in this time of dire stress, it would be considered revolutionary and a punishable offense. Of course, we know the only right way to settle this question and that is to entirely stop producing for profit and produce only for use, at the same time putting all the idle and useless parasites to work. This will solve the whole question as quick as lightning. But against such a solution stands on the one hand the machine guns and the bayonets controlled by the parasites, and on the other hand the ignorance and stubbornness of the working class which has not yet discovered the meaning of industrial organization.

That President Wilson does not implicitly believe in the law of supply and demand is proven by the fact that he advises a general attack on the hoarders of food stuff and other profiteers. In other words, he realizes that this "eternal" law of political economy is very much like the perpetual motion machines that cranks invent, machine which require a push and a shove every now and again to keep them from stopping. The government goes for the profiteers and the hoarders like a herd of roaring lions but we who are not chickens just out of the shell, do not get scared because we know by experience that it will stop with a roar. Some petty commercial adventurers may be rounded up and crushed out of competition

with the big profiteers, but the government is not going to scare these latter, because the big profiteers are the ones who are running the government. In fact, they are the ones who do the roaring in order to mislead the people.

The dumping of a few thousand tons over-aged canned goods in the market ostentatiously for the purpose of giving a shove to the law of supply and demand is nothing but a strategic move, political and financial. A good price is paid for the goods and the political party in power gets what popularity it can for its "courageous attack" on the dragon Mammon.

No, the prices are settled upon irrespective of the law of supply and demand and irrespective of the cost of production at the meetings of the board of directors, the societies of wholesalers and the societies of retailers. They are a government of their own, secret and invisible, over and above the constitutional governments and over and above the people. Competition has been abolished and can never again be re-suscitated, by any legal enactments, even if they were sincere. Prices are determined thru a conspiracy of the owners of the productive and commercial machinery of the country. Like the knights on the Rhine in the Middle Ages absolutely controlled travel from their robbers' nests on the banks of the river, so these conspirators absolutely control the lives of the people and the government itself.

There is no relief to expect from the high cost of living except in the possibility that the

conspirators will fear to go any further, for extortions of this kind have at all times and in all countries invariably ended in insurrections. They will carefully keep on charging all that the market will bear. They will carefully feel how deep the people can stand cold steel, and there they will try to keep the prices.

Gloomy would be the outlook if we had no other choice than paying this tremendous toll to the modern robber knights or resorting to insurrection. The high cost of living will ultimately drive us to madness, and madness will bring about insurrection. But insurrection is about the worst thing the people could resort to. Then first Hell's fury breaks loose. Any level of prices is to be preferred to the chaos, the bloodshed, the suffering of insurrection.

Fortunately the workers have found the solution, which will save us from both horns of this dilemma. By organizing the workers industrially and thus enabling them to themselves take over production we will not only be able to overthrow the conspiracy of the robber knights but will be able to avoid the terrors of insurrection.

The high cost of living is not a question that can be solved independently of other questions within the frame work of Capitalist society. It merges into the great social question of economic revolution.

#### THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY AND ITS BUSINESS

We have during the last months made strenuous efforts to straighten out the tangle in our accounts, largely caused by interference with our shipments by the Post Office. This interference is illegal, and part of it perhaps to be classed as sabotage practised by individuals as part of the "patriotic" campaign carried on by certain busybodies controlled by the enemies of the I. W. W. We are meeting with quite some success and have succeeded in bringing down the deficit, as will appear in the Headquarters report.

The G. E. B. at its recent session adopted a resolution calling for a settlement of all bundle order accounts in full, monthly, or discontinuance of the shipments as an alternative. By living up to this rule strictly, you will keep the magazine going. Failure to do so will hamper us.

At the present time we are carrying on an extended campaign for subscriptions by sending out circulars by the thousands. Help us to increase our circulation by getting new subscribers. Agents receipt books will be sent to members on application.

There is no better way of working for the One Big Union than spreading our literature.

#### NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Until the resources of the One Big Union Monthly will warrant a considerable increase in the editorial staff of the magazine, the magazine will largely be such as the contributors make it. If you do not find what you are looking for, write to us and say so, and we will see what we can do about it. Contributors should keep in mind that we do not have in view to make it a literary magazine, but an industrial union magazine. The times are too serious for reading stories, however good they may be. What is needed is practical, useful information tending to help solve the question of how to enable the people to carry on production when the gradual breakdown of capitalism, now daily taking place, is hastened into an actual collapse, which leaves us without the necessaries of life.

If you feel that you would like to do something to help along the movement for the organizing of the workers industrially, and if you can neither make speeches or write articles nor agitate on the job, then the best way is to send for some I. W. W. papers, magazines or books and distribute them regularly, getting all the subscriptions you can. Agents' receipt books on application.



## The Socialist and Communist Conventions

By CHARLES MUNDELL

### INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ENDORSED

**T**HE SOCIALIST movement of the United States is now split into three rival and antagonistic camps. Instead of the Socialist Party of America we now have (1) The Socialist Party, (2) The Communist Party, and (3) The Communist Labor Party.

This development did not come as any surprise to those of us who have kept fairly well informed about the internal situation prevailing within the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America has never been a homogeneous entity. It was made up of too many diverse and contradictory elements. In the main, however, it is probably correct to say that the Socialist Party embodied the political aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie, or small business and farming class, and the progressive elements of the skilled craft-union wage workers. Being purely of an opportunistic and reform character, it drew into its ranks liberals and progressives of every shade of political opinion; professional writers, idealistic preachers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc. Many of these came into the Socialist Party because it was the most LIBERAL of all existing political organizations, and not because of any understanding of the class-struggle or the revolutionary aspirations of the militant proletariat.

The Socialist Party concerned itself therefore, with pure and simple reform measures, such as Government Ownership, Old Age Pensions, free gas and water, initiative and referendum, etc.

Then came the Russian Revolution, and the rise to supremacy of the Bolsheviks. The attitude of the official Socialist Party was first a policy of caution and of "watchful waiting." But as the Soviet system entrenched and strengthened itself, this attitude changed to one of mild approval and half-hearted endorsement. That is to say, this became the policy of the "officialdom" in control of the party machinery.

But there were many intellectuals and sincere idealists in the Socialist Party who saw in the Revolution of Russia certain lessons and tactics which should be embodied in the future policies of the Socialist Party. Said they: "Reformism and opportunism has been forever discredited. From now on the Socialist Party must be a revolutionary party. It must concern itself no longer with old age pensions, free water, etc., but must stand the uncompromising champion of the revolutionary proletariat. It must demand, not the capture of the Bourgeois State, but its conquest and destruction, to the end that there may be built up a distinctly proletarian type of State; namely, the Soviet, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

These insurgent comrades were insistent. They DEMANDED that the Socialist Party turn right-about-face; that it cease to be a party of "immediate demands" and become a party of revolutionary purpose. Every paper, magazine, and period-

ical controlled by these "November Bolsheviks" took up the cry. A demand was raised for an Emergency National Convention to set the party right in relation to the changes developing in the European Socialist Movements. And these demands crystallized into the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party.

But the old party officialdom was not so willing to confess that it had been untrue to the principles of revolutionary socialism. And so developed the bitter internal struggle between the "November Bolsheviks" of the emotional "left-wing," and the reactionary politicians in control of the party machinery.

The crisis came when the old National Executive Committee, in alarm for their future control of the Socialist Party, deliberately entered upon a policy of wholesale suspension and expulsion from the party of all elements affiliated with the so-called "left-wing." The charter of the Socialist Party of the State of Michigan was revoked because that group had adopted a platform of "no immediate demands" in violation of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party; the foreign-language federations, seven in number, were suspended for alleged "fraud" in connection with the referendum elections which went so overwhelmingly against the existing National Executive Committee. This policy was further pursued by the subsequent expulsion of the States of Massachusetts and Ohio. The "Right Wing" State Executive Committees and local branches imitated their "superior" committee by carrying on the same policy of expulsion and suspension. And by thus "expelling" every element which seriously threatened their dominance, the "Right Wing" succeeded in retaining control of the Socialist Party, tho the membership of said party was reduced from 109,750 to 37,450.

Soon after the adoption of this policy by the N. E. C. the insurgents called a national left-wing conference which met in New York City, a conference called for the purpose of determining the future course of the "revolutionary socialists" towards the Socialist Party.

There was a split in this conference. The majority were in favor of continuing the fight for the "capture of the party for revolutionary socialism." A minority, represented by the delegates from the State of Michigan, and the delegates of the foreign-language federations presented their demand for the IMMEDIATE issuing of a call for a National Convention to meet in Chicago on Sept. 1, for the purpose of organizing the "Communist Party of America."

And so out of this conference came the National Left-wing Council, instructed to participate in the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held in Chicago August 30, for the purpose of further endeavoring to capture the S. P. Also came the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party.

Both left-wing groups were in favor of a "Communist Party," and they split on the question of further attempt to convert the Socialist Party into that kind of organization.

Later on the National Left-Wing Council itself split, five of its members "going over" to the Communist camp, and four remaining true to the instructions of the National left-wing conference.

The Socialist Party Emergency Convention opened in Chicago, as per schedule, on the 30th of August. The "left-wingers" who were in favor of capturing the party for revolutionary socialism were right on the job; but a rude disillusionment awaited them. The "Right-wing" simply called in the police, and the insurgents were forcibly ejected from the convention hall. And thus was the Socialist Party made safe for democracy!

Being denied their seats in the convention, the left-wingers repaired to another hall in the same building, and proceeded to organize "The Communist Labor Party of the United States." Other delegates who WERE seated in the Emergency Convention revolted at the spectacle of the use of the police in a Socialist Convention, and bolted. These also joined the left-wingers.

The left-wingers then elected a committee of five to confer with a like committee of the Communist Convention as to some basis of fusion for the two bodies. Negotiations for unity are still being carried on, with the probable result that the union will eventually be brought about. But at the present writing the Communist Labor Party exists as a separate and independent organization.

The C. L. P. remained in session five days, drawing up its own manifesto, program, resolutions, etc.

The Communist Party opened its convention at 1221 Blue Island Ave., Sept. 1. It continued in session six days, drawing up its manifesto, program, etc.

Now just a glance at the status of the various groups which once composed the Socialist Party of America.

The Socialist Party is now under the undisputed control of the so-called "Right Wing." True to its opportunistic and petit-bourgeois character it rejected by a vote of 63 to 33 affiliation with the Third Internationale of Moscow. It endorsed the nationalistic and bourgeois movement of Ireland for "Independence." That is, the Socialist Party believes it will be better for the Irish proletariat to be exploited by the Irish bourgeoisie rather than by the British capitalists. The Socialist Party DID go on record, in an extremely mild and unoffending manner, in favor of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, as opposed to CRAFT UNIONISM. But there is nothing in that resolution which can be interpreted as casting the least reflection upon the honesty, integrity, and idealistic leadership of the A. F. of L.

To sum up, it may be said that the Socialist Party is the same vote-catching, politics-game playing, opportunistic, petit-bourgeois machine that it was, if not much worse.

Its prospects are difficult to analyze. Shorn of every really revolutionary element, it is in a far better position today to rally the small business class, the small landowners, and the progressive elements of the trades-unions. But it has a new competitor in the field, viz., the new national labor party. The latter has the distinct advantage of actually growing out of the working-class, although out of that portion of the working class which is least revolutionary. What the future has in store for the Socialist Party no one can prognosticate with any degree of certainty. But it is safe to assert that it is in essentials no different from the Non-partisan League, National Labor Party, or any other of the numerous reformistic and opportunistic movements, which serve so effectively to delude and mislead the working-class of America.

The Communist Labor Party represents a well-meaning, absolutely sincere group of some 92 delegates, representing an approximate membership of say twenty or twenty-five thousand. The delegates who made up this convention were, with but few exceptions, working men and women. They were mostly native Americans, and represented the really idealistic and insurgents elements of the American Socialist Party.

Being Americans, they realized something of the peculiar economic and industrial conditions of the United States. Hence, they did not go to the ridiculous extreme of imagining that the tactics and methods used by the Russian Bolsheviks could be transplanted in their undiluted entirety to the American Class-struggle. They talked, in the main, in simple, understandable English, and their manifestos and programs were written in the same style. There was not so much phrase-mongering, word-slitting, and hair-splitting in this convention as there was in the convention of the 100 per cent. Bolshevik Communists.

The C. L. P. adopted a strong resolution in favor of revolutionary industrial unionism, incorporating it into their program and manifesto. They gave credit to the I. W. W. for its fearless and uncompromising propaganda and educational work in rousing the workers to the idea of the One Big Revolutionary Industrial Union. Their manifesto does not soft pedal the A. F. of L. In unequivocal and straight-forward language the C. L. P. denounces the American Federation of Labor as a hot-bed of reaction and a bulwark of Capitalism and Imperialism. The manifesto and program lay great stress upon the idea of the General Strike for political objectives, and point out that parliamentary action, so called, has absolutely NO VALUE outside of educational and propaganda value. The C. L. P. very frankly declares that it harbors no delusions that the workers can ballot-box themselves out of Capitalism.

But the C. L. P. could not go all the way in endorsing the I. W. W., for the reason that, from their standpoint, the I. W. W. is an anti-political organization—syndicalist. Just WHAT these comrades actually mean by POLITICAL ACTION, I was never able to comprehend. But they voted to

participate in parliamentary elections for agitational and propaganda purposes.

The C. L. P. voted unanimously to affiliate with the Third Internationale of Moscow.

The Communist Party, simon pure, is made up of heterogenous elements. There was the Michigan delegation, which, tho opposed to reform planks, nevertheless adhered strictly to the contention that **POLITICAL ACTION**, and political action practically alone, a revolutionary value for the proletariat. They propose concentrating all energy upon the political field, but instead of reform platforms, revolutionary platforms. Hence, they lay little or no emphasis upon industrial unionism. They admit that industrial unionism is preferable to craft-unionism, but **ONLY** for the purpose of the workers' resistance to the **IMMEDIATE** encroachments of the Capitalistic Class. As Michigan sees it, there is no such thing as **REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**. As for the I. W. W.—well, they have no patience whatever with this anarcho-syndicalist organization. To organize the workers **ON THE JOB** is of questionable value. The most important thing is workers' study-classes, where the proletariat can be taught to understand Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola—in short, the theoretical principles of Scientific Socialism. The Michigan faction, and like minds, constituted some 22 delegates.

But the Michigan sentiment did not prevail in the Communist Convention. The foreign-language federations and the New York delegation, headed by the Fraina, Cohen, Ferguson, and Ruthenberg groups, won the day, and their brand of "bolshivism" was adopted by a vote of about 90 to 100 against 22.

The Communist manifesto and program therefore lay great emphasis upon revolutionary industrial unionism, the General Strike, the political strike, and Revolutionary Mass-action. The I. W. W. is mentioned as being in the forefront of the battle for industrial unionism, and is hailed as a really, militant proletarian movement.

The Communist Party pledges its support to every effort of the workers to throw off the yoke of reactionary craft-unionism, and to organize into revolutionary industrial unions. Its constitution calls for an intensified educational campaign among the workers in behalf of industrial unionism.

In the Manifesto the A. F. of L. is denounced in unqualified terms, as being the greatest enemy of the working-class.

Political action is defined as **ANY** action taken by the workers to weaken and to destroy the political power of the Capitalist State. This includes general strikes for the liberation of class-war prisoners, abolition of conscription, withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc.

Parliamentarism is soft-pedalled. The program states that the Communist Party will participate in parliamentary campaigns (with the exception of presidential, gubernatorial, and mayoralty cam-

paigns, for the **SOLE** and **ONLY** purpose of education and propaganda. No hope is held out to the workers that they may **VOTE** themselves out of Capitalism.

The kind of political action the Communist Party believes in **IS** the revolutionary mass-action of the workers. Just exactly what they mean by political mass-action I was never able to learn, tho I listened to about twelve hours' debate on the subject. Whether my incomprehension is due to my own mental dullness, or to the vagueness of the definition, I cannot say.

The Communist Party had altogether 129 delegates, representing a membership of approximately forty or fifty thousand. When the fusion of the C. L. P. and the C. P. is accomplished, as I have no doubt it will be, the Communist Party will constitute a membership of sixty or seventy thousand.

The Communists also voted unanimously to affiliate with the Third Internationale of Moscow.

And now what is my final impression of the whole thing?

It is this: **INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**—Revolutionary Industrial Unionism—is the big thing, after all. The power of the workers is not in long-drawn-out manifestos and programs, in hair-splitting terminologies of Russian, French, and Latin extractions—not in glib word-slinging about the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, etc., but in **ORGANIZATION** of the job.

Workers of America! Your hope of emancipation is not in verbal gymnastics, but in **POWER**. And where is power? The workers' power? It is **IN THE BASIC INDUSTRIES**. Let the workers so organize that they will control the industries, and they have **ALL** power. When they can stop every wheel, tie up every shop, shut down every mine, and stop every train, the workers will be supreme, and **NEVER** until.

Workers! What the masters fear in you is the organization of your labor-power. One great general strike like that of Seattle and Winnipeg, creates a thousand times more alarm in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, than a hundred such conventions as have just been held in Chicago.

While the professional, albeit sincere, intellectuals and professional revolution manufacturers devote their time and energies to splitting hairs and dissecting programs, let us organize! While they talk, let us **ACT**!

We do not say that these Communist Parties and Communist Labor Parties have no value. We do say, and **THEY** admit, that the **BIG** thing is **REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM**.

Rally to the I. W. W., fellow-wage-slaves! The working class and the employing class have nothing in common! Let us enscribe upon our banner the revolutionary watch-word: "Abolition of the wages system."

Long live International Working-class Solidarity! Long live the One Big Union! And **THIS** is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

# THE PASSING OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By DONALD M. CROCKER

Although the so-called emergency convention of the Socialist party has not been held at the time this is written, no one has any doubt that it will signalize the disappearance of that organization. The Rights (who are probably an insignificant numerical remnant, although they are holding onto the executive machinery with desperate pertinacity) will be naturally and properly absorbed into the new farmer-labor bourgeois radical political coalition. The Lefts will probably compose their present factional differences and set up in business under the new name of Communist with a stock in trade of imported revolutionary phrases and boundless enthusiasm for a mystical fetish called "mass action," which none of them intelligibly define. The Rights, now as ever petit-bourgeois in psychology and economic status, need not interest us further. Of the Lefts, more anon.

So passes from the stage of the Socialist Party of America, after a career of twenty years. It reached the apex of its importance in 1912, when Eugene Debs polled 900,000 votes. The same year came the wholesale exodus of the "reds." Since then the party has steadily declined in character and influence. The years of its decadence were brightened by one heroic gesture—the St. Louis war platform, every word of which has been abundantly vindicated by the course of events since the armistice last November. For this courageous and commendable act, forced by the rank and file upon its timorous officialdom, the party suffered considerable governmental persecution and enjoyed a very brief revival of power and popularity. However, this revival could not last. The S. P. was built on an unsound foundation—the Second International, with its policy of parliamentarism, social reform and assimilation of non-proletarian elements, and its characteristic hunger for votes and offices at any price. The Second International died ignominiously in August, 1914, and it was impossible that the American Socialist Party, bone of its bone, and flesh of its flesh, could long survive.

To the extent that the Socialist Party popularized the Marxian Criticism of Capitalist order, taught revolutionary economics, and propagated a class-conscious psychology among the working class of America (and especially in its youthful period, it did these things admirably), it has earned a place in the grateful memory of all rebels. The writer received his first Socialist knowledge from the old party. Many Wobblies, perhaps a majority of them, came into industrial unionism by the S. P. route. The party is dead. Let us justly appreciate the good there was in it.

On the field of constructive achievements in its chosen political sphere, the Socialist Party's record was a doleful failure. It disappointed both its politicians and its real Socialists. When the former captured the jobs they did not keep them; while almost every precious Socialist "victory" at the polls cul-

minated in the undoing of the local organization. This can readily be accounted for. There was a hopeless conflict between S. P. theory and practice. In theory, Socialist political action was hedged about by the most rigid, made-in-Germany orthodoxy. The dues-paying membership asserted the right of despotic control over all actions of elected officials. But whenever the comrades smelt, or thought they smelt, an office in the air, they went out begging for any old votes on the old plea, like any other old politicians. Sometimes they won the office and then there WAS hell to pay.

Schenectady, N. Y. supplied a classical example of what would happen. The Schenectady local, if I am not mistaken, never numbered more than 200 members. It nominated a notoriety-hunting sky pilot for mayor and twice elected him on a typical no graft, low taxes, municipal ownership platform. Then, as per party constitution, the 200 dues payers in local Schenectady proceeded to give "their" mayor orders. But he owed his job, and said so, not to the 200 comrades, but to the 6,000 voters. He balked. He was right in doing so. The handful of party members had no business to inveigle, upon any and every thinkable pretext, an electorate thirty times their size into making the "comrade" mayor and then expect his 5,800 or more non-Socialist supporters (of course, local Schenectady was not wholly composed of voters by any means) to meekly turn him over to the dictation of the 200. Result: The "comrade" mayor is now safe in the hands of the Democratic party and the Socialist local has vanished forever as a factor in the town of Schenectady.

The story of Schenectady is the story of the S. P. everywhere that it essayed the role of practical politics. In charity we forbear to dwell on the sad experiences of "Comrade" Meyer London and so many others. The point to be made is that, without exception, wherever members of the S. P. have been put into office they have been put there by a majority of voters who could not, by the furthest stretching of that elastic term, be called Socialists; that there has at no time been the smallest political unit in the U. S. A. which contained a majority of Socialists; therefore, that no Socialist has ever been elected to an office that honestly belonged to him AS A SOCIALIST; and, lastly, that being invariably won by intellectual dishonesty, every "victory" has been calamitous.

Now, I will go a step further (and here I invite any good Left Wing reader who has thus far been cordially agreeing with all I have said, to prick up his ears. No political unit of the U. S. A., in all probability, EVER WILL, this side the industrial revolution, contain a majority of Socialist voters, wherefore the attempt, under any auspices, Right or Left, Red or Yellow, to capture the ballot box, is a demonstrable futility at the outset.

The Left Wing and Communist Party writers

seem to agree in substance with the I. W. W. in its case for direct as opposed to political action, which might be briefly summarized thus: (1) That the logical place to unite the workers is at the point of production and of exploitation and of closest community of interest—the job (while in an S. P. local the members are held together by nothing more tangible than their adherence to a more or less imperfectly understood theory.)

(2) That the place to enact and ENFORCE constructive measures for the present amelioration of the workers' condition is in the union meeting, and not in any legislative talk shop; (3) that franchise in industry unconditioned by residential, race or any other qualifications, is immeasurably more valuable to the worker than his political franchise even when he has it; (4) that in attacking economic exploitation by economic solidarity we are reaching the REAL enemy of which the political state is but the reflex, the "executive committee;" and (5) that in the industrial union we are erecting the only conceivable frame work for a free society, in which it is absurd to suppose that any vestige of the state, as we know it, will survive.

But, says the Left Winger (echoing the shade of De Leon), while the industrial revolution is in progress, we will need to wrest the political power from the capitalist, and for that purpose a political party, with a negative and temporary function certainly, is a necessity. And that is plausible, except for the unfortunate fact that IT CAN'T BE DONE!

Because the potentially revolutionary proletariat is not a majority OF THE ELECTORATE in this country or in any considerable political subdivision of the country. It may be in some places a majority of the POPULATION—never of the VOTERS.

Accepting the figures of Fellow Worker Isaac E. Ferguson, 64 per cent of the workers in a group of the great basic industries are aliens. Naturalization is a tedious and difficult process and will be made unceasingly so. It is not for any intelligent foreign workingman worth the trouble. What has American citizenship to offer a lover of liberty today? So a very large proportion of the industrial proletariat in America are and remain non-citizens and non-voters.

Millions of workers are disfranchised permanently and millions more sporadically by residential qualifications, necessarily under capitalistic conditions, and the number is growing all the time. The writer is not a migratory worker, but he has done enough moving about on his native soil to have been voteless half of his adult life. And a lot he cares. Then there are property and (in the South) color qualifications which account for the disfranchisement of millions more.

There are other multitudes of wage earners who, by the parasitic nature of their employment, will always snobbishly cherish the master class psychology and be "little brothers of the rich" to the end of the chapter. Fortunately, their economic power is negligible. A strike of poodle dog valets or ad-

vertisement writers cannot be conceived of as especially alarming.) But they have votes and they will always vote for capitalism.

Finally, there are two many others of our class who are either so stupefied by the poison from the press and pulpit or so depraved by their brutalizing environment that they are hopeless as revolutionary material. They will fight for their chains. They compose the White Guard of capitalism until capitalism is vanquished. In industry where they function as finks, scabs and stool pigeons, they can be dealt with effectively. At the ballot box they are a deadweight on the side of slavery.

Now, then, is it not fairly apparent that the strength of the revolutionary proletariat at the ballot box is illusory? Is the prospect of "capturing the political state" very promising?

Have we time or energy to throw away on such a highly uncertain experiment?

In the Republic of Industry every proletarian has a vote, and none but a proletarian has one. In that realm we are invincible. All power is ours the instant we learn to wield it. "Capturing the political state" would doubtless be convenient, but the powers behind that state have jolly well seen to it that it can't be done. And, fortunately, it needn't be done. Revolutionary agitation directed toward the upbuilding of the industrial unions, the nucle of the industrial commonwealth to be, cannot fail. Diverted into any other direction it may be worse than wasted.

The writer has some notions of his own about the possible value (of minor importance, at most) of a sort of organized GUERRILLA warfare on the political field. Real rebels can't get into parliament and don't want to. If they happen to have votes, however, it may be worth while to find out how they can be used to advantage. The tactics of the Non-Partisan League have always appealed to the writer as certainly successful in reaching the goals aimed for. With a delightful contempt for political parties and politicians these clever people have skillfully manipulated one against the other and "brought home the bacon." The only interest we Wobblies have in political government, national, state or city, is that it shall let us alone and refrain from interference with our propaganda. Some interference from the capitalist state must be expected always. Yet there are such things as relatively decent and fair minded men in office, and there are also politicians who may be willing to pay the price of non-interference for our votes. The writer's idea is on the subject of possibly guerilla warfare at the ballot box have never as yet apparently interested anybody to whom he has mentioned them, wherefore he is persuaded that they must be extraordinarily good ideas or extraordinarily rotten. He will not further inflict them here.

An open and tolerant mind to the Left Wing or Communist movement is desirable. It may be that valuable suggestions for better educational and agitational methods may come out of it. Every Left

methods may come out of it. Every Left Wing or Communist wage earner who accepts his party manifesto is logically bound to join the I. W. W. There is no escape from that conclusion. And if this article has accomplished its purpose, he should be convinced that the industrial revolution will be well on its way

toward consummation before any really revolutionary proletarian party is within hailing distance of capturing the political government or any part thereof.

The Socialist Party is dead. The I. W. W. Preamble stands immutable and imperishable, the Gibraltar of the Proletariat.

## The Meditation of a Wage Slave

By Henry Van Dorn.

I am a wage slave. My brother John is a wage slave. My sister Charlotte is a wage slave. My cousin Charlie is a wage slave. My father had been a wage slave for many years long before I was old enough to slave for wages. Together with my mother he had toiled thru the weary, dismal years and had raised a family of ten. Ten sturdy sons and daughters, potential fathers and mothers of a score of willing slaves for the mill, shop, ship and factory, grist in the mills of the rich, true representatives of the human ants who make possible the glory of our "great men" and of our "great captains of industry;" true representatives of that vast multitude of men and women who have built the mighty structure of modern civilization, and who are despised because their hands are calloused from hard labor.

My grandfather was a serf, and my ancestors for many generations back were the serfs and vassals of barons, chiefs and lords; a condition, we will admit, not quite as bad as chattel slavery, but bad enough, not quite as bad as wage slavery, but bad enough.

So, by all the rules and regulations of logic, and by virtue of my past life and inheritance, I ought to be a good slave, I ought to be what our masters are pleased to call a "good man." I ought to take an especial pleasure in jumping out of bed every morning at six o'clock when the old dollar alarm-clock breaks into my peaceful slumbers at that balmy hour. The same aforesaid alarm-clock ought to signify in my eyes the eternal, unchangeable order of things mundane. The industrious worker awakens early in the morning, toils thru the day in the sweat of his brow, earns his bread and butter and is content; the wise master and employer awakens in the morning prompted by his own sweet inclination, sees to it that the worker has enough work on hand to keep him on the jump for the remainder of the day, disposes of the wealth the worker has produced to his own greatest advantage and to the worker's greatest disadvantage, sacrifices a portion of his precious time by attending to the worker's moral and spiritual well-being, which function he performs thru such lofty institutions as the prostituted schools and colleges, the ossified churches, the kept newspapers, the censored motion pictures and the time-honored establishments of gambling and of prostitution, and is also content.

Such expressions as: "He is one of the best men we've got. Regular as clock work. Has missed only two days' work in six years," ought to be music in my ears. Instead, tears of joy and contrition

press alternately into my eyes as I think of the number of grandmothers I have lost, by oversleeping, and of the number of marriages of my dear brothers and sisters I have had to attend, also by reason of oversleeping.

I ought to be docile, industrious, attentive, and thrifty, but I am none of these. Above all things I am not thrifty. I should reason like this: If I am a good, willing worker, and save so and so much every month, in a certain time I will have enough money to start a "business of my own." But I do not reason that way. Once I did open a saving account with one dollar. After six months, I withdrew that first deposit. As for a business of my own, I would not take it if it were given to me.

Whence this contrariness of nature? How comes it that after generations of wage slavery and of serfdom I still am not a good slave? The answer is a simple one:

In the days of long ago, before my ancestors had been forced, in turn, into serfdom and wage slavery, they had been free men.

Before the advent of Christianity, and its attendant hand-maiden, slavery, they had been free men. As free men they had roamed the primeval forests of the Baltic, and tho they were idolators of false gods, and tho, by virtue of their lack of understanding of the forces of nature, they stood in awesome fear of the elements, bowing before the sun and the moon, the thunder and the lightning, and bringing sacrifices to appease the evil spirits of the jungle and the air, yet they were not bound by the chains of servitude to either lord or master, but used their own initiative and skill to procure a living the best they could by hunting and by fishing. Later on these Norsemen, alert of brain, strong-limbed, clear-eyed, intrepid, became adventurers and pirates of the sea, afraid of neither man nor devil, battling at every turn of their lives the elemental fury of nature as only free men can battle, ever determined to safeguard their freedom to the last drop of their blood. They carried in their breasts a heritage from times immemorial, from the days when the world was young,—a flickering flame of freedom, a flame kept alive by their burning passion for freedom, and they swore by all that was holy, and sacred, and divine, that that flame would never, oh, never be extinguished! It was their one priceless inheritance from the countless generations that had preceded them. Had not their ancestors fought a thousand battles to preserve the freedom which they valued so dearly, a thousand battles

against foes from within and intruders from without? No, indeed, no power on earth could turn them into slaves, or, having turned them into slaves, could keep them in slavery for any great length of time.

But the times changed. Came a different order of society, hunting was abandoned for agriculture, fishing for cattle and sheep raising, serfdom became the order of the day. Came the landed proprietor, the lord with sword and spear, and with him came the priest with cross and prayer-book, a preacher of the meek and humble spirit of submission, an extoller of the virtues of the lord, the deadly enemy of whatever spark of manhood and independence there was left in the human breast. Came also all the other blessings of Christianity, such as long hours of slavish toil, prisons, hangings, humiliation of body and of spirit. The lash was laid mercilessly on the backs of those old-time offenders against "lawncorder."

But did all this suffice to turn these people into a craven race of slaves? Did all this put out once and forever the flames of freedom that burned in their hearts? Oh no, not by any means. The flame was smouldering, it is true, but it was there nevertheless, and it kept the red blood racing the more impetuously thru their veins.

Again the times changed. Came the steam engine came the locomotive, came the electrical motor. Under penalty of starvation, men, women and children were compelled to toil at monotonous tasks in dreary factories to the buzz of whirling wheels from dawn till dusk, and late into the night. They were compelled to borrow into the entrail of the earth and slave there all day long while the sun shone, to crawl out only at night when the air was damp and frosty, and when the sickly pallor of the moon had replaced the bright rays of the sun. They were compelled to dig with pick and shovel, steam shovel, dredge and excavator thousands of miles of road-bed and canal-bed, and, with gnarled fingers and bent backs, to lay brick to brick and rail to rail for distances without end, that the globe on which we live be covered by a network of railroads and canals.

By their ceaseless toil thru weary days and thru still wearier nights these workers created wealth for their masters, the capitalists, in such abundance as to be beyond the wildest reaches of man's imagination. But their masters were not satisfied and said to each other: We will yet break the worker's spirit entirely, we will yet create a race of craven slaves that will be a joy in our eyes forevermore.

And with that end in view the workers were introduced to the time-clock, to the stop-watch, to the Taylor system of scientific management, to the massacres of Ludlow and of Everett, and of countless other places, to Standard Oil, to thugs, dicks and stools, and to Henry Ford.

But did all this extinguish the smouldering flame of freedom in the worker's breasts? Are there no men living to-day who hold sacred their ancient heritage of liberty?

Yes, there are countless thousands of them, and

it is the blind refusal of the capitalists to recognize this fact that will be their undoing.

My spirit is in constant rebellion against the restrictions and privations imposed upon me by wage slavery. By what right am I required to work month after month, year after year, for the profit of some idle parasite who will only use the wealth that I produce to still further enslave some other worker just like myself? The world is so large, there is so much to see, to learn and to experience, and our time of sojourn upon this earth is short. Then why not use that time to our greatest advantage, why not eat and drink of the best, laugh, dance, study, travel, love and be happy?

I have an intense desire to travel in foreign countries, but this must not be, for I am but a plain working stiff who has neither the opportunity nor the money with which to travel. Also, I have always experienced a great yearning to delve into the intricate mysteries of nature; the study of the laws and forces that operate in the physical universe unseen and unapprehended under our very eyes has always possessed for me a fascination well-nigh irresistible. I know that I would make an excellent chemist, or physicist. But that again can not be. I must eat in order to live, and that I may eat I must work and produce profits for my benevolent master, the capitalist.

Sometimes, as I think of the many privations that I have undergone in the course of my comparatively short life, as I meditate over the small wages that I have received and the many meals that I have missed, indignation sweeps over me like a hurricane, and for a moment, I am on the verge of doing anything, yes, anything and everything in order to right the wrongs that our system of exploitation has heaped upon me from the earliest days of my childhood. But only for a moment, for the next moment I realize that the only line of action by which the workers will ever be able to shake off their shackles of thralldom is organizing industrially upon a revolutionary program. I realize that the only road that leads out of the swamp of wage slavery is the road of revolutionary industrial unionism.

As soon as this thought enters my brain I smile, and throw out my chest, and am happy, and am proud. I am proud because I know that I am a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the one organization of men and women in America in whose breasts the flame of freedom burns the brightest. I am proud because I am an I. W. W., because I am one of that great multitude of men and women whose most treasured possession is their heritage of a free and dauntless spirit, who would rather die as free men than live as slaves, and who have made up their minds never to rest until that filthy, slimy thing known as capitalism will have been forever banished off the face of the Earth.

Remember there are about 50 men still waiting for us to bail them out of Leavenworth. Send in your Liberty bonds and other resources as a loan to the General Defense Committee.

# The "Patriotic" Terrorists Caught with the Goods

By John Sandgren

The Wilson government is implicated in a giant scandal. Just as the president is about to start across the country to make speeches from coast to coast in a last attempt to save the International Trust called the League of Nations, and the peace treaty in unchanged form, a terrific scandal bomb has exploded in the camp of the "patriots," and the worst of it is that the president's son-in-law, William G. McAdoo, ex-secretary of the treasury, and chief of the U. S. Railroad Administration, is the central figure in the scandal.

But the scandal branches out in many directions and if we had the opportunity to lift up the whole network of these "patriotic" intrigues, we should surely find that these self-styled "100 per cent Americans" and "true-blue patriots" in reality are nothing but a most unscrupulous gang of financial pirates who have exploited the war and the really patriotic instincts of the plain American people in order to gather wealth. In fact, in view of these developments we now dare, without a tinge of hesitation, to repeat the accusation of a couple of years ago that the war was started by a gang of profiteering swindlers, who duped the American people into this costly and disastrous adventure, touching them to the tune of \$20,000,000,000.

## The Scandal Begins in the Northwest and Ends Nobody Knows Where

The House of Representatives had occasion to send out a sub-committee to the state of Washington to investigate the expenditures in aeroplane manufacture for the government during the war. A great number of charges have been made as a result of this investigation, but for our part we will take note of only two of them.

(1) The first charge is that William D. McAdoo while Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads, exerted influence to insure the building of the government-owned railroad from Joyce to Lake Pleasant, Wash., constructed by the Siems-Carey-H. S. Kerbaugh Company, a railroad which was as useless to the government as it was expensive, while the building and operation of it nets great profits to certain persons.

(2) The second charge we take note of is that Brigadier-General Disque, the great "patriot" that founded the Four L's (Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen) in order to crush Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 of the I. W. W., sold thousands of soldiers into peonage under private lumber firms who, in certain places, did not produce even a foot of aeroplane material.

## "Patriot" McAdoo's Share in the 100 Per Cent American Scandal

To understand these charges a few details will be in place. There was a man by the name of Pliny Fiske who made a visit to "Patriot" McAdoo, and as a result of that visit followed the building of the railroad in question. The two "patriots,"

Fisk and McAdoo, were old friends, for Pliny Fisk is a member of the banking firm of Harvey Fisk & Sons of New York, which was financing McAdoo when he had charge of building the tunnel under the Hudson river. McAdoo is said to have lost money on that tunnel and the banking firm mentioned covered the shortage for him. McAdoo was again in charge of billions of dollars and Fisk evidently thought that this was a good chance to get his money back while McAdoo carried the key to Uncle Sam's treasury in his pocket. The simplest way was, of course, to give the banker a fat war contract, and this McAdoo was able to do, for in those days he was busy as a bee distributing such favors right and left. "Patriot" McAdoo used his influence to give the Fisk firm a logging and railway contract on the Olympia peninsula in the State of Washington, a contract which made a big hole in Uncle Sam's pocket and a corresponding bulge in "Patriot" Fisk's pocket.

The scandal consists in this, as far as we understand, that the cost of the building of the railway is entirely out of proportion to the service it could render the government in its distress, for the district was only to a limited extent a spruce district. It has to be taken over by the new Milwaukee system for a song, but McAdoo's account with the Fisk's was balanced; at least that is the conclusion one must draw from the newspaper accounts.

Of course, the sum involved amounted to a few millions, but that is not the important thing. The chief importance of this rotten business is that it proves "100 per cent Americanism" and "patriotism" in high places to be nothing but bluff and swagger. Just a tiny bit of the curtain which separates the public from organized capitalism has been lifted, but what we have seen through this tiny peep-hole is sufficient to give us an idea of the hellish corruption this curtain hides.

These officials, these bankers, and these "patriots" in general, who have now for years exercised a perfect reign of terror against common, decent, loyal citizens, and are still at it, have been unmasked as swindlers. Their patriotism consisted in forcing the people to loan their money to Uncle Sam in order that they might plunder him.

A disclosure of this kind is all that is needed in order to get an insight into their souls, their motives and their methods. What they do in one case they do in another. Had they been pure and moral they would have been incapable of a single act of corruption. The disclosure is, so to speak, a cross-section, taken at random through the life of the ruling class of this country, and the same as the cross-cut of a log, gives us an idea of the structure of the log, both sides of the cut, though it may not give us the length of the log both ways, so this investigation is a cross-cut into the life of the capitalist class which gives us a perfect in-



sight into the structure of that life, though it may not reveal the extent of the corruption. That structure and that extent, whatever it may have been, explains how there could arise 20,000 new millionaires during the war, while the old millionaires have increased their interest bearing pile to such a height that the American people now are gasping for breath in their attempt to create interest on the stolen wealth.

#### "Patriot" Brigadier-general Disque's Share in the 100 Per Cent American Scandal

A glimpse of the general methods followed by the aeroplane "patriots," with General Disque at their head, we obtain through the testimony of a captain of the infantry, C. A. Turner, from Everett, Wash. He insists that General Disque should be prosecuted. Captain Turner testifies that with 130 picked men he was sent to a logging camp in Stillwater where not one foot of spruce for aeroplanes was taken out during the year he was there. His company was forced to work in uniform for the profit of a private company by order of General Disque. His own position he describes as that of "a herder of serfs."

The following are extracts from a letter written by Captain Turner to Senator Poindexter, this letter being read into the testimony by Representative James A. Frear, chairman of the Investigating committee:

"I request that you have me called before the Congressional Investigating committee, who are to go into the conduct of the aviation program. I am going to insist upon the prosecution of Brigadier-General Brice P. Disque, his chief of staff, Starns, and the collection of individuals and corporations who are with them guilty of the blackest scandal of the war—the misuse of nearly 30,000 men of the army, with 2,000 officers—for violation of the peonage act, and put an end to this flagrant misuse of troops in any way in the future. The public has been drugged by lying propaganda advertising the work of General Disque and the spruce production division, every bit of it false as to the amount of spruce produced and the manner in which it was being done. Under the cover of this, General Disque's profiteering friends have exploited thousands of soldiers, drafted or enlisted, to serve against the enemy. I have production, or better, the lack of production figures, of two of the largest mills of the Northwest. Union labor should know of General Disque's \$2 a day labor scale.

"Three of my men were killed in one logging camp, one crippled for life, and eight or ten injured, and this in a total of 130 men, and we did not produce one foot of aeroplane spruce in twelve months' work. When an officer needlessly loses his men in battle he is court-martialed for it. Shall we do less for a traitor who sends men to their death, under the plea of producing aeroplane spruce, at a camp where he knows before ordering them there, contains no spruce? I happen to have seen the letter advising General Disque of the absence of aeroplane stock at the particular camp mentioned and to have recommended removal of

the troops therefrom without avail.

"A number of individuals are going to learn that American soldiers cannot be sold into slavery for purely private commercial purposes without those guilty being brought to trial."

Captain Turner seems to be a man who has not yet become bad enough to lose faith in American justice. Were he one of the insiders he would know as we do, though not on the inside, that one raven rarely picks the eyes out of another raven.

We I. W. W. men have always maintained that the Northwest was being ruled and exploited by the lumber barons. They run that country in the only manner that could be expected from a band of pirates as they are. The above revelations prove that we were right. These 100 per cent Americans and "patriots," promoters of Liberty bond and Red Cross drives, prove to be nothing more and nothing less than a league of thieves and crooks who, under the mask of patriotism, are forcing thousands of guileless American boys who are sincere at heart into actual peonage for a pittance, not to help out Uncle Sam, but to make profits for capitalists. In fact, it is Uncle Sam himself they have driven into peonage.

By this method they killed two birds with one stone; first, they made immense profits; second, they hoped to break the I. W. W. organization in the lumber industry, which was lifting the lumber workers up to a level of existence that almost approached the human level.

It was in this connection that General Disque organized the so-called Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (the Four L's). The workers who were taken in by this scheme, no doubt, were to some extent actuated by patriotic motives, but they will now see how they have been flim-flammed by the lumber trust and its tool, General Disque, for it is now plain to everybody that the pompous general and the sniveling lumber barons were nothing but plain traitors against Uncle Sam, a pack of liars, crooks, swindlers and profiteers. Such words are generally considered abusive and irresponsible, but in this case they are the plain truth. To use milder terms would be to deviate from the truth.

Through this exposure the lumber trust and their whole retinue, Ole Hanson and the other "patriots" included, are morally convicted. These are the very crooks and swindlers who caused the enacting of laws against "criminal anarchy" and caused numbers of innocent workers to be thrown into prison, or to be deported when they tried to interfere with their traitorous plans by organizing the regular workers. We ask you, dear reader, to put your hand on your heart and answer (conscientiously) which ones are the real criminal anarchists?

We hope that this will prove a serious set-back for the so-called "patriotic" agitation originating from the same source. Teddy Roosevelt Jr., and his American Legion, a national "vigilante" organization, working under the orders of the very same interests, are about to form local forums throughout the country to combat what they call lukewarm Americanism. It seems to us that they have

a great field for their activity right among the backers of this patriotic agitation. These disclosures will no doubt open the eyes of hundreds of thousands of men in uniform so that they will give Roosevelt Jr., the agent of the capitalist class, the reception he deserves when he turns up in their various cities in order to dupe them into believing that he is running the errands of Uncle Sam.

These very "patriots" have lynched and otherwise murdered a great number of I. W. W. men. They have tarred and feathered dozens of them; they have kidnapped and deported thousands of them; they have put thousands of them in jail, of whom hundreds are still in prison serving long sentences. The I. W. W. stands vindicated and our persecutors stand condemned.

## EDUCATING the IMMIGRANT OR

### THE PUBLIC BALKS AT "PATRIOTISM"

By XXX.

Not until the so-called All-American Exposition at the Coliseum in Chicago flopped—and flopped hard—did local junkers tumble to the fact that the war frenzy has passed and that flag waving can no longer be calculated to put over a rotten show.

The exposition was advertised to open September 1 and to run two weeks. Long before opening date headquarters had been opened in the First National Bank building and an army of stenographers were busy. A corps of newspaper persons was even hired to get out a daily boosting the big show. These persons, being hard boiled and incredulous, had their ears to the ground and to them drifted rumors that all was not well with the financing of the enterprise. They hurried to the cashier's office to get what was due them, but no checks were forthcoming. One might say that they came to collect and remained to curse. Suddenly the paper was stopped on the ground that it did not pay.

The exposition was for the purpose of educating the immigrant. The junkers of the Gold Coast and the bourgeoisie of Evanston planned to take the immigrant up, wipe his nose, tie a napkin around his neck, and feed him a diet of spread-eagle and flappedoodle. The presumption was that the immigrant, being ignorant and half-witted, required a nurse. Strange to say, the ungrateful immigrant refused to fall and stayed away from the Coliseum.

And what of the native American? Was he there? He was not! At least he was only discernible in mighty small quantities. A Gold Star mother and two fat men wearing secret society insignia in their coat lapels watched the worst show in the world at the alleged '49 ranch. About the only other native Americans present were a few tame and moth-eaten Indians who did stunts to elicit the thin dime.

Even the stenographers at headquarters got rest-

less. Their checks were never ready for them when they called on the bookkeeper. "Who was the treasurer?" They inquired. Minister H. H. Garver, they were informed. Mister Garver would undoubtedly be over in the afternoon to sign all checks. But Mister Garver, whose headquarters are at the Association of Commerce, remained curiously coy. One thing and another prevented his coming over to sign checks.

Now the employees are running around talking about legal action to get their wages. Some nice, respectable people were backing the alleged exposition. Names such as Felix J. Streyckmans, Nels Hokanson, Mary E. McDowell and Grace Dixon appeared on the letter heads. Even Gov. Lowden was announced as a backer. What are they going to do about it? What with the ungrateful immigrant staying away, and those unreasonable employees running around and demanding their money—such a to do!

Haven't told yer half of it, dearie! Haven't told yer half of it!

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE I. W. W.

Will Hays, head of the National Committee of the Republican Party, in a speech to Massachusetts republicans on Aug. 27, stated, according to "Boston Globe," that "the republicans will after the next election take charge of the problems now confronting the country and solve them, and that labor will have full voice in the councils of the nation, commensurate with its loyalty and its dignity. As for the I. W. W.," he said, it is a traitor, and there is only one remedy for a traitor. It is to take him and stand him up against a wall."

So now we know what the republicans will do for us. It does not differ very much from what the democrats have done for us and are doing for us.

The work of the I. W. W. stands in the way of the politicians and those who keep them and pay them. When the affairs of the world will some day in the near future fall into the hands of the workers, industrially organized, the politicians will cease to exist, together with their pay-masters. They know that their time is about up and they are getting desperate. But standing I. W. W. men up against a wall and shooting them, does not stop economic evolution for a moment. It only may retard a satisfactory solution of the social problem for a while, if done to any great extent. Industrial Communism is bound to come, because there is no other permanent solution of the social problem.

The I. W. W. is far in advance of other movements of the working class. We are not animated with a lust for proletarian power. Our object is to solve the social problem in a practical way for the benefit of all humanity and at practically any cost to ourselves. This may appear to be heroism, but it is not. It is our firm conviction that there is no other way out of the misery. Knowing of only one exit, naturally we go for it, even if it cost our lives. Death on the road to freedom is better than voluntary surrender to eternal slavery for our class.

## Why the Doom of Predatory Civilization Cannot be Averted

By Quasimodo Von Belvedere

Since the liberty of exploiting the proletariat become seriously assailed, the various civic authorities promptly set forth to silence the agitators. They jailed them; ran them down with army tanks; deported them, and even allowed the "people" to "take the law in their own hands" as a result of which "scores of wobblies went home to nurse their swollen heads and broken ribs." No sooner did we commence to rejoice over the saving of our anthropophagous democracy in our fair land than the privileged press squills frantically that, instead of diminishing, the forces of the rebels are increasing. Perceiving that the government cannot successfully cope with the situation without our advice, we immediately indited a letter to Hon. John Mitchel Palmer, offering to him practical plans as to how to rescue our civilization from the relentless teeth of the bolshevik dragon. Among several other shrewd measures we proposed that one day be set apart for a general patriotic pogrom — which shall be called LIBERTY DAY, upon which day the government would advice the people ruthlessly to take the law in their own hands, and to decimate the foreign bolshevist pest — to send its soul plumb to hell, to be nursed by the devils. The solution of the entire dark problem being so simple, we wondered why the government was waiting until we discovered it.

However, before mailing this clever letter to Mr. Palmer, we submitted it for criticism to Matys, who, in addition to being our janitor, is also our chief literary adviser. Upon a cursory perusal of

our letter Matys told us bluntly that our plans were no good. He explained to us that the most exploited element in every country without distinction is the most radical one, and that in this U.S. the bulk of the most exploited element happens to be foreign born.

*The robbery perpetrated upon them*, he continued, "accounts for their radicalism much better, and more logically than their foreign origin. If you kill them off, Americans shall be obliged to take their places — maybe you yourself would have to work. Subjected to the same economic adversity Americans would become equally rebellious. On the other hand, give the present rebels justice, and they will become conservative."

All this sounded so reasonable that we did not send our letter to Mr. Palmer; however, the problem remained unsolved, and this made us feel unhappy. Looking appealingly to Matys, we asked him how he would go about it to destroy Bolshevism.

"You can't destroy it," quoth he, and his voice rang with a strong emphasis. "You cannot abolish things instituted by Divine authority."

Never before did Matys speak to us with such earnestness, he astonished us. "How it that?" we cried, "do you mean to deny that Bolshevism is the product of the devil!!!"

By way of reply Matys reached for his old Bible, located the desired point and read to us: "HE WHO DOES NOT WORK SHALL NOT EAT!!!"

## The Orthodox Wobbly and the Borer from Within

By JACOB MARGOLIS

**T**HE irreconcilables are not so wide apart any more, but yet once in a while you meet one of them who shows all the bitterness and hostility of friends who have diametrically opposite views on tactics.

The borer from within bases his position upon the success of the Syndicalist movement in Europe, and cannot be persuaded that similar tactics will not be just as fruitful in the country. These borers from within who are strictly orthodox in their tactical beliefs are men who spent some time in Europe and made some study of European labor movement. When these men returned from Europe they were so full of enthusiasm for the methods employed there that they would have the I. W. W. give up the ghost immediately and undertake the conversion of the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods to Syndicalism and Revolutionary Industrial Unionism.

These men made one very serious error in their calculations. They do not realize the vast difference existing between the European and American work-

er as to revolutionary traditions and class consciousness. The American working class has revolutionary traditions. We never had a Paris commune, a Chartist movement. The revolutionary movement of 1848 which swept all over Europe hardly touched isolated United States.

The American working class is practically free from class consciousness and there are many reasons for this absence. In the first place there have never existed in this country the recognized class differences of Europe. We have no recognized royalty, and nobility. One is not born into a class from whose iron confines there is no escape. The subtle poison called Democracy has beguiled the American worker into the belief that everyone is equal, and everyone has the same opportunity of success. The fortunes made by the children of workers in America and the high political positions attained by these of most obscure parentage have lent some color of proof to the equalitarian belief. The American worker was and still is individualistic,

bourgeois, mercantilistic hoping always to get out of the employee group into the employer group. If he has given up the hope for himself he believes that his children will fare much better than he. That by reason of superior education they will surmount the difficulties and take their place in the employer-merchant or political group. As a further reason for absence of class consciousness we find that in the eastern part of the country, in the basic industries the foreign workers do the hardest, the unskilled, and least remunerative work. They received all the hard blows of capitalism. The American skilled worker belonging to craft unions having a vested interest in his skill felt that he and the employer were closer and had more interests in common, than he had with the alien unskilled worker, who was not a member of a craft union, and who spoke a tongue unfamiliar to him. And even when they did belong to the same union such as for-instance, the United Mine Workers of America the situation was about as follows:

In speaking with coal diggers I have learned that in many large mines not a single English speaking person was an actual coal digger. They were either foremen, mine bosses, assistant superintendents anything but coal diggers. It has been my experience that these men although they belong to the same union with the alien diggers can be relied upon to take the side of the mine operators against the foreign diggers.

The miners officials can often be relied upon to join with the operators to suppress any revolutionary class conscious demonstration of the diggers. With all these conditions present the outstanding fact is that the American worker was not and still is not class conscious and revolutionary. He does not conceive of a society without employers and employees. He merely hopes to see the day when he is an employer. The lack of class consciousness is even more pronounced among the craft organized American workers and among those American workers employed in industries where no organization exists.

Despite all this, the borer from within full of what he saw in Europe is certain the same wonderful results can be achieved here. In all candor, among the American workers on the Eastern coast he has achieved a signal failure, but on the other hand the borer from within has justified his position by the results accomplished among the class conscious foreign workers, and among those American workers particularly the machinists who have thru the machine process lost their distinction of skill and craft consciousness.

It is a very simple matter for the borer from within to transform a miners local of the U. M. W. A. to a Syndicalist or I. W. W. Local. This industrial union of the miners is far removed from revolutionary industrial unionism and the class conscious alien worker can see this fact without much argument. However, it is inadvisable to separate the local from the U. M. W. A. for the local would be destroyed by the combined forces of the U. M. W. A. and the operator's association. The borer from with-

in tactics if continued will eventually bring about a secessionist movement involving one or more districts, or the I. W. W. and Syndicalists borer from within will transform the U. M. W. A. into a revolutionary industrial union. The U. M. W. A. officialdom recognized this fact and as proof of their recognition at two conventions of the U. M. W. A. resolutions were adopted to expel any member who joined the I. W. W. this was a ridiculous resolution and died aborning. It has never been invoked and probably never will be.

If the advice of the orthodox wobbly had been followed these miners would be advised to sever their relations with the U. M. W. A. and hold membership only in the I. W. W. Such a course of action would not help the I. W. W., would be disastrous to the miners and would take splendid material which is transforming the U. M. W. A. out of it. To a lesser extent the same process is going on in the machinist organization, and it may not be in the distant future, when these organizations are a part of the revolutionary industrial or syndicalist movement.

Let us consider the tactics of the borer from within in the organization of the steel workers. Since 1892 there has been practically no organization in the steel industry. Every attempt made to organize them by the I. W. W. never got beyond the discussion stage. The A. F. of L. attempted in a half hearted way to organize them several years ago, but after the 1917 convention at St. Paul, they undertook the organization of steel workers in earnest.

To-date they have succeeded in organizing thousands of steel workers all over the country. Certainly the Federal plan of organization is incorrect in such a highly developed industry as steel and at the conference held in Pittsburgh in May, 1919, the weakness of the form of organization was revealed. The one question which was persistently and frequently urged was the universal transfer and many insisted that the only cure was industrial unionism. The outstanding fact remains that they have made tremendous headway in their organization campaign.

If this organization weathers the storm of steel trust opposition it will be a most fertile field for the borer from within. The large majority of steel workers are class conscious revolutionary foreigners who are not only receptive to the Syndicalist and I. W. W. propaganda but are convinced Syndicalists and I. W. W.'s.

The orthodox wobbly would rather the steel workers were not organized at all in preference to organization in the A. F. of L. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Orthodox Wobbly, the fact still remains that this organization of steel workers will be as productive a field as the mine workers and machinists, and it is my opinion they will be more valuable to the I. W. W. than to the A. F. of L.

On the other hand the borer from within who has severed his connection with the I. W. W. upon the theory that it is a dual organization and has no reason for existence is also in error. The I. W. W. represents the revolutionary aspirations of the class

conscious portion of America's working class. The workers penetrated beneath the fiction of the absence of classes in America, and although they found that one was not born a king or a noble, as such in this country, yet class distinction based upon employment relations and property were as marked as those of Europe. These class conscious American workers realized that the solution of the problem was not deserting the working class and rising to the employing class, for such a condition was impossible for the vast majority of the workers, but was rather through the organization of the workers into class conscious industrial revolutionary unions. The purpose of these unions was to build a new society in the shell of the old, sweep away capitalism with its property and propertyless classes, its aristocracy and plebeian, its bourgeois and proletarian classes the world over, and bring into being a classless society wherein all are workers. A society based upon creation, not possession; achievement, not inherited wealth; voluntary cooperation, not super-imposed authority.

These revolutionary clear thinking workers with an understanding of modern economic society and with a vision of a future world, were unable to make any progress in the American Federation. Disgusted with the shallowness and trickery of the officialdom not to mention the downright dishonesty and faking, and the frequent treason of these same officials who, on more than one occasion, actually sold out the workers. Disheartened with the stupidity and ignorance of the rank and file. Unable to arouse any class conscious feeling among the religious, bourgeoisminded workers, many gave up the task as hopeless. Others found hostility and ridicule of their own craft unionists so strong that they were

forced out of the organization. The best they even found was craft consciousness.

A pride in their skill and hatred of the scab. The illogical craft division in industries where the machine process had already wiped out such division, the jealous parochialism of the International the absence of the spirit of solidarity, all of these accumulated facts forced the rebellious class-conscious American to organize the I. W. W. He could not function in the stifling atmosphere of the American Federation of Labor. The need for self expression was too urgent to be denied, and he must have some forum. These conditions gave birth to the I. W. W. It is a natural product of the American Labor movement not an imported product from Europe, not a dual organization, for the A. F. of L. never proposed to transform society, never had any vision of a classless society. The extreme expression of A. F. of L.-ism has been a co-partnership with capitalism in the management of industry and that only of very recent date.

If we had a class conscious revolutionary proletariat then the position of the borer from within would be entirely correct. We do not have such a proletariat and his position is therefore incorrect and untenable.

When the American proletariat loses his bourgeois character, when the machine process has destroyed his craft consciousness, when the industrially organized become more numerous than the craft organized in the A. F. of L. Then we will find the borer from within and the Orthodox wobbly in one movement. A movement of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism while the name of the organization will be of no consequence.

## Our Program in the Steel District

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

(Secretary-Treasurer of Metal and Machinery

Workers I. U. No. 300)

By courtesy of Fellow Worker Sandgren, I have read the monograph of Mr. Margolis in manuscript. Its point of view is refreshing and illuminative. Written as it is, in the very glare of the on-rushing steel strike, it is a strong message of the moment. Perhaps before these words are even printed, hundreds of thousands of steel slaves will be on the firing line of a great General Strike. And then the problem, which Mr. Margolis raises, will become acute and tense.

Let me state here—positively, and for all time—that the I. W. W. has no feud with the 'borer from within'. We do not advocate 'boring from within' tactics. Not officially. But we are not entirely blind to the fact that labor's surge runs in many molds which are not of our making. That thousands of workers—I. W. W. workers—have been forced by circumstance to find their economic expression in the extreme wings of the A. F. of L. That there, they are accomplishing a veritable revolution in thought and tactics. As an independent movement, the I. W. W. cannot, of course, indorse them. But

as a revolutionary movement, the I. W. W. cannot but realize that all roads—even the roads of the A. F. of L. 'borer'—lead inexorably home to the I. W. W.

In other words, the I. W. W. attitude can be described as one of unofficial tolerance toward all 'One Big Union' movements. Be it the Canadian O. B. U., Seattle Duncanism, Detroit and its Auto Workers, or the Fosterized Steel Union of Pittsburgh, we who are I. W. W.s throw no barriers in their way. When they strike, we strike with them. When they feel the vengeance of the A. F. of L., we come to their defense. When they stumble and grope for guidance, it is the I. W. W. which lifts them up. This is the task and duty which those who are I. W. W.'s have assumed.

But beyond a certain point the I. W. W. does not yield. And this is the point of autonomy. Many emotional persons, seeing the success of these tactics in local instances, are swept away. 'Let us abandon the beaten track of I. W. W. autonomy,' they cry. 'Let us all go into the A. F. of L.—and

capture it!' They cry out shrilly in meetings. They bombard the press with their naive importunings. Syndicalists, they call themselves, and again and again, they have paralyzed the morale of our organization by their luring arguments for a 'change.'

Such people lose sight of the one indelible fact of the I. W. W. movement. For the I. W. W. is not a mere labor union, neither is it a band of evangelists. The I. W. W. is first, last and all the time, an **architectural movement**. We are constructing a new society. Our unions are organs of this new society. And only as we enter every industry and build there the first frail foundation of our new industrial system, are we making progress toward our great goal. By building industrial unions in each industry, we gather into our movement the human material which is to be the corner-stone of the new system. The militant minority who are to wage the victorious fight. The constructive element of the working class, who will study the task of the future in the I. W. W. of the present, and who will be trained for industrial management in the school-house of the present day I. W. W. movement.

There is a certain spirit, a certain quality in the I. W. W., which one finds nowhere else in the American labor movement, and it is a quality which has transmitted itself to every I. W. W. member. This is the quality of constructive proletarianism. Always, the acts of the I. W. W. are shadowed by our goal—the goal to 'build a new society within the shell of the old'; or, in other words, the **architectural spirit**.

Now this spirit can find expression in no other form than the form of independent unionism. The man who 'bores from within' is consumed with the duties of polemics; he has no time for construction. The Wobbly who squanders his energy 'capturing' other movements, has no energy left to build his own. The worker who toils unceasingly to 'make the A. F. of L. revolutionary,' may accomplish his immediate goal and lose his final one. For of what value are revolutions to the proletariat, if our tactics fail to train our class for the duties of self-administration which will follow the revolution? Better to build a small movement, which shall be solid and invincible in its economic genius, than to capture all the workers of America into a blind, wobbling mob. The I. W. W. moves slowly, but we are rearing a new industrial civilization, with every step we make. Ours not to capture—but to build!

In the steel industry today, such is the I. W. W. program. We have a dual union to the Fosterized A. F. of L. But we are not fighting that A. F. of L.; on the contrary, we are cooperating with it at every step in the fight. Many of our members are in the Steel Workers Union; some of them sit in the councils of that body. But still we have our own union. Throughout the steel district we have a far-flung human trench of I. W. W. job delegates. And we are lining up the steel workers into Metal and Machinery Workers I. U. No. 300.

Here, the steel workers catch the tang of the real fight. Here they are recalled to the truth that the steel union and the steel strike is only an in-

cident; that behind it, is the background of a world-wide class struggle and that this struggle will bring victory only when the workers are capable of industrial control. Here they find themselves by the side of I. W. W. miners, I. W. W. lumber jacks, I. W. W. construction workers, I. W. W. transport men. They are no longer bound in a single union; they are in a class organization, and the spirit of class wideness gives the vision of a new society.

Let Foster build his One Big Union; may it grow, may it increase, may it win its battle with the steel trust. But though we may be called 'Orthodox,' we of the I. W. W. will still toil for our I. W. W. One Big Union—and we know that when we have at last built it, we have also built a new society.

#### I. W. W.'S INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETINS

The absence of organization and job news from the One Big Union Monthly has a good reason. Several of the Industrial Unions of the I. W. W. are issuing monthly or weekly bulletins covering their respective industries.

The following is a partial list of these bulletins, which may be obtained for the asking merely by writing for them with postage.

"The Boomer," monthly newspaper-bulletin, issued by Metal and Machinery Workers I. U. No. 300, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

"Official Bulletin," issued weekly by Agricultural Workers I. U. No. 400 from 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

"Official Bulletin," issued monthly by Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500, 401 Tower ave, Superior, Wis.

"Official Bulletin," issued weekly by Construction Workers I. U. No. 573, I. W. W. from 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

"Official Bulletin," issued weekly by Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800 from 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.

"The Textile Worker," issued monthly by Textile Workers I. U. No. 1000 from 20 Van Houten St., Paterson, N. J.

Every worker should make it a point to read the official bulletin of his industry.

#### CHICAGO UNIONS MEET.

At 119 Throop St.

**Sunday:** (First and Third) Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union No. 1,200, at 3 P. M. at 119 Throop St.

Every Sunday, Open Forum at 8 P. M. at 119 Throop St.

**Monday:** Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1,000 at 8 P. M. at 119 Throop St.

**Tuesday:** Gen'l Membership Meeting at 8 P. M.

**Thursday:** Propaganda Committee at 8 P. M.

**Friday:** Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300 at 8 P. M. — Hotel Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1,100 at 8 P. M. at 3001 S. Halstead St.

**Saturday:** (Second and Fourth) Lithuanian Branch. At 1812 Burling Street.

**Thursday:** (Second and Fourth) German Branch, at Workers Dramatic Hall, 1824 Burling St. Everybody invited



A Textile Factory in Puebla, Mexico, with Church Attached

## Industrial Evolution in Mexico

Capitalist industry in Mexico has been making rapid strides. Only a few years ago the **hand stage** of production held sway over most or all of Mexico, and but little manufacturing existed. The important elements during the Porfirio Diaz regime were the landed interests, the mining interests, the church and the government, all co-operating toward the exploitation of the peon, the Mexican wage slave, whose wages were often paid him in food, shelter and clothing of the poorest sort, plus the lash of the overseer and **capataz**.

A fellow worker sends us the accompanying photo from Puebla, capital of the state of the same name, showing one phase of capitalist development, the textile factory with its own individual church where the slaves can get a glimpse of "pie in the sky bye and bye" and where they can confess their sins after working all day for from 35 to 75 cents in the fields, or from one to three pesos in the textile and other factories. The church is furnished free for these workers, but not so bed and board.

However, there is not lacking a gleam of hope. There are some fifty syndicates or labor unions in the city of Puebla and vicinity, including thirty-four textile syndicates, organized by factories, and fifteen syndicates of agricultural workers, and a bakers' union. About 8,000 organized workers altogether, and many of them looking toward the brighter hope of Industrial Unionism and the One Big Union.

In Orizaba the textile unions are older and

stronger, for here the martyrdom of the workers shot down and slain by hundreds after the bloody Rio Blanco textile strike of some eight years ago, has shown the need of solid organization.

## Lumber Workers Greet Class War Prisoners

The Convention of the Seattle District of Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500, I. W. W., assembled in Seattle recently, sent the following telegram to the Class War Prisoners:

Seattle, Wash., Aug. 28, 1919.

To all Class War Prisoners of the World,  
Greetings,

We the Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500, Seattle district, in convention assembled extend the hand of fellowship to you in your persecution by the master class and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to hasten your release and break the iron jaws of capitalism and free the workers of the world.

PAT CANTWELL,  
N. I. FISCHER,  
CHAS. McGUIRE,  
Committee.

Fred Hegge and Robert Briggs are asked to communicate with F. Benton, Raymond House, 278—25th St., Ogden, Utah.

# A Break for Liberty

By J. M. Kerr.

In the summer of 1908, I was in the interior of Mexico, travelling from town to town, busily engaged in that interesting and never-ending occupation of getting a living—food, clothing and shelter.

I was also continually observing and studying the lives of my fellow men and women, especially those of the working class and watching for the least sign of any mental awakening among them.

It was just at the beginning of the rainy season in the great state of Jalisco where everything grows in great abundance and variety. The climate is one of the best in the world. As I looked out of the car windows at the broad fields so carefully cultivated, thousands of acres of wheat, melons and various fruits passing before my gaze, I thought what a picture of peace and plenty, what a choice place in which to find human happiness.

No failure of crops here, Nature has done her full part in making this one of the very best places for human habitation. True it is, that those fat cattle I saw by the side of the railroad and those fine horses and other domestic animals were the most contented I had ever seen anywhere. It was a most pleasing and beautiful picture and every traveller who passes that way and is but a casual observer, nearly always forms the opinion that here is peace, plenty and contentment.

But I was not a casual observer, studying conditions in Mexico from the windows of a Pullman car. I have been there more than three years. I had been in the cities, in the towns and villages and at some of the great plantations, or haciendas. I had been in the houses of the rich (a few of them) and in thousands of the hovels of the poor. I had explored some of the slums of Mexico City. I had seen thousands of people who never had owned a pair of shoes. In the city of Guadalajara, noted for its schools, colleges and culture, I had seen servant girls working for four dollars a month and sleeping on the tile floor of the kitchen.

So, to me, as I looked thru the car window that day, the picture was not entirely one of beauty. We saw figures in white cotton moving across the field in the early morning. I have seen them working as early as 4 A. M. These people did not own any of those fat cattle, nor an acre of the land on which they worked every day of their labor power. They were the human domestic animals of their master. I have seen 3000 of them on the land of one proprietor. Most of them had no right to leave but were tied to the place of their slavery. If they did leave they were generally brought back like a stray horse or cow. I have seen seventy women and children working in a field under an overseer on a large horse, who carried a whip and side arms. The men workers were in another field not far distant. This also was in the beautiful state of Jalisco, under the reign of President Diaz. The governor of the state was Miguel Ahumada. This Ahumada had been promoted from the less important governorship of the state of Chihuahua. At last I reached my destination, a small town in the hills where I stayed about two weeks and during

which time I made another trip of 12 miles out into the country to a large hacienda and had a chance to compare the life of the peon there with that of the fellows elsewhere. There was a monotonous similarity. Work, work, work, obedience and slavery. I returned to my little town in the hills quite despondent. It was raining. It does not rain all day like in the Northwest of the U. S., but at that season of the year it rained nearly every afternoon, or evening, or both.

My room was on the second floor of an inn, or maison, as they are called in Mexico. One afternoon, as it was raining, I stayed in my room reading, writing and thinking. At the side of the inn and just across the very narrow street from my room, was a large tree growing on a vacant lot. Towards evening a man and woman arrived there, evidently after having made a long journey on foot and decided to make their camp under the sheltering branches of the tree. The man carried a large bundle. It contained blankets, cooking utensils, etc. In short it contained all of the worldly goods of the couple, except a medium sized basket which the woman carried. And what do you suppose was in the basket? A baby. It was still raining. The tree was but a poor shelter. They did not try to make a fire that night. They ate some tortillas and went to sleep, with the water dripping down on them from the branches of the tree. The dryest spot was reserved for the baby and everything was done that was possible to protect it. The mother took but little interest in anything else. They were still young and even under such conditions were hopeful. At least the man had a certain look of determination that seemed to say he would not give up the struggle easily. Early the next morning the man started out into the strange town to try to earn, or in some way to get, something to eat for his little family under the tree. Each day he returned at intervals with the food and once more I could see a faint smile on the face of the little mother as she looked into the face of her faithful companion. Then they would both look into the basket at the baby. Sometimes the sun would shine and then she would hold the baby while the basket and the bedding was getting dry. Every day he managed to secure enough food to last till the next day but that was all and house he had none. The baby was sick and when she was alone with it, she would look into the basket, its only cradle, with a look of despair. If only the sun would shine.

One day the woman screamed and suddenly like a tortured animal, fell prostrate beside the basket in a flood of tears. It was one of the saddest sights I had ever seen. A father and mother kneeling by the corpse of their first born child. The baby was dead. Not dead, because of any fault of its own, or of its parents, but because of a system that does not allow people to retain, for their own use enough of the results of their labor to secure even the most necessary things of life i.e. food, clothing, and shelter. In Mexico there is a common belief that Liberty is to be found in the North and this man of the peon



class had dared to leave the land on which he had been born, and to go out from under the domination of his master into the unknown world and seek for life and liberty. He took his wife and child and in a mood of desperation had started north afoot and had made his first long stop under this friendly tree.

The baby had died so suddenly that neither the services of a doctor nor a priest, had been procured.

Leaving their other belongings under the tree, they carried the little corpse in its basket cradle, no doubt to a priest and then to the cemetery. They returned at night empty handed, slept under the tree once more and early the next morning they started towards the North and from that day to this I have never forgotten this sad incident. It is just a chapter in the life of a man who had determined to make a break for liberty.

## IT CANNOT

By COVINGTON AMI

The following is the ending of an editorial article, "The Myth of Capitalistic Rationality," in The New Republic of July 23rd, 1919:

"Can it not, however, grow into a real system, adopt an intelligent statecraft and give itself a chance for life? While it held the modern world alone, intelligence was not essential to survival. But now a new regime has arisen to dispute the hegemony with capitalism. What is appearing in Europe is a society based upon labor instead of upon capital. The new regime is likely to be closely organized and conducted with an imaginative statemanship. The capitalistic regime may prove the more efficient in spite of its manifold stupidities. But victory is not often awarded to overconfidence. Now while the menace is remote it is time for those who cherish the system of private property to deliberate what may be done to strip it of its vices and fit it for survival.

First, I am inclined to agree with Gronlund when he says: "Capitalism is not a system of society; it is a period of anarchy intervening between the fall of Feudalism and the rise of Socialism".

Second, Capitalism has never shown "intelligence," and for the good and sufficient reason that it has none; all it has ever had has been a very poor brand of rat-like cunning. But its intelligence or non-intelligence does not interest me.

What does interest me is to see journals like The New Republic so clearly recognizing this: "What is appearing in Europe is a society based upon labor instead of upon capital," and then seeming to think that the Old Order, which is essentially a DYING thing, can either put down or compete the New Order out of Being; for, in the long run, there is no such thing as the Old conquering the New. For instance, Feudalism seemed to have taken on new life in the German Industro-Political Empire, but now history records again that "You cannot put new wine into old wineskins." And so it has been thruout all the time.

On this note closes The New Republic: "Now while the menace is remote it is time for those who cherish the system of private property to deliberate what may be done to strip it of its vices and fit it for survival."

I might as well say, when my body is broken with mortal illness, when age has doomed me to the tomb.

Let me deliberate what may be done to fit me, dying, for survival; it would be just as sensible. I might prolong my agony for yet a little while but only at my own expense and that of those on whom I depended for my miserable existence. Who wants to deliberate to save a corpse, especially when one must carry that corpse around thru days and nights of horror?

And that is just what the "system of private property" has now become to the Body Social—a corpse that is poisoning its every effort to cleanse and conducted with an imaginative statemanship. "private property" means allowing a handful of men women to claim and hold as theirs the Common Means of Life; that is to say, the land and natural resources of the Earth and the vast socialized machinery of production, distribution and exchange the Race has built up thru centuries of unremitting toil. That is what "private property" in this sense means, and this means the "right" of an insignificant minority to charge the Race for the use of commonwealth, which is monstrous.

For, as for the Earth and its resources, it is clear that under whatsoever idea of universal law you look at it, whether the Laws of God, or the Laws of Nature, the Earth is the common property of all mankind, and while its use may be temporarily usurped it can never be alienated; hence the Race has a right at any time to revoke the rules by which the Earth is held, and in so doing it does no injustice to any one, for the Race alone has a VESTED RIGHT in and to the Earth. This is clear to all who think for themselves; but, when it comes to the Socialized Machinery, the contention is apt to be made (and here the poor inventor is brought in to be wept over along with the "poor widows and orphans" who "own" so much of the Railroad stocks and bonds and fund of Insurance Companies, that this machinery is the product of human ingenuity, with the strong insinuation that some one man or other is its inventor or creator. A falser plea was never made. For the machinery of production, distribution and exchange used by society is so clearly an evolution of the ages, is so patently the outcome of the LABOR OF THE RACE that it cannot possibly be separated from the Race, and that which the RACE HAS CREATED belongs, by every code of justice imaginable, to the Race, and to the

Race ALONE. Its private ownership is a seizure, an expropriation pure and outright.

It is just because so large a portion of the Race today has come to recognize this expropriation that the Old Order is everywhere being questioned and attacked; and nothing can save it, except it can perform the miracle of making the great majority of mankind believe it is better off SLAVE than FREE.

But this is not all. No THINKING workingman or woman, no matter what their income may be, wants to "fit capitalism for survival," and for the simple and sufficient reason that we "have our bellyful" of the Wage System—WE ARE TIRED OF BEING HIRELINGS, no matter what our mar-

ket price may be. This is recognized by The New Republic, but SOMETHING ELSE is not, and that is this: The hope of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness is ALWAYS bound up in the building of a New Order; and not only is this so but there is a strange fascination in New Work to grown men and women just as there is in new play to children. We are never really grown up in the eyes of God. Hence, to conquer back its lost hegemony, Capitalism must not only persuade Mankind to act counter to all its moral, material and spiritual welfare, but must, at the same time, persuade it that wage-drudgery is preferable to Free Labor freely experimenting in the beautiful and wonderful domain of Nature. This IT CANNOT.

## Industrial Democracy

By COVINGTON AMI.

"No society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation. They may manage it then, and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct." —

Thomas Jefferson.

This, with his further declaration of: "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none", sums up the creed of Democracy as opposed to the dogma of Autoocracy.

What, then, do we mean by Industrial Democracy? Simply the above principles applied to the socialized industries and the earth of today; that and nothing less.

Industrial Democracy holds that a man WORKS in order to LIVE his own life.

Capitalist Autoocracy, that he LIVES in order to WORK for the PROFIT of a profiteer.

Industrial Democracy rests upon the following:

First, that if a man has not a property right in and to his labor-power, if he is not entitled by right to its full social value, then there is no such thing as a natural law of property.

Second, that, as to the earth and its resources, such as farming lands, forests, mines, waterpowers, harbors, etc., and the socialized machinery of production, transportation and exchange, the law of Occupancy and Use is the only natural law of ownership; for it is the USERS thereof who feed, clothe, house and educate the Race.

All else is usurpation of common rights.

Further, reaffirming the principles laid down by Franklin, Paine, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln, we hold that ALL the powers of government ABIDE IN and proceed from the people and not from executives, judges and legislators; and, so, we demand the DE-CENTRALIZATION OF POWER, its resumption by the people; and we unhesitatingly assert the RIGHT of the Workers to be PEOPLE and not COMMODITIES.

Philosophically, that is what Industrial Democracy means, as I understand it.

Practically, it means the establishment of an Industrial Republic — a government of Producers, by Producers, for Producers; that is to say, the men and women who do the useful, necessary, artistic, scientific and educative work of the world shall administer society in the interest of themselves — the Workers.

This being the end desired, we of necessity seek to remold the government of Industry and the State on working class lines.

To accomplish this, speaking broadly, we propose that the system of representation be changed from the present TERRITORIAL unit to an INDUSTRIAL unit; instead of starting from the Precinct and Ward, we would begin with the FARM and SHOP as the unit; build from there to the Industrial District Council, to the Industrial or Agricultural Union Convention, to the General Congress of the Industrial Commonwealth; in all of which Legislatures the representatives would, of necessity, come from and represent Industrial Constituencies: All executives and legislators Local National and International to be subject to recall at any time by their constituents: All laws, ordinances and treaties to be subject to the initiative and referendum.

This, as I see it, is what we mean by Industrial Democracy.

The idea did not come down out of the skies; neither is it the product of fevered brains of a "few agitators and demagogues" It is the direct product of the INDUSTRIALIZED world in which we exist, the effect of ECONOMIC EVOLUTION and, as such, can neither be put down with rifles nor locked up in prisons: It is the greatest and most hopeful idea in the World today — Industrial Democracy.

If you like the outline, if you come to believe, as we have, that it is the only method by which the Industrial System, which rules our souls as well as our bodies, can be administered by and for the general welfare, fall in and help the One Big Union build a New Society of Free and Equal Workers up out of the ruin Capitalism has bequeathed the Race.

# Three-Cornered Definitions

By ROBIN OF PODUNK.

## ART.

1. **Upper class.** Any work of imagination that shows an upper-class bias. As technique requires endless teaching, it is naturally preferred by this class to something naive and simple, showing that master and slave have been at work. Grand opera is the highest art of the upper-class. It is all founded on melodrama, where slaves are sacrificed to masters' evil passions to the approval of the composer. Workers' lives are held at nought; masters' lives most dear. So with its architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry and drama; all full of the poison of servility to the ruling class. The lesson of Shaw, Wells, Sinclair, Maeterlinck, D'Annunzio, Andreyev is: scholars, obey your masters if you would be rewarded.

2. **Middle-class.** Any work of imagination that shows middle-class bias. Nowadays the middle-class is clean sterile. Times were when it produced some able pieces, such as those of Dickens, Balzac, Zola, Tolstoi. Now middle class stuff consists of reproductions of classics done in plaster-paris, of canned music, moving pictures, of 5 and 10 cent novels, either blood-and-thunder or sickly-mawkish stuff. The newspapers and magazines emit middle-class howls now and then, via The N. Y. Call, The Nation, Appeal to Reason; but howls aren't art.

3. **Lower-class.** This class has been mute up to recent times, as leisure is the father of art, and naturally the workers have been too busy to carve their thoughts on imperishable stone. However folk-songs voicing the love of freedom, such as Joe Hill sang; a little of political economy as contained in the "Communist Manifesto" and in "Capital" of Marx; a play or two of Gorki; some essays of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and the works of Darwin and Haeckel; some propaganda pamphlets of Jack London, and the able articles in the I. W. W. papers and magazines voicing the discontent of the slaves and speaking for a positive outcome, like that of Dietzgen,—these constitute the beginnings of the new powerful proletarian art; powerful because it stands for the abolition of classes and therefore is free from the class bias.

## POLITICS.

1. **Upper-class.** The system of secret government by which the power of the plutocracy is kept up. The hidden hand of theft from the workers, and the traders.

2. **Middle-class.** The public open government which seeks to curb the plutocracy on the one hand, and to hold back the advancing working class on the other, and which does neither.

3. **Lower class.** Shop and union tactics thru which less slavery is attained—more freedom.

## RELIGION.

1. **Upper-class.** The worship of the Golden Calf.

2. **Middle class.** The worship of those who own the calf.

3. **Lower class.** The worship of those who are fighting for the Industrial Democracy, hazarding all they hold precious to win the first skirmishes. Gold will be of little worth; labor tickets will constitute money. Bankers and sky pilots will have to go to work.

## SCIENCE.

1. **Upper class.** An accumulation of knowledge that profits the masters. For instance, tar gas is an invention of this class, worthless to any other class; so are safety deposit vaults; long distance guns, etc.

2. **Middle class.** Stuff the masters want to know; like filling rotten teeth; removing surplus flesh; manicuring the finger-nails. Parasitic information and skill; prize-fighting is a middle-class science.

3. **Lower class.** That which eliminates extra motions; makes life easier; conquers nature; and benefits all mankind. Most science is discovered and invented by this class.

## PHILOSOPHY.

1. **Upper class.** The deduction drawn from life and experience that tend to prove the benefits of plutocracy; Bergson's puerile drivelings; also James's and Freud's. Not the rigid conclusions of Haeckel, Darwin, Spencer or Huxley, which are largely free from class bias.

2. **Middle class.** Newspaper editorials; magazine leaders; professorial vaporings; Christian Science bubbles; Sir Oliver Lodge's inanities. All showing the lack of good sense of this class.

3. **Lower class.** The summation of knowledge and experience proving that slavery makes a mean petty world for the masses of mankind. Matieralistic Monism; rebel thinking; free thought from Paine down to Ingersoll.

## EXAMPLES.

1. **Upper class.** Artist; Shaw. He fools the most people, while holding on to the Rockefeller tenets. Politician; Lloyd George, ditto. Preacher; Billy Sunday, ditto. Scientist; Mary Baker Eddy, ditto. Philosopher; Pres. Wilson, ditto.

2. **Middle class.** None prominent enough to name tho for artist, Charlie Chaplin fills their requirements; politician, Bryan; preacher, they too accept Sunday; Scientist; Dempsey; philosopher, Brisbane.

3. **Lower class.** Artist; Gorki. Politician, Lenine. Preacher, Bill Haywood. Scientist; Haeckel. Philosopher, Dietzgen.

## WAR.

1. **Upper class.** Necessary between nations to divide the labor spoils equitably amongst the strongest.

2. **Middle class.** Unnecessary, but have to submit, because the plutocracy demands it of us. We lose, it wins. The workers and we do the fighting; the plutes reap the advantages.

3. **Lower class.** Necessary, for thru war the Upper-class weakens itself, and then when falling, we by civil war, seize the power stolen from us.

## The Bourgeois

By RAY MARKHOM

I am the noble bourgeois!  
I toil not, and you'll never  
Catch me spinning in anything  
But a high-powered touring car.  
Yet behold, I eat the best of grub  
And have never bought a suit  
Of hand-me-downs  
On the installment plan  
In all my lazy life.

Rotund of belly, flabby of flesh,  
With the instincts of a wolf,  
And the intellect of a senile fish,  
I spend my business hours  
Posing for photographs,  
Which, after the spot-knocker  
Has worked 'em over,  
Go into the press under the heading:  
"Captain of Industry."

But say, between you and me,  
I don't know enough about  
Vulgar industry to operate  
A peanut pedler's push-cart.  
Why should I bother to know!  
Brains are for sale, and money  
Will buy anything.  
Ownership is the open sesame  
To industrial greatness.  
I buy both brains and brawn,  
And verily I say unto you,  
I pay damn poor prices.

If slaves die of hunger  
And overwork, it is generally  
Their own fault.  
Why in hell weren't they  
Sensible enough to be born  
Into decent families?  
Am I to blame if God, in his  
Infinite wisdom, chose me  
To be a shepherd of the human race?  
I have always tried to do the best  
I could for those whom God  
Has placed in my tender care.  
But they are ungrateful.  
Were it not for me  
They could NEVER work,  
And then what would become of them?

Yet they want to rob me of my  
Ownership of Industry;  
To give me a good job  
Instead of the good job  
I now receive from the  
Proceeds of their labor.  
Poor fools! If they ruin my industries  
How am I to give them employment?  
And without employment,  
As any addle-pated economist  
Can inform you, they must perish.

But there, I shall not permit them  
To commit suicide.  
Capitalism is, and always will be!  
God is on my side,  
And God is some guy.  
Death and Destruction  
To Bolsheviks, Spartacans, Syndicalists,  
S. L. P.'s, Left Wingers and last,  
And by all means worst,  
The I double you, double you.  
"Gun-powder and guts."  
In hoc signo spes mea!  
I, Blowhardus, the bourgeois, have spoken!  
They will never dethrone me!  
So mote it be!

## I Hear

By COVINGTON AMI

I hear the soldiers drilling;  
I hear the tramp of death;  
I sense the Old World dying:  
I hear its labored breath.

I rise and watch them marching:  
The "Awkward squad" goes by:  
I hear the future burning:  
I hear the black peace die.

I hear the Castes that governed  
The Nations to decay,—  
I hear them taking counsel  
'Gainst the men they arm today.

I hear the whispered message  
From Counting House to Crown:  
I hear the fall of Diaz,  
I hear the Czar go down!

I hear the Kaiser praying  
The cup may pass his lips:  
A flash—his throne is ashes,  
His "glory" in eclipse.

The Plutocrat and Bourgeois,  
I hear their shrieks of pain;  
And all the House of Dollars  
Bemoan the death of Cain.

I hear the Workers rising,  
I hear the Peoples sing;  
Exultant and defiant,  
The voice of Freedom ring!

I hear the soldiers drilling;  
I hear the tramp of death:  
I sense the Old World dying:  
I hear its rasping breath.

## Thus Always?

By COVINGTON AMI.

"This man blasphemeth!" cried the scribes of old:  
 "He will not worship at the shrines of Gold;  
 He is Caesar's enemy, and the friend  
 Of I won't Work; his words to evil tend;  
 He stirreth up the people, and the law  
 Of Moses he contemns. He has no awe  
 For us. He teaches all men kin and one,  
 With God all-father and with Man all-son;  
 He calls our statesmen and our bankers thieves,  
 Denies the prophets and the youth deceives;  
 He holds great meetings on the hills and shores,  
 Exorts the workers and defends the whores;  
 He tells them land, like air, to all is free,  
 Their Father's gift, and this is anarchy!  
 Our highpriests and our lawyers he derides,  
 His scorn for them avows and never hides:  
 He will not listen unto reason, nay!  
 He jeers our rich when for the poor they pray:  
 He teaches communism of all wealth,  
 The right of all to life, love, truth and health;  
 He calls us sophists, and he proves we lied—  
 Away with him! Let him be crucified!"

## To All Imprisoned Industrial Workers of the World

By Matilda Robbins.

For you  
 Who are for all  
 My song.  
 For you  
 The sufferers  
 In freedom's cause  
 My tear,  
 I'm looking up to you.  
 The heights  
 To which you've climbed  
 I cannot reach,  
 And hold against the foe  
 You are so far  
 Above contentments's snare,  
 So rich  
 In vision  
 Of a nobler day,  
 So eloquent — —  
 Despite the prison tombs!  
 Here is my hand.  
 I'm climbing, too,  
 A penitent — —  
 Yet proud to be  
 Akin to you;  
 Exultant in the thought  
 That I can dream  
 And strive with you;  
 That I can know —  
 With every pang of heart —  
 Our common love,  
 Our common bond,  
 Our common destiny.

## Song of the Profiteers

BY SELDOM GOOD.

Jeo ho. for the pot to the guards abrim  
 With ten million capsules containing names,  
 And a blinkered Lascar, like a Jack Ketch grim,  
 To flip 'em as a gamin games.  
 Capped and gowned, the devil's own crew,  
 Judge and Parson and Squire and Scribe,  
 Stirring the capsules as a cook stirs stew,  
 With outward wailing but an inward gibe:  
 Yeo ho! my Bullies, as we draw 'em so,  
 Ahoy! lads ho! and a heave ho, ho!  
 Tatoo and tan on our flesh? oh no!  
 Not on your chromo! our chosen few,  
 Are bleached and barbed and primped just so,  
 To look all else but the devil's crew.  
 But the devil's own crew we are, not less,  
 Minus the queues and the murder thumb,  
 In high silk hats and evening dress,  
 We awe the rabble and make them dumb;  
 While our Jack Ketch deftly draws 'em so,  
 Heave ho! my hearties and a heave ho, ho!  
 The cutlass hangs in the faddist's den,  
 'Neath the turbanned skull of the Buccaneer,  
 Displaced and scrapped by the powerful ken  
 Of the blood-smear'd, Bourgeois Profiteer.  
 The outlawed Rover, with her skull and bones,  
 Rots deep in the ocean's slime and silt,  
 While kid-gloved cut-throats mock D. Jones,  
 On the finest craft man's skill has built:  
 So we dice out death, as away we go,  
 With a ho! my Bullies! and a heave ho, ho!  
 No more do we swarm o'er the Galleon' rail,  
 With pistols in hands and a dirk in teeth,  
 To shoot and slash and whack and whale,  
 'Till her deck runs red in a gory seethe,  
 No more do we make men walk the plank,  
 Or dice for the women, too scared to scream,  
 No more do we fire at the kids point blank,  
 Nor pale the moon with a ship-fire gleam:  
 No, no! my Bullies! Ketch draws 'em so,  
 While we sing, "Heave ho! and a heave ho, ho!"  
 Ten million names in the pot of death,  
 To be chanced by Ketch, with impartial flip;  
 The lottery's sacred, so we hold our breath,  
 And pray to God that there be no slip.  
 And the rag-tag calls on God, forsooth,  
 But God is deaf and hears them not,  
 So Ketch stands by to dice our youth,  
 'Till the last Jack's name has left the pot:  
 The while we sup from the "Holy Grail,"  
 And chant, "Heave ho!" with a mournful wail.  
 Yeo ho! for a sail and a good stiff breeze,  
 When Ketch has hustled the last name out,  
 To rush our urchins beyond the seas,  
 To bleed and welter and shoot and clout  
 The while we loll in our sumptuous den,  
 'Neath the turbanned skull of the Buccaneer,  
 And thank our God that the "Black Flag Keu,"  
 Has progressed thence to the "Profiteer,"  
 Who has Ketch deftly draw 'em so,  
 As we sing, "Heave ho! and a heave ho, ho!"

# The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

## Chap. 8. Spokane and McKees Rocks.

The first great drive for membership was carried on among the timberworkers of the Northwest, or, as they are commonly known, the lumber jacks. The I. W. W. soon found this a prolific field for membership. The great timber belts of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana employ, perhaps, 200,000 lumberjacks when the busy season is on. These lumber jacks are a hearty, strong limbed race of men, boldly uncouth and absolutely fearless when necessity corners them into a fight. Heretofore, they had been practically without unionism. But the instinct of class feeling ran strong among them.

The field was not exactly new for industrial union propaganda. The I. W. W. had organized locals in this territory a decade earlier. The I. W. W. unions in the lumber belt had always reached a certain element of lumber jacks by their general propaganda. Now, efforts were made to concentrate in that industry. When the wave had once began, the lumberjacks surged into the I. W. W. by the hundreds. Great branches were formed in Spokane, Seattle Vancouver Tacoma Aberdeen Hoquiam and a score of smaller towns, 5000 are said to have lined up in Spokane in one year. A National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers was created with its headquarters in Seattle. The Industrial Worker, a weekly paper, edited primarily for the western locals, was started in Spokane.

Of course, the lumber bosses soon began to hit back. A policy of blacklist was manifestly impossible in an industry where the workers change with every season. New tactics were devised. It was believed that if the I. W. W. propaganda could be stamped out at its source, the growth of unionism would be effectively halted. This source was Spokane, the busiest branch and home of the Industrial Worker.

There was one local element which was only too glad to help in the task of driving out the I. W. W. These were the employment 'sharks.' Among all the leeches who fattened themselves upon the misery of the lumber jacks, the employment sharks were the most despicable. In order to get a job the worker must buy it of the employment shark. But there was an even more vile form of graft in Spokane at this time. Many of the employment sharks had entered into secret agreements with the bosses on the jobs whereby the boss would discharge the new arrivals after they had worked just long enough to pay for their transportation. This would give the employment shark, back in the city, a chance to hire another crew of men and collect another tribute of fees. The fees would be split with the boss. In some of the more notorious camps, there were always three shifts on the move, one on the way to the job, another on the job and the third travelling back.

There is one camp on record, where over three thousand men were hired during the winter of

1908-9, to maintain a force of fifty men. This was the camp of the Somers Lumber Co.

Against this form of extortion, the I. W. W. soon took the lead. On the street corners in Spokane, soapboxers denounced these abuses night after night, drawing the applause of great audiences. Every street meeting was also a recruiting rally at which appeals for membership found a hearty response. The first and main program which the I. W. W. emphasized was that the employment sharks must go.

Early in the year 1909, the City Council of Spokane passed an ordinance forbidding street speaking within the fire limits. Later, this was modified to allow religious bodies to hold street meetings, but barring all others. Thus, the I. W. W. was directly discriminated against. Such an ordinance was frankly a travesty upon the constitution of the United States where the right of freedom of speech is enunciated without qualification. Had the question been thrown into court for adjudication, however, the I. W. W. realized that the decision would be against them. There was only one course open to the organization, to go on with their meetings, City Council notwithstanding and stand upon their constitutional privileges. This precipitated the first I. W. W. free speech fight.

The test was made by James P. Thompson, the local organizer. He was promptly arrested. A group of members followed him on the soap box, one by one. Each was dragged off to jail. The police, however, did not dare to charge them with violating the new ordinance. Instead, they were booked for disorderly conduct. The next day, Nov. 3, 1909, the I. W. W. headquarters was raided by Chief of Police Sullivan, and his aids. They arrested James Wilson, editor of the Industrial Worker, C. L. Filigno, the local secretary and A. E. Cousins, the assistant editor, charging them with conspiracy. This bold stroke was calculated to break the back bone of the organization. With the leaders out of the way, Sullivan assumed that the members would soon submit. But the rank and file was not intimidated. In order that the Industrial Worker might continue to be published, E. J. Foote was chosen as a substitute editor. He was arrested the next day in the lawyer's office. That night, another large group of members attempted to hold a meeting and went to jail.

The treatment that the prisoners underwent was almost unbelievable. Tortures that would have done credit to a Spanish inquisition were invented. Sufferings too terrible to relate were endured. But, to a man, the fighters clung to their ideal. There was never a thought of compromise.

Sullivan, the chief of police, developed a monomania for brutality. Not content with arresting speakers, he turned them over to his strong-arm squad to be mauled and beaten before being taken to jail. One man is recorded to have been brought in with a broken jaw and left to suffer in

agony for two days without medical attention. As soon as they arrived at the jail, the prisoners were thrown into what was known as the sweat box, a narrow cell, 6 by 8. Here, as many as twenty eight or thirty men would be herded. The steam would then be turned on full blast until the men were ready to drop from exhaustion. Some fainted away before being removed. Then the prisoners would suddenly be rushed to an ice cold cell and left there. If they proved riotous, the fire hose would be turned upon them and they would be drenched with ice water. In such a condition, many of the prisoners soon became the victims of pneumonia and other diseases.

A call for volunteers was sent out to all parts of the country. From every local of the I. W. W., men commenced the long journey to go to jail in Spokane. The winter was bitter cold and nearly all the volunteers had to travel upon open box cars but they endured the cold willingly in order to do their part in the struggle. From Chicago, more than 2000 miles away, a band of twenty men left for Spokane on Nov. 15. On their way the leader, James K. Cole, a brilliant young agitator of twenty three, was killed in a freight accident. Undaunted by the tragedy, his companions continued their freezing journey across the wind swept plains. Every day new detachments reached Spokane, stood up on the streets, uttered the words, "Fellow Workers" and were dragged to jail. Frank Little started to read the Declaration of Independence. He was given thirty days. A Mrs. Edith Frenette, one of the woman members, endeavored to sing 'The Red Flag' as some of the prisoners were being led along the street. She was instantly seized and accused of being found in a intoxicated condition. Considerable sentimental interest was aroused by the presence among the free speech fighters of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a mere child of eighteen, then just springing into reputation as the girl-operator from New York. Until the very end, she was indefatigable as a worker for the cause. She spoke at mass meetings in every industrial city on the coast, rallying the workers to the support of the free speech fight. She was arrested, herself, in the heat of the trouble and went bravely to the jail.

With hundreds of men pouring in every day, with the courts clogged with cases, with the I. W. W. straining all its energies to direct the glare of publicity upon the crimes which were being committed in Spokane, the citizens soon aroused themselves. Not all of them were willing to be used as pawns of the lumber barons and the employment sharks as their mayor was. The unprecedented fight that the I. W. W. was putting up, compelled their admiration. A lawyer named Crane, inspired by the indignities, opened his office window and began to address the passers-by. In the rush of the police which followed, he gave blow for blow, and there were many broken heads in the force before he was safely in the wagon. Many other townspeople felt equally sympathetic toward the fighters. G. E. B. member Heslewood was stationed in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, just across the state line, where he solicited and received the financial support to wage the fight. The response was splendid and the I. W. W.

fully bore its own, both in court and in publicity. It was the latter that the Spokane autocrats feared the most.

They had endeavored, early in the fight, to suppress the organ of the I. W. W., the Industrial Worker. They had arrested all the editorial staff at first and then, when new editors sprung up and the paper continued to appear Sullivan swooped down upon the printer and confiscated 7000 copies which had just come off the press. All Spokane printers were intimidated from printing the next issue. To the chagrin of the autocrats, the Industrial Worker appeared promptly on the date of issue, bearing the imprint of a Seattle printer. A staff of little newsboys were employed and the Industrial Worker was soon being hawked on every street corner of Spokane.

The situation was becoming uncontrollable. The jail was crowded to capacity. The Franklin schoolhouse was improvised to hold the overflow. When the schoolhouse became packed, men were confined at Fort Wright under guard of the negro soldiers. Many of the prisoners went on hunger strike to protest against the abuses. The conditions in the jail became more and more terrible. One reporter on the Spokane Chronicle wrote over his signature:

"If men had murdered my own mother, I would not see them tortured as I saw I. W. W. men tortured in the city jail."

So awful were the experiences of the prisoners, that eleven of them lost their reason and went hopelessly insane. Many others were wrecked for life. But under it all, not a man broke down. Any of them could have been released by a simple word, uttered in recantation of the I. W. W. But they preferred to fight and suffer. Men swarmed to join them from far and near. One lumberjack came into Spokane, donated \$50 to the defense fund and then deposited \$100 more, all that he had, to be drawn upon, as needed. Then he joined the men in jail. Thirty four days later he emerged from it, a living wreck, scarcely able to crawl. He told the committee that he wanted the union to accept the other \$100 to be used for the medical treatment of those who were in a worse condition than himself. He stayed around for a day or two to regain some of his former strength, then he hobbled off to the woods to hunt a master. Such sacrifice was not a rarity.

The labor movement was thrilled by the Spokane Free Speech Fight. Never before had such devotion to an ideal been vaunted. The wonder of it all was the absolute individual initiative of the common members. Leaders were deported or put in jail. The organization proceeded without a falter. Previous experiences in organization had always seemed to prove that individual action and self-activity among the membership were impossible. The I. W. W. succeeded in evoking from its members that very quality which had never before been produced. Not only in Spokane but in every subsequent struggle and strike, the I. W. W. displayed a capacity and a courage of action which fairly dazzled their contemporaries.

The fight dragged wearily on. In one month, 334 prisoners were reported on the hospital list. Outside

public opinion was swinging to the I. W. W. every day. Already, the principle for which they were struggling was recognized. The mayor proceeded against the fake employment agents. Out of 31 employment offices, all but 12 were put out of business. The city forced the grafters to refund thousands of dollars to men whom they had tricked with fictitious jobs. Public opinion also forced three of the most flagrantly brutal officers to resign from the force.

The last fling of the city officials was the sentencing of six more leaders, Whitehead, Speed, Justh, Foss, Grant and Shippy, to six months in the county jail. The ranks of the men remained unbroken. An attempt was made to cut off the financial support of the fighters by arresting Heslewood in Coeur d' Alene. This proved to be a boomerang. Heslewood was released on a writ of habeas corpus and in the resulting hearing, Capt. Burns, one of Sullivan's subordinates was trapped, in a perjury and placed under arrest. The mayor of Spokane saw that the situation had gone too far and that he and Sullivan were beaten. He called a conference at which the following compromise was reached:

- (1) The city to enact the Seattle street speaking ordinance.
- (2) All prisoners to be released as soon as possible.
- (3) The I. W. W. hall to be reopened without interference.
- (4) Publication of the Industrial Worker not to be interfered with.
- (5) All cases against the city officials to be dropped.
- (6) Perjury charges against Burns to be dropped.
- (7) The I. W. W. not to speak on the streets pending the passage of the ordinance.

On March 9, 1910, the bill was introduced in the City Council authorizing street meetings and it was passed without opposition. The I. W. W. had won its fight.

As an advertisement of the I. W. W., this Spokane fight was invaluable. It had played up those particular qualities of the I. W. W., which have given it the name of "the fighting union." An unconquerable courage, a scorn of compromise, a fearlessness in the defiance of unjust laws, a militancy of individual initiative, these were the aspects of the I. W. W. which emerged from this first big free speech fight. It gave the I. W. W. a mighty following among the lumberjacks. It was the very making of the organization in the Northwest. And it advertised the new union broadcast among those industrialists who had long since believed the I. W. W. to be dead.

By a fortuitous conjuncture of circumstances, another dramatic I. W. W. struggle had broken out in the east almost simultaneously. The jaded enthusiasm of the eastern members was revived by the series of strikes which broke out in the Pittsburg district early in the year 1909.

There is a certain grim intensity to the class struggle in the Pittsburg district such as no other industrial section displays. Here, the class struggle is no story book legend or dream. It is a terrible actuality. Its instincts are woven into the very texture of the worker's lives.

Picture a great, smoke-blackened city, lying between two rivers — a city which lives, works and dies only for steel. Surrounding this central city, visualize a swarm of satellite cities, each of which lives, moves and has its being in steel. Everywhere the grime of the blast furnaces, everywhere the roar of the rolling mill. Picture a polyglot horde of workers, lured from every nation in the world, all of them toiling feverishly and brutally to produce steel. And, brooding over the whole length of the valley, seeing everything, knowing everything, ruling everything with a cold and ruthless hand, behold the United States Steel Corporation, the lord and master of the district. Such is Pittsburg.

Feudalism in its full bloom was not a patch on Modern Pittsburg. Here autocracy reigns, brazen and undisputed. In all the valley, there is but one mind, the mind of the steel trust. There is but one party, the party of the steel trust. There is but one master, again, the steel trust. It poisons every life. It taints every endeavor. It crushes every symptom of revolt.

It has an organized secret service of spies who pry into every nook of activity. The late lamented Czar of Russia was never served so well. The detectives of the Steel Trust worm their way inside of every union that the workers attempt to establish. They are interested spectators in every radical audience. They are planted in churches, in schools, in every workshop. Where two or three gather together in the Pittsburg district, there the spy is bound to gravitate.

In open defiance of the spirit of American laws, the Steel Trust maintains a private standing army of its own. This standing army can be mobilized within twenty four hours notice. It is recruited from the vilest scum of the race. In its ranks we find the professional gunmen, thugs and criminals, scoured from the tenderloins of every American city. They are the instruments that the Steel Trust employs to cow its workers into submission. At the first hint of a strike in any one of its hundreds of mills, the Steel Trust hurls its battalions of hired gunmen onto the spot and they proceed to crush the revolt by sheer terrorism. The spies are the ears with which the Steel Trust listens; the gunmen are the arms with which it strikes.

Obviously, with such a system perfected, the Steel Trust is secure in its dominion. It has debauched the politics and the courts of the district and there are none to question its high-handed ruthlessness. The press is its servile instrument. Unionism was literally beaten to death in the awful Homestead outbreak in 1892. Socialism is forced to crawl through underground subterranean channels of expression. A clever juggling of nationalities prevents any unity of feeling among the workers.

More than any other district then, Pittsburg presents a cross section of capitalism. Stripped of all camouflage, it reveals the hideousness of its reality.

The workers of the Pittsburg district have none of the illusions which paralyze the organizing activities of their fellow workers. The class struggle interprets itself to them in every experience of their life. They know that the steel trust has reduced them to virtual slavery but they are powerless to



resist it. Shuddering before the power that has crushed them, shifty of eye and furtive of glance, fearful of every stranger lest he prove to be a spy, sent to trip them, these slaves of the steel trust are truly the most pitiable of all the driftwood of the modern system. And there are hundreds of thousands of them. Here it was, that the I. W. W. first raised the red flag in the east.

For the first time since 1892, the workers of this district began to get restive in the year 1909. The old A. F. of L. union that had once been powerful enough to give battle to the steel trust, the A. A. of I. S. and T. W., commonly known as the Amalgamated, was moribund. It had long since ceased to be a factor in the valley. Many of the workers had come to distrust the pitiful shell that remained and its officials were suspected of being corrupt. Like all craft unions, the Amalgamated had no place for the unskilled workers. And the steel mills were teeming with unskilled.

Almost simultaneously, the workers came out in an organized strike in the mills of McKee's Rocks, Butler and Newcastle. These mills were all subsidiaries of the steel trust. At Newcastle, where there were more skilled workers involved than in either of the other two cities, the Amalgamated took charge of the strike. At Butler, there was nobody to advise or lead the strikers. Most of them were Polish in nationality and a Polish priest soon induced them to return to work. But, at McKee's Rocks, a struggle was waged which opened a new chapter in the history of American strikes. This was the first great revolutionary strike.

There were 5,000 strikers in McKee's Rocks. They were criss-crossed by sixteen nationalities. Among them were Americans, Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slavonians, Croats, Polish, Turks, Lithuanians, Russians, Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians and Swiss. Naturally, there was almost infinite chaos among them, at first. They all knew what they wanted. But they could not get together to discuss and plan the fight for what they wanted. Socialist party leaders came in from Pittsburg to assist them but they accomplished nothing. The men could not understand them and even if they had been able, they would not have been interested. The only advice that the socialists could give was to advise them how to vote in the next election. But the next election was far off, while most of the workers were foreigners who had no vote.

A committee of six was elected, known as the Big Six, to conduct the strike. This committee held big open air meetings on Indian Mound, ran the commissary store and handled the defense funds. But this Big Six was lamentably inadequate. Only two of the six were revolutionists. The other four were conservative trade unionists who, however good their intentions, knew nothing about the conduct of a revolutionary strike. In the emergency, a queer thing happened.

Among the foreigners, there were several men who had been revolutionists in Europe. Some of them were card members of the Metallarbeiter Verband, the most powerful industrial union in Europe, in-

cluding all the metal and machinery workers of Germany, Austria, Denmark and Sweden. Some of the Hungarians had participated in the great railway strike in Hungary. Three of the strikers had taken part in the 'Bloody Sunday' outrage in Petrograd in the revolution of 1905. Others had been active socialists in the old world. So it was not ignorance but language which kept them divided. Suddenly, an Unknown Committee came into existence, formed by those European revolutionists. Although the Big Six continued, ostensibly, to manage the strike, in reality it was the secret Unknown Committee which planned and executed all details.

With the brutal confidence with which the Steel Trust had always subdued its previous strikes, it commenced to stamp out the revolt by force. The Pennsylvania State Constabulary, known among the workers as the Cossacks, an army of mounted police, were rushed in. The usual tale of beatings, arrests, evictions and intimidations followed. Scabs were brought in. On August 12, one of the strikers, Horvath, was killed in cold blood by the Cossacks. To their surprise, the Cossacks were immediately served with a notice, signed by the Unknown Committee, that brutality must stop and that, for every striker who was killed in the future, the strikers would avenge his death by exacting the life of a Cossack in return. Which Cossack did not matter, they would hold all of the band jointly responsible.

Of course, the Cossacks ignored the warning as an idle threat. On August 29, crazed with drunkenness, they commenced to shoot up 'Hunkville', as the foreign section was called. But the Unknown Committee was prepared. It gave them shot for shot. In the melee, three of the Cossacks lost their lives, including the most notoriously brutal of their number. Many were wounded on both sides. But this was the end of violence. The indomitable Cossacks had been tamed.

Public sentiment veered around to the strikers early in the struggle. Their wrongs were too glaring to be denied. The strike was primarily to abolish the pooling system. This system had developed into an indirect form of extortion which enriched the company at the expense of the workers' pay envelopes. This system parcels out the lots of work to the foremen who contract to do it for a certain sum, the money to be divided pro-rata among the men under him. Under this system, men who had formerly earned \$3, \$4 and \$5 a day were only drawing 75 cents or a dollar a day. Grafting foremen were preying upon every worker.

Publicity soon revealed other glaring injustices in the treatment of the workers. The Pittsburg Leader of July 15, 1909 described them as follows:

"The lowest wages, the worst working conditions, the most brutal treatment looking to the deadening of every human impulse and instinct, graft, robbery and even worse, the swapping of human souls, the souls of women, for the lives of their babes, have for years marked the Pressed Steel Car Works as the slaughter house is the most expressive name that could be given to the plant, although it has other claims to rank as a strong side show of Inferno Workingmen are slaughtered every day, not killed, but slaughtered. Their very deaths are unknown to all save the workers who see their bodies hacked and butchered by the

relentless machinery and death traps which fill the big works. Their families know, of course, that the bread stops from coming. But the public, the coroner, everybody else, is ignorant of the hundreds of deaths by slaughter which form the unwritten records of the Pressed Steel Car plant. These deaths are never reported. They are unknown by name, except to their families and their intimates. To others, they are known as No. 999 or some other, furnished on a check by the slaughter house company for the convenience of its paymasters. A human life is worth less than a rivet. Rivets cost money."

Many similar articles were printed. Soon the meetings on Indian Mound began to attract great crowds of sympathizers from all the district around. At last, one group of submissive slaves were putting up a fight and a winning fight against the steel trust. Workers who had long since given up the struggle began to thrill with their fight. Funds and support rolled in from steel workers throughout the valley. A splendid example of solidarity was displayed when the trainmen on both the railroads running into McKee's Rock refused to haul scabs to the plant. This was followed by a similar refusal on the part of the crews of the two company steamers. Never before had such a keenness of class loyalty been displayed.

From the first, the strikers were hostile to the A. F. of L. McKee's Rocks had been the scene of many a previous failure by the Amalgamated. The workers know, by bitter experience the inadequacies of craft unionism. The assumption of control by the revolutionists of the Unknown Committee had been the signal for the entrance of the I. W. W. As an organization, the I. W. W. was practically unknown in the district. With the exception of the unsuccessful attempt at Youngstown, three years before, the I. W. W. had never locked horns with the steel trust. Further than the fact that it was revolutionary and industrial, the committee, themselves, were ignorant of its nature. But they welcomed it on these grounds.

On August 15, a great mass meeting was held by the I. W. W. on Indian Mound. The meeting was advertised by posters printed in five languages. 8,000 men, including nearly all the strikers, attended the meeting. William E. Trautmann the General Organizer of the I. W. W., addressed the crowd in English and German. Foreign language speakers followed him in each tongue. The audience enthused to the message. This new revolutionary unionism, a unionism which united the craftsmen and the laborer, a unionism whose motto was Solidarity; this was what they had long dreamed of. It was such an organization for which they had cried when disillusioned by the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. representatives were swamped with applicants. From this point on, Trautmann practically managed the strike.

Within a month, the strike was over and won. The men returned on Sept. 8. The victory was so sweeping as to be unbelievable. The pooling system was abolished. The grafting foremen were discharged. A five per cent increase in wages, half holidays on Saturday and no Sunday work, was conceded by the bosses. Other onerous shop rules were eliminated. And the men returned as a union; as a local of the I. W. W., 4,000 strong.

It was fortunate that they were organized. After working one week, the men found that the company was actually paying less to some of the men than before the strike. Others were paid the agreed increase. This was a subtle trick by which it was hoped the workers would be divided. The boss soon found out his mistake. On the morning of Sept. 15, at 10 A. M., every worker in the great plant dropped his tools simultaneously, while a committee interviewed the office. This 'passive resistance strike' lasted just fifteen minutes. The boss realized that the men could not be divided and he submitted to the demands of the committee. Solidarity had won a second victory in McKee's Rocks.

The prestige of the I. W. W. in the district waxed greater every day. Unlike other localities, the I. W. W. had the whole hearted co-operation of the Socialist party in this district. Trautmann and his corps of foreign speaking organizers went from mill to mill, organizing local industrial unions. After the debacle in Butler, the I. W. W. stepped in and formed a large union. Frank Niedzillski, a former member of the Russian Duma, tore the Polish workers away from the influence of the priest. Other locals were formed in Sharon, Struthers and Pittsburg. Joseph Schmidt, an eloquent young Lithuanian did splendid agitation among that race.

In the meantime, at Newcastle, the strike of the tinplate workers was going on in deadly earnest. All the fiendish weapons of oppression were employed to crush them. The Cossacks had been transferred from Newcastle to McKee's Rocks and from McKee's Rocks back to Newcastle, intermittantly. The strikers settled themselves down to a long guerilla fight. Dissatisfaction with the craft dividing policies of the Amalgamated, had been manifested from the beginning. The tin mill workers always remained unorganized and at work while the rolling mill workers were on strike. A splendid example of the I. W. W. tactics was displayed in Newcastle. An electrical engineer named McKeever, who was working in the mechanical department of the tin mill took the initiative in organizing the unskilled tin mill workers into the I. W. W. and calling them out on strike to assist the rolling mill workers. From this time, under the leadership of McKeever, the I. W. W. had a large measure of control in the Newcastle situation. Several hundred members were soon enrolled.

Although the Newcastle strikers were not rewarded with the same victorious result as McKee's Rocks had ended in, the strike led to one permanent acquisition for the I. W. W. in the establishment of the weekly paper, Solidarity. Founded on Nov. 4, during the heat of the strike, by C. H. McCarty, edited first by A. M. Stirton and later by B. H. Williams, Solidarity eventually became the official organ of the entire I. W. W. movement. The possession of a press at this crisis was a tower of strength to the I. W. W. in their organization work throughout the district.

Thus, by the year 1910, the revolutionary policy of the I. W. W. had vindicated itself by the two most spectacular victories that the organization had yet obtained. Any lingering doubt that the union had made no mistake in breaking with the political ele-

ment was now completely dispelled. Freed from internal controversies, the revolutionary tactics had proven their worth. St. John and Trautmann had piloted the I. W. W. into the path of its real destiny. The I. W. W. of 1910 was entering the most fortuit-

ous period of its career. Spokane had opened the door to all the migratory workers of the west. McKee's Rocks had enlisted the support of the unorganized foreigners of the east. The next three years were replete with growth.

## THE OBJECTS OF THE I. W. W.

(Being an introductory to a chapter of "The I. W. W. handbook" now being written by Justus Ebert.)

**L**ABOR was never as much alive to its own importance as it is today. Labor is in a state of discontent and unrest. It is struggling to realize a better society as it never struggled before. Like another Prometheus, it is trying to free itself from the rock of reaction to which it is bound. bound.

The war has brought home to labor its significance in life. President Wilson in addressing the A. F. of L. convention, made plain that without labor wars cannot be won and governments survive. Kaiser Wilhelm, appealing to the Krupp workers at Essen, to stand by the Fatherland, demonstrated that without labor, there can be no Fatherland.

In brief, the war demonstrated that **Labor is the State. It is the foundation rock of modern society.** When that rock moves, as move the rocks of the earth in a quake, then there is an upheaval. **States fall; the society is destroyed; the face of modern life is transformed.**

The conditions that have prevailed since the war have only served to drive home to the workers the lessons of the war. They have given to labor movements such a size and importance as to cause governments to tremble. In England, the Triple Alliance of Labor, composed of the miners, railroad and transportation workers unions, rises to menace the lying government with a great strike in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic and the solution of English social problems without the use of the military against labor. In this country, President Wilson's advocacy of the League of Nations is interrupted by Labor's demands for either more wages or reduced prices.

Labor, giant Labor, awakened Labor, is becoming the governing power. It has only to organize so as to make that power effective. This is the object of the I. W. W.—to give labor a form of organization that will make it invincible.

To understand the objects of the I. W. W. one thing is necessary. That is, it must be recognized that the I. W. W. is not aiming to overthrow "constituted authority," or government. Government is being overthrown by world developments. It is these developments that compel Labor, including the I. W. W., to act in a spirit of self-preservation for all society.

Nor does the I. W. W. want to destroy the family or religion, and "promote anarchy." The family and religion are destroyed and anarchy is promoted, by the conflict of economic interests—both national

and international—over which the I. W. W. has no control. The I. W. W. seeks to end this conflict, to the advantage of all mankind.

In other words, always bear in mind, that the I. W. W. is not an organization that aims to fit mankind into a procrustean bed, regardless of its developments and tendencies. What the I. W. W. aims to do is to be abreast, if not ahead, of the actual trend of world society. The I. W. W. is itself an outgrowth of this trend.

This brings us to another moot question, namely: Does the I. W. W. believe in and advocate politics? Absolutely! The I. W. W. is neither anti-political nor non-political. The I. W. W. is ultra-political. That is, the I. W. W. recognizes that getting votes and winning offices is not politics of a fundamental kind. Politics is the control of government through industrial control. Politics is the control of society through control of the means of its livelihood. It is the change of politics from a territorial to an economic basis that constitutes the modern revolution, as reflected in the Russian Soviet Republic, the overshadowing supremacy of the trusts in the U. S., and the growing dominance of labor organizations in governmental matters in England and the United States. "Is the I. W. W. anti-political?" Please don't ask that question again. We need our time for other work.

Oh, yes; we almost forgot that most palpitating of questions? Does the I. W. W. organize the brain workers? As we know of no workers who work without brains, we are compelled to answer, "Yes." It would be ridiculous for the I. W. W. to go into dissecting rooms and organize only the brainless skulls that the students operate on there! The I. W. W. organizes all wage workers—all of them, no matter how employed or exploited by employers. A college professor who is exploited at a salary by an educational corporation is eligible to form, together with his fellow employes, an educational industrial union of the I. W. W. An electrical genius employed by an electrical trust at a big salary, like Steinmetz of the General Electric Co. at Schenectady, N. Y., for instance, may become a member of the Electrical Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W., if he wants to. In short, the I. W. W. organizes all who work for wages or salary, regardless of classification, which is considered no bar to membership. Only stockholders, owners, employers—all non-wage workers—are barred. **The I. W. W. is an organization of wage workers just as they work, without trade, sex, color, religions, or**

any other distinctions, styles or shirts and collars included.

"What," we hear somebody shout, (somebody from the South with southern prejudices, most likely), "you don't mean to say that you organize the negro; and that you make him the equal of the white man in your I. W. W. industrial union?" That's just right, Mr. Questioner. As the employer compels us to work in the shop on an equality of wage slavery with the negro, we fail to see why we shouldn't meet him on the basis of that same equality of our union. The negro is exploited precisely as we are. Why then shouldn't we organize him precisely as we organize ourselves — "we whites?" The claim that he may have a different skull, is achild-likesavage, can never be educated above manual employment, has a peculiar odor, is lustful, dishonest, treacherous, except when mastered like a colt, and all that other "bull," never worries the employer. He hires the negro to take

our places when we strike. He educates him to run machines, and develops his brain in ways untold. Why, then, should we bar the negro? We don't and we will not, any more than we would bar the Jew who, according to some wonderful yarns, can give the negro cards and spades in the matter of biological, chanological, malodorological and other shortcomings.

Yes, sir. We I. W. W. aim to organize every man, woman and child that is in the leaking, rotten boat of capitalism, so that we can all pull together to the shore of social safety and freedom just over yonder. From the brain worker and the negro—from the stunted kiddie and robust woman—from all in wage slavery — the I. W. W. draws its strength. It is embraced by them all, because it embraces them all.

How do we aim to do this, more specifically? Read on, and we shall attempt to tell.

## Lumber Workers Taking Control of Their Industry

By D. S. Dietz, of L. W. I. U. No. 500.

We being at the point of collapse of the Lumber Trust. That day is inevitable. It may be nearer than many of us suspect. The Lumber Trust will collapse at the same time as Wall Street faces its next panic. It's next panic will be real so far as Capital is concerned.

Such an event will be the most monumental, wholesome and clarifying of human history and will occur when Europe repudiates its national debts.

This forecast is based on Labor's action thruout the World, and also assuming, American Labor will not falter in it's hastening Industrial Unionizing, as outlined by the I. W. W.

### Organizing the Administrative Forces.

The workers will call a meeting on all jobs, saw mills and logging camps and elect instructed delegates to the District Industrial Council of I. U. No. 500. At the same time elect their directors or the Job Committee to take the place of the masters' superintendents and foremen. As to who is most fitted will be decided by the Workers of the particular Job in all cases.

Most modern lumber plants have four distinct departments: Logging operation, saw mills, planing mills and yards. The shipping department is interwoven with the three latter. There are some variations, especially between districts.

The workers will no doubt elect their best, one from each department, who will constitute an executive committee to co-ordinate the plant and to take the place of the masters' general superintendent or manager.

They will also, at these meetings decide hours of work per day and conditions under which to labor.

It will, at this time, be necessary to appropriate the amount of stock to produce. Records of stock on hand and produced will be kept and reported to the District office; no doubt weekly. District offices will report to the General Union Headquarters month-

ly, which in turn will forward a complete statement of stock to General Headquarters, let us say quarterly.

When General Headquarters has become properly organized, having it's various Technical Boards, the Committee on supply and demand will report back to the Industrial Union Headquarters the necessary amount of stock to produce each year, in advance. Whereupon the workers will re-adjust the hours of work to meet the requirements.

The writer, after 35 years work in the Industry, with time divided between the various departments, is positively sure that it is not necessary to use space to instruct how to handle the unit or job. The workers know that themselves. They are doing it for the masters' One Big Union and will do it 100 per cent better for their own One Big Union.

All who are elected to any part of the administrative forces will be so elected by reason of their expert knowledge of the industry or unit-job and their organizing ability.

This will be true in every case from the job to Continental Headquarters, thus forming the North American Lumber Workers Industrial Union.

### Readjustments.

No doubt many of the small and ramshackle plants will be dismantled. Only the modern and semi-modern will be operated. All will be improved from the viewpoint of saving labor-energy. "Greatest possible product with the least possible energy." The workers will demand improved machinery.

Shortly, at their Industrial Union Councils the workers will elect skilled graders, representing every district of the continent, who will constitute a Committee to inaugurate universal grades. Grading lumber is highly important to the industry. The masters' system of grades is laughable from the viewpoint of use and convenience. Their system evolved from a system of lockeying each other. Grades should be known by the timber to which they apply, as: Hard-

wood grades, White pine grades, Yellow Pine grades, Fir grades, etc. Each one Universal.

The theory of direct action embodies wonderful possibilities when applied. For instance, at present logs are being driven by streams, rafted and towed by tug-boats and railroad past one or more, sometimes a dozen mills, in order to deliver to the proper master. That would be ridiculous under Worker's Control or Industrial Communism.

Many, many problems will present themselves for readjustment. They will not be difficult of arrangement. Most of them will be adjusted very readily, by reason of the new conception of Industrial procedure.

The subject of distribution to the consumer, is a broad problem and should be discussed at length under another head. The present retail yards and sheds will no doubt be known as Service Stations. The workers in them will take control of them as such.

Referring to standing timber, the present system requires elaborate file or records and descriptions. That is another of those intricate and cumbersome elements which revolve themselves to a point of simplicity, under Workers Control. Sure, we own it all and cut where common sense dictates!

From the viewpoint of the necessity to re-forest, present methods are, in some districts, totally destructive to the young growth, which is really a crime. Workers will not do that. They would demand to know some means of avoiding destruction, always.

#### Generalities.

The difference in timber, conditions peculiar to locations and natural environment compels the writer

to state that it seems impossible to organize the industry properly, except by Districts.

Logging, milling, planing and the proper care—proper care is important—is far different between the three districts of Seattle, Superior and Spokane. The workers in any district know these things, at least a majority, thoroughly; which is a sufficient guarantee along those lines.

In the event of Workers Control, at least 50 per cent of the skilled workers such as engineers, millwrights, planemen, graders, sawyers, and filers will at once and whole-heartedly join in the Workers dictatorship. That will be sufficient to stabilize production and form the base of the new administrative structure.

A deep seated human trait must be kept in mind and guarded against. It is a fact, peculiar to all humanity, that situations or operations with which we have had no contact or experience appeals to us as something big, or hard to understand. This is in a measure true, but not to such an extent as we are prone to imagine.

Now then, in order not to falter or become hesitant when the responsibility falls upon us, let us remember; When the lumber industry and other industries are stripped of the machinery necessary to profits, there is nothing left which the workers do not thoroughly understand. There is nothing necessary then, but the administration of production for use. What more does the world need? What more do we need? The workers have been for centuries producing commodities—lives necessities—for the exploiters.

Now we shall produce them for use and thereby raise the standard of living, knowledge and the contentment of all.

## Job Talks

By D. S. DIETZ

We are all agreed that the I. W. W. is handicapped by the insufficiency of numbers of capable office men and bookkeepers. That difficulty will adjust itself eventually by an influx of bookkeeper-members, presumably. There is, it seems, a more important matter that will bear immediate discussion.

One who has had experience organizing the job for the masters will naturally look into the future and ask this question: Are we developing organizing ability in proportion to our increasing numbers?

The ease and freedom from chaos with which the final transition takes place will be in proportion to, not how many of the working class are members of our organization, but how many of our members in every locality, in all the industries, have true I. W. W. concepts, coupled with the ability to organize the application of them to the job.

Experience and observation leads the writer to believe that a member whose concept of the I. W. W. aims and purposes is not developed in proportion to his enthusiasm often becomes a hindrance, although he may be honest and sincere. His or her

policies, tactics ways and mental attitudes will disrupt rather than construct. Such an individual member is quite apt to be, at the present stage, elected to one of the administrative positions, then unconsciously becomes detrimental to orderly procedure. The forming of the new structure must be to order, to rule, orderly, in order.

It is reported that Vanderveer once uttered the statement that the organization had too damn many philosophers and not enough organizers. I take the position that the statement itself is a fact. It seems that the philosophical mind is at that stage of development just preceding the analytical state of mind. According to our press, Lenin said to the workers and peasants of Russia: "You are born out of capitalism; therefore, there is an afterbirth which must be gotten rid of," or words to that effect. That involves the same point as the statement credited to Vanderveer.

To understand why that is true we must give the term "organizer" a revolutionary interpretation. The term "organizer" implies action. Action is the result of thought; therefore, the individual will not function revolutionarily until he first learns to think revolutionarily. That being true, it is plain that we

must start at the beginning and develop the proper concepts, first.

A concept, is nothing more or less than having the blueprint implanted within the intellect so well, that we function or act truly without referring to a blueprint of the principles.

In order that we may more thoroughly understand the subject of concepts, let us state here some which are in harmony with the principles, aims and purports of the I. W. W., and, at the same time contrary to, or the opposite of, bourgeois concepts; therefore, revolutionary.

An individual should not, either consciously or unconsciously, assume the manner of speech and attitude of forcing his will upon the membership. We should express our ideas, then seek the opinion of the members. That will tend to create harmony and bring better results at our Job meetings.

An official is not amenable or responsible to any other individual. He cannot be commanded or instructed except by the committee or body who elected him. This does not mean to discourage legitimate counselling between officials and members as to ways and means of procedure, when not previously instructed; yet, the individual always has the right to use his own judgement in all cases of personal advice. In other words, individualism is limited to individual acts, which is the opposite of bourgeois individualism.

In the bourgeois world, the tail—Individualism—wags the dog; hence there is competition, strife, wars and more wars with the result of toppling governments.

In the society we contemplate, and should practice within our organization, individualism is eliminated from the administrative forces, which is modern science and in harmony with natural philosophy. We make the dog master of his tail. That is, our officials are, in reality, servants of the body.

It should be remembered in this connection, that an individual of the body, is not the body; and, an individual of the administrative forces is not the whole thing, either.

Everything that is merely on paper, is a "scrap". The New Society will not be formed any more rapidly, more scientifically and truly than **TO THE EXTENT ITS PRINCIPLES ARE APPLIED TO THE JOB.** The Workers, the working force, is the only force that can actually build the New Society. The only force which can supercede selfishness.

Principle is the incentive of the New Order; not Swag.

In line of educational work the closer we can confine ourselves to a basic truth, the easier it will be to arrive at a common understanding, which is the object of discussion. In our debates in meetings we should ignore promptings coming from any of the elements represented by the following group of words suspicion, conjectures, supposition, allegations personal glory, vanity and many others that are kindred. By concentrating our thought on such words as: facts, basic, fundamental, primary, economics,

labor power, environment, our efforts will then be more availing.

The appearance or aspect of every hog is a reflex of its wallow—environment. We have all seen hogs covered with dried mud from their wallow. The reformist would say: "The horrid hogs! We must reform them." They would then get the hose and "clean up." By that process they would "reform" the hogs morning, noon and night. With all the wear and tear, energy spent, still, hogs would be hogs. Reformers get nowhere.

The job scientist would say: "We must change the wallow. We will build a concrete wallow with running water." Not only then would the appearance of the hogs improve 100 per cent and their natural needs be provided for, but the locality would be relieved of a possible disease breeding cesspool and the landscape improved. Thus we see the difference between progress and reform.

The hogs of Wall Street and the Chamber of Commerce cannot be reformed any more than the four legged hogs. The primary thing for the workers to do is to organize for the purpose of making a basic, fundamental, or in other words, a revolutionary change in the mode of production and distribution. At the same time, as we increase our organized strength, we can improve our own wallow—environment—from time to time as we move on towards the event of the big change. Join the One Big Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The human being is just as amenable to the law of environment as any other creature of the animal kingdom.

When we read editorials of the kept press wherein the effort is to divert thought from logical channels, or, falsely mould public sentiment, we are appalled at the horrible reflex of lying, hypocritical fervor of the editors.

Also, when we note a worker—a job slave—figuratively, if not literally, cast his fellow worker down and use his dead body as a stepping stone to a better job, we are again astonished at the display of intellectual depravity.

In each instance the display of criminal selfishness is the result of the competitive system of handling the means of life. One is forced to fight to keep it all while the other is forced to fight to get enough to eat.

There are to be found the shallow brained, some of whom have graduated from the Universities—(the writer graduated from a lumber camp—who persist in telling people "It is human nature.")

If that were true, the human family would be incapable of rising superior to the swine family.

Because of hundreds of years of the terrible environment of the system (which system is class created, not natural nor democratic) the great mass of slaves cannot live better than the swine. They fight over the swill that is doled out to them while the masters, themselves, must of necessity maintain a swine standard of intellectuality.

These deplorable facts can only be rectified by a complete change of environment.

The I. W. W. begins at the base, the conditions, which is environment; therefore, starting scientifically. In other words, organize on the job and there

methodically install the corrective (not reform) measures. Only the working class can or will initiate the change. They are on the job, the point to begin.

“War is hell,” peace is hell ‘en damnation.

Join the I. W. W.

## Some Observations

By Delegate E 369

### LAWLESSNESS

Recently I found big headlines of an explosion of dynamite which was being transported on the same train with a gang of miners. The paper goes on to say that transporting dynamite on the same train with laborers is contrary to law.

Though the master class has laws they do not observe them if it is inconvenient for them.

They'd sooner risk the lives of hundreds of workmen than abide by their own laws, and at the same time they holler their fat heads off about the lawlessness of organized labor as represented by the I. W. W. It is the likes of these people who are the criminals and they should occupy the cells that are now occupied by the champion of right.

### The Meeting on the job.

It has been my experience in camps throughout the country, which have a reputation of being well organized, that the meeting is often sadly neglected. How can we even hope to take control of industry, without chaos and destruction if we do not learn to govern ourselves and to prepare ourselves for the New Society.

Fellow Workers, I contend that the job meeting is as necessary as any of our tactics. In fact it is to the I. W. W. and the American Wage slave what the Soviets are to Red Russia. Do not forget that we aim to form the New Society within the shell of the old, and the job meeting is part of the New Society.

### The cooks and the flunkies.

I have been working in different camps throughout the country, and everywhere I go I observe the same conditions. The men in camps work 8 hours a day, while the cooks and flunkies work all the way from 14 to 18 hours. Some of the cooks and flunkies, being members of our organization, wonder why it is that they should have to work so much longer than the rest of the men. Before I go any further let me state that I am neither a cook nor a flunkie.

I have also observed that in a case of a strike or walkout the kitchen workers usually stay on the job. Most of the strikes or walkouts are ineffective on that account.

Now fellow workers it is up to us to see that the cooks and waiters are with us.

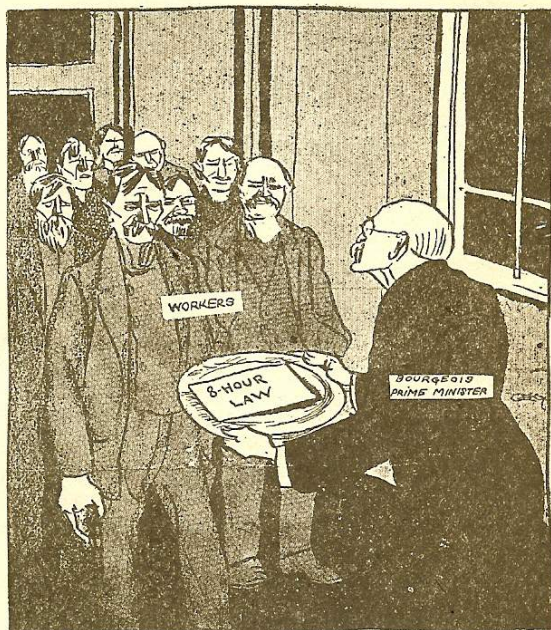
In order to do this we must stand by the cooks if they will stand by us, which means that we will have to strike or walkout if the boss refuses to put on a double shift of cooks and waiters. By having two shifts of cooks and waiters we will naturally get better cooked food and the dishwashers will have time to wash his dishes clean and thoroughly. A cook who

is overworked can not be expected to put up a first class meal.

This is of great importance from the viewpoint of bettering our conditions and should be brought up in business meetings, and given wide publicity. Let our slogan be 8 hours for the cooks and flunkies and dishwashers, and watch them fall in line with us.

### The General Strike.

The general strike is fast approaching and it is well for us to give it a thought beforehand. In my opinion to make the strike most effective, every member should see to it that he is on some job when the time to strike comes. It is also of importance that we stay on the job right up to the time set for the strike. If some of the men go out a few days before the set date, the strike loses its effectiveness. There is no sense in everybody rushing to the city and paying exorbitant prices for rooms and food, in competition with each other. The thing to do is to stay right where you are and stick there till the prison doors swing open to set our fellow workers free.



Prime minister: I have the pleasure to present you with the 8 hour law.

Workers: Thanks. But that is too late. We have already taken that.

# Conditions in the Restaurant Industry

A PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH AN EMPLOYEE.

By Charles Mundell.

Why did the Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers of Chicago recently attempt to organize themselves into a union, and why did the employees of the downtown lunch rooms recently attempt to pull a strike? What have these workers got to complain of? Do they not receive fair wages, to say nothing of the fact that they always get their three square meals each day?

These were the questions which I put to Mrs. —, one of the active workers in the organization of this union and who was arrested and kept in jail three days. This fellow worker has been working in hotels and restaurants off and on for nearly three years. She knows whereof she speaks, having actually seen the conditions which she describes.

Fellow Worker — first entered the employ of Mr. Weeghman, in one of the downtown lunch rooms. She describes the conditions which prevailed there at that time as positively heart-breaking. The wage received at that time varied from \$8 to \$9 and \$10 per week for eleven, twelve and thirteen hours' work per day seven days per week.

The conditions imposed upon the female help were especially revolting, she says. These girls were driven like slaves and worked for every ounce of energy in their bodies. Many times, she says, these girls would burst into fits of hysterical weeping because of the severe trials which they were compelled to undergo.

Not only were they expected to work like dogs, but they were given absolutely no protection against the liberties taken with their persons by their fellow employees. They were supposed to take as a matter of course the insults, the suggestions, and the vulgarity used by the men who worked alongside them. When they complained they were told that if they did not like it they could go. When asked by Fellow Worker — why they submitted to these intolerable conditions they would reply: "What can we do? It is the same everywhere. In every restaurant and hotel the girls are looked upon as common prostitutes and are treated as such."

The fellow worker says that while working in this restaurant she resented an insult hurled at her by the chef, and for it she received a severe beating, was dragged down into the basement and locked up in one of the rooms and made so ill by such treatment that it was necessary to call a physician. Later she was taken home in a closed automobile.

She was also employed a few months ago in the Morrison Hotel, where she saw conditions equally as bad, if not worse. Here, she says, the kitchen and pantry help were compelled to slave fourteen and sixteen hours a day. The cooks and waiters were organized, but the "common" help was not. She asked these cooks and waiters why they did not attempt to organize the kitchen and pantry help.

They replied that they had nothing whatever to do with the kitchen and pantry workers; that if these girls and men did not like their conditions, let them organize; that it was no concern of the cooks and waiters. This attitude is characteristic of craft unionism. "To hell with our less fortunate fellow workers—just so WE get what is coming to us!" Under such circumstances who is to be blamed when these workers stay right on the job after the cooks and waiters have gone out on strike?

Fellow Worker — says that the food served to the workers in the big hotels is positively as poor as can be imagined; that the girls are constantly complaining of being ill and sick at the stomach from eating such unwholesome food.

The hours are never regular. Sometimes the workers were compelled to work during the hours of rush and are then sent to the basement to "rest" and to be "off" for a few hours, during which time, of course, they were not paid. And then they had to report again for the next rush. And so, while they actually worked for ten to twelve hours, they were kept on the job for fourteen and sixteen hours.

They were compelled to come some days at 12 o'clock, get off at 3, back at 6, and off again at 1. Other days they came early in the morning and worked all day. Can such outrageous conditions be imagined in this twentieth century and in "free" America?

During the weeks prior to the strike the workers were slaving on an average of ten, eleven and twelve hours per day, seven days a week, for from \$10 to \$15 per week.

While Fellow Worker — was being kept in jail by the benevolent authorities for the crime of attempting to call the workers out of the downtown lunchrooms she met some sixty or seventy girls and women who had been arrested as "immoral" women. She found that, with hardly an exception, these girls and women were workers in hotels and restaurants. Asked why they came to take up such lives, they replied: "There seemed to be no other way out. We did not receive sufficient wages in return for our eleven and twelve hours work in the eating houses to pay our room rent, laundry and other personal expenses, to buy clothing, shoes, etc., or to take in a show once in a while, so we were compelled to find other means of supplementing our incomes."

Fellow workers, is it any wonder these much-to-be pitied workers became interested in organizing a union? Is it any wonder they turned to the I. W. W. for help, after they were turned down by the American Federation of Labor?

And yet, when they held meetings, voted unanimously to enter the I. W. W., and decided to strike for eight hours, a minimum of \$20 per week and a six day week, they were met at the lunch room doors by hired sluggers, gunmen and police.



## Women!!

If the workmen of the world are to be fully successful in their fight for better conditions, their mothers, wives and daughters must learn how to help in their struggles.

How can the women assist in the class struggle?

**First step:** She must understand that when father, son or brother joins the union, he is attempting to get more of the good things of life for his family or for those depended upon him.

Understanding his motive, she should give him encouragement to keep up his dues, in spite of the fact that she may have to darn Mary's stockings again or patch Johnnie's waist.

**Second step:** She should try to acquaint herself with the best plan of organization for the working class today, because hers is the worry and the work of making the wage-earner's pay meet the bills, and in spite of her numerous duties, she still has more time to read and study than the boy on the job.

**Third step:** There are two plans of organization held out to the workers today. The old plans organize the workers into groups or crafts, each group or craft signed up with contracts ending at different times. Thus when one group or craft is forced into a strike or is locked out, the other groups cannot strike with them because their contracts are unexpired. This causes long drawn out strikes during which you and the kiddies have to suffer and starve. Those most favorable to this plan of organization are the rich masters of industry and powerful officials at the head of the organization and who draw big pay and want to keep their jobs at any cost.

The new plan of organization has a star of hope for the future! It organizes all the workers in any one industry into one union and all of the industries into **One Big Union**. This form of organization is successful in fighting the daily battles because all of the workers go out when any part of the industry is affected with strike or lockout. Thus, the strike is made short and decisive.

In addition the new plan is building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old so that when capitalism crumbles and falls, the workers may take over and operate the industries for the benefit of all, instead of for the profit of the few. Thus the new unionism plans constructively to gain the whole world and all the wealth therein—for the workers, who shall receive the full product of their toil in reward for their labor instead of only a small part. This is the star of hope for the future.

**Fourth step:** Get into the **One Big Union** right with husband, father and brother, so as to be in an organized fight to make the world a decent place for the working class to live in. Your union is No. 1100—Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1100 to which working men's wives are admitted. Initiation fee \$2.00, dues 50 cents a month. This is the surest and only way for you to get those things you need which you haven't got nor can't get now.

"Join the union, fellow-worker,  
Men and women side by side."

For further information in regard to your union, No. 1100, write to

Ernest Holmen,  
1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

## The Curse of Piece Work

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

The advantage of time work over piece work is not apparent to all workers at first glance. The pleasant surprise of an occasional "big pay" deceives many of us to the harmfulness of the piece-work system. If we will study the question, however we will come to see that piece work is one of the worst slave driving devices and that it has all the evil features of such discarded profit-making schemes as the four-loom system, besides many special disadvantages of its own.

Piece work forces the worker to labor at top speed, exhausting himself each day. At the end of the day, he is "all in", as the expression goes, which means that all his life energy has gone into the boss's bank account. Piece work also encourages rivalry and jealousies in the shop, preventing strong organization and thus playing into the boss's hands again. It leaves the worker in doubt as to how much money he will get in his next pay, thus keeping him chained to his job by the precariousness of his existence.

Piece work keeps the wage scale down, by allowing the luckier or more skilful workers to earn more than the others and furnishes fictitious figures for use in the newspapers, before arbitration boards and as a will-o'-the-wisp lure to the other workers, who, instead of demanding decent wages, strain themselves trying to equal the earnings of the "pace makers."

Piece work makes the worker stand the chief loss from accidents, unfavorable weather conditions, defective machinery, poor materials, bad shop organization or other conditions for which he is in no way to blame and over which he has no control. Worst of all, piece work stimulates over-production and thereby hastens the day of unemployment.

In spite of its superficial attractions piece work has no advantages for the workers. It is a trick of the bosses to speed up the workers, keep down wages and increase profits. The intelligent workers in every industry are opposed to it. They realize that a wage scale based on the hour week, or day tends to unite the workers more solidly, stabilizes their income, lessens the pressure under which they work and, by placing the loss from interruption on the employer, forces him to organize his plant so as to give steady employment.

Time work also, like the abolition of over-time, reduces over-production and thereby postpones the periods of unemployment inevitable under the capitalist system. With time-work, the "slow down" system becomes possible in cases where it is needed to bring the boss to his senses.

As intelligent fighters in the class struggle, I. W. W.s everywhere should work unceasingly for the abolition of piece work as a hindrance to effective organization and action.

# Asia Throttled

By SURENDRA KARR,  
of Friends of Freedom for India.

Every little trouble in Europe throws the entire world into uproarious excitement; but the strangling of Asia, which is being carried on persistently and systematically, does not disturb in the least the minds of those who advocate freedom for all nations.

If a map is consulted it will be clearly seen who owns Asia.

Great Britain controls, rules, and exerts spheres of influence over the following territories in Asia and near Asia:

- (a) Union of South Africa, German East Africa, Egypt. Consummation of the idea of Cape to Cairo, and Cairo to Calcutta Railroad becomes a possibility.
- (b) Hedjaz, a newly created independent kingdom, under the mandate of Great Britain. This includes most of the French zone given by the Sykes-Picot treaty, 1916.
- (c) Mesopotamia; (d) Persia; Soviet Russia has long since renounced its interest in Northern Persia.
- (e) Baluchistan; (f) India; (g) Thibet; (h) Burma;
- (i) Malay Peninsula; (j) The Szechenen and Yunnan Provinces, and the Kwantung region forming the littoral of Canton, China; (k) Hongkong.

To safeguard the interests of those territories, Britain maintains strong strategic positions which encircle the globe.

The Southern, or Cape Route to the East, is well fortified. Here are the stations of Cape Town, Sierre Leone, St. Helena, and Mauritius. All along the principal route of the Far East by way of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, there are heavily fortified stations: Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Trincomabe, Singapore, Hongkong and Wei-Hai-Wei. In Oceania there are also fortifications, at King George's Sound, Thursday Island, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Hobart, Adelaide, Wellington and other places.

Thence eastward across the Pacific are more stations—Vancouver, and Esquimalt in the North Pacific. Crossing the American continent there is Halifax on the North Atlantic, and southward the Bermudas and St. Lucia, Jamaica and other stations in the West Indies. In the Southwestern Atlantic, the Falkland Islands are held by British.

The Indian Ocean is a point of strategy for naval action in the Western Pacific, in South Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. It thus has a direct influence over the defense of Canada, Australia and South Africa. South Africa, India, and Australia are at the three corners of the triangular Indian Ocean and India is at the vertex.

India is the connecting link of all these fortresses. Without India, England might be only the United Kingdom with some colonies in the Americas. India has been forced to create the British Empire with men and money. . .

In accordance with the Census of India, of 1911, (Vol. 1, Part II, page 44), men of fighting age between 18—51 in India number 73,818,558. The people of the world must recognize the fact that, with this huge manpower, the British can dominate any part of the world, as she has been doing in the past.

Arthur Ponsonby, ex-M.P. British Parliament, has pointed out that England added to her accumulated territories nearly 1,418,029 square miles in the last war. The world should also remember that the British House of Commons, by a vote of 195 to 58, gives the Government power by an Order-in-Council, to treat all territories which Britain is to administer under the League of Nations, as part of the British Empire.

There has been much talk about Shantung. Let us pause for a moment and look again at the map of Asia. Two-thirds of entire Asia is under the control of England. England controls 27.8 percent of China, while Japan not more than one percent.

Freedom of India frees Asia, and breaks the backbone of British imperialism. It is, then, not the duty of every lover of humanity, justice and liberty, to see that such menace as that of imperialism is forever crushed to make the world safe for democracy?

## Our Minimum Demands

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM

"The times are out of joint," as poor Hamlet moaned. Strikes and lockouts abound on every hand. There is hardly an industry in which some group of workers is not striving for more wages or shorter hours.

In the midst of all this turmoil, we of the I. W. W. must keep our heads cool. We must not lose sight of the real goal. We must not be blinded by the dust of the battles going on around us and forget our final objective. We must remind the workers that these skirmishes, bitter though they may be, are mere incidents in the larger campaign, that "more money and shorter hours" is not a solution to the deeper conflict, and that only the complete surrender of the capitalist class can bring industrial peace.

It is on this point that the I. W. W. differs most widely from the other labor unions. The A. F. of L. seeks openly to maintain the present system. Its last convention is declared by a specialist in economics to have been marked by "caution, conservatism and prudence," and to have shown that "the A. F. of L. is linked with the employers to continue conservatism in American society." The president of the New York State Federation of Labor states openly that, while the radicals "have been preaching for years that the workers should have all he produces," the A. F. of L. "believes in a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

The intelligent worker is waking to the fact that the old A. F. of L. formula will never solve the labor problem. He sees that, no matter what raise in wages he may get, the cost of a decent living always keeps just beyond his reach. He sees that each increase in

wages, usually before it is granted, is used as a pretext to boost prices out of all proportion.

He remembers, for example, how the mine owners in 1904 took advantage of a 5-cent increase in wages to raise the price of coal 25 cents a ton. He saw the Chicago street railways the other day, under the plea of increased wages, get a raise in fare amounting to \$14,000,000 a year, of which only \$6,000,000 will go to the employees, while \$8,000,000 goes to the stockholders. He knows that, if the milk drivers get the increase they are demanding, it is the other worker who will pay it, while the boss will find a way to make more money than ever.

The worker is beginning to see that the process of demanding more wages is like chasing your tail around a stump. The faster you run, the faster you have to run in order to keep up with yourself. He is waking to the fact that only the abolition of private profit will settle the question and give the worker his share of the good things of life.

The "radical" politician, living off the labor movement, admits that all this is true, but he tries to keep the workers down with the time-worn politician's argument that "the time has not yet come." He is always seeking to put off the day when the workers will take control of affairs and dispense with his valuable (?) services. Like the capitalist, or the A. F. of L. official, his desire is to maintain the present order, although he is not honest enough to say so openly.

To all these exploiters, misleaders and parasites of labor, the I. W. W. replies that the time to act is here and now and always, that the workers will never cease their efforts or compromise their demands until they gain control of industry and abolish private profit and wage slavery forever. Industrial freedom is their minimum demand. They will not rest until they have won it.

## Ox and Man

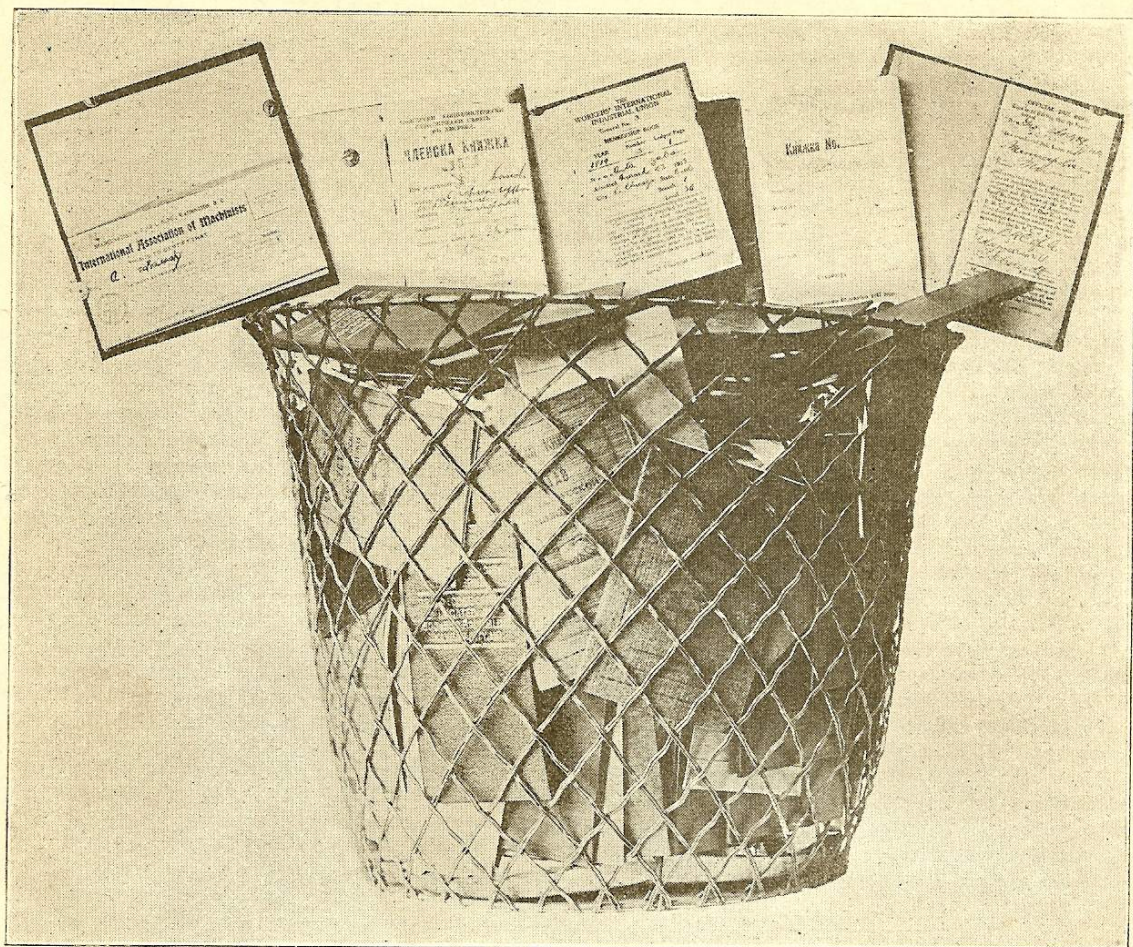
Only a few years ago I remember seeing, in the eastern part of Kentucky, ox drivers, routing their teams through mountain trails, winding their irregular formation between rocks and trees. As youth never forgets neither will I forget the lofty and authentic manner in which the driver gave his commands. I can see yet the team of six or eight oxen dragging a log, sagging along in their indifferent manner, not being much concerned whether they reached their destination at all. Then I can see the boisterous drivers, armed with a long heavy whip, fastened to a leaded handle. (Clothed with authority.) I have sometimes marvelled at the spirit of the driver and wondered at his ability. I shall never forget the little dialogue of the driver: at intervals, which were usually about as often as his arm would work, the driver would "crack" his whip, which foretold of coming brutality. Then there came a thundering voice: Ha— a—a—o— O— O O! Bal— l— l— dea— E— E! — You'd better come o' it! — An endless chain of curses. A crack of a whip! — Char— r— r— r— r— le— e— e— e! — Damn— m— m— m— your hide. I'll wake you up in a minute! A crash of the whip and a stream of curses! Ha— a— a— a— o— o— o! You'd better come out of it! Brin—

n— n— d— l— e! Ha— a— a— a— O— o— o! now? — A crash of a whip! More Curses. — S— p— o— o— o— o— t!! — You 'onery cuss you'd better be gittin' right!! — Ha— a— a— a— O— o— o— o! — Ha— a— a— a— O— o— o! Bang!! — Bang!! A cloudburst of vigorous curses — Char— r— r— r— l— e— e— e! — What the — — Brin— n— n— ndl— e— e— e! Dam— m— you! — What the —! — — Cha— —!! Bang!! Crash!!! Whoa! (quietly-. The log is landed and the oxen seem to be little the worse for the encounter and less worried. Many times I have pondered sympathetically for the ox but hated him for his docility. I hated the driver for his brutality and many times I have fancied were I an ox I would chase the driver out of the woods. I would refuse to work. And many things. I had thought much, of the obedient cattle and I wondered if men were so docile. No! Men refuse. I was thinking all day of the terrible event. That night I had a shocking dream. I dreamed I was an ox and working in a great team. I don't know what we were doing nor why, but there were many of us, and many drivers. Early in the morning I was awakened by some notes of music, te— ta— te— e— e— was about all I heard, and a thundering voice like the ox driver's command: rol— l— l— out! For a few minutes there was a hurry and a schuffle, (a rattle bows) while we were preparing for the manger. — Two sharp blasts of a whistle and we were lined up alongside a table where the scoured boards were more attractive than was any thing that was placed upon them — Two sharp blasts of a whistle! ROL' OUT! RIFLES and BAYONETTS! Shake a leg there — YOU! I mean you! You're not on a farm now! What's the matter with that button! Fall— l— in! Com— m— m— pan— e— e— e! A' ten— n— n— n— shun— n— n— n! Rotten!! — — As you were! Now let's see you get a little snap in you! Somebody's goin' t'get double timed about four miles! — — In— n— n— n— n— speck— shun— n— n— n— n! — a— Arms— s— s— s! — Right — — Shoul— l— l— der— r— r! — — Arms— s— s— s! — For— r— r— r— war— r— r— d! Mar— r— r— reh! Squa— a— a— a— d— s— Lef— f— ft! — o— o— o— 1— 2— 3— 4— o— o— 1— 2— 3— 4— 1— 2— 3— 4— 1— 2— 3— 4— No. 4! In the rear rank!! Pick up the step! — 1— 2— 3— 4— o— o— 1— 2— 3— 4— 1— 2— 3— 4— o— o— 1— 2— 3— 4! No. 2! In the rear rank straighten up that piece! — 1— 2— 3— 4— Com— m— m— pan— e— e— E! — — — — h— h— Ha— l— t!

## I, The Kept Press

By Covington Ami.

I am the Kept Press —  
 Belial, God of lust and degeneracy,  
 Was my father —  
 A crocodile without tears,  
 Was my mother —  
 I am a human ghoul ravaging an earth-wide Golgotha  
 The putrid ghost of Plutocracy raving thru a  
 wilderness of graves —  
 An intellectual hireling —  
 Without honor, shame or conscience —  
 And proud of it! —  
 Woe to the Truth Speakers! —  
 Death to the Light Bearers! —  
 Long live the Liberticides!



## What's in the Basket

This is a basket full of membership cards in the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and various foreign language federations, photographed before dumping them in the garbage can.

The I. W. W. is daily receiving such cards from workers who have lost faith in all movements except the One Big Union movement. Fully paid up cards in bona fide economic labor organizations are accepted in place of initiation fees in the I. W. W., if the new member so desires. But most workers gladly pay the new initiation fee of \$2 in order to strengthen our finances.

All the socialist organizations of this country of any importance have now openly and avowedly come out for industrial unionism. Now is the right time to change your card if you approve of our principles.

The right way to be a bona fide industrial unionist is to proceed from words and declarations to action. Look up your nearest I. W. W. headquarters

or try to find one of our delegates, and they will take up your old card and issue an I. W. W. card that places you in the proper industrial union and puts you in touch with the workers in the same industry. We have a universal delegate system which empowers any delegate to take you in as member of any union of the I. W. W. After that you will find your own way to your proper place, where you will be able to strike telling blows for the One Big Union and help build up the new society which is our goal.

The next thing for you to do is to pitch in and help spread our ideas by word of mouth or by spreading our literature, and to take out credentials as a delegate yourself and line up new members, putting them in touch with the proper fellows.

Thus we shall gradually work our way to shop control in one establishment after another and make the world safe for industrial communism and industrial democracy.

## The General Executive Board Meets

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 25, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

The newly installed General Executive Board sends greetings to all the membership, both in and out of jails, and to the working class in general.

As to the general condition of the organization, we are pleased to report that despite the persecution of our members by the hirelings of the plutocracy, we are growing at a most encouraging rate. The workers are awakening to the menace of the dangers that lie ahead and are turning to Industrial Unionism as a solution of all economic and social ills and inequalities.

The reorganized Marine and Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 8 is experiencing a splendid increase in membership both on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and along the Great Lakes, and is in active and sympathetic touch with the Transport Workers of the other maritime nations of the world.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400 is in the midst of an enormous drive for membership. With hundreds of delegates in the field, they are making good on their slogan, "Come on, 400!" and confidently expect an increase of 10,000 by September 1.

Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573 is growing steadily in all parts of the country and will commence a concentrated drive in the Middle States in September. From now on a printed bulletin will be issued by this Union every week which is expected to be a model in every way.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300 is having better success than was anticipated, and conditions are now so shaping themselves that the prospects of this union are more than encouraging. It should have a vast increase in membership during the coming fall and winter.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600 is increasing steadily. One great sign of increasing interest among the railroad workers is the fact that on many roads only the migratory worker with a Wobbly card is able to get by.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100 forges steadily ahead, preparing the way for dignifying a service that even the workers have heretofore regarded as menial. Every worker can help strengthen this union by demanding that the waiters and others wear the H. R. & D. W. I. U. buttons.

In the lumber and mining industries of the Northwest we find the L. W. I. U. No. 500 and M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 going strong. This is very encouraging when we consider that this section has been under the Iron Heel more than any other. Other sections are stirring also, and both Lumber Workers and the Metal Miners have more calls for organizers than they are able to supply.

The Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000 is progressing and recently began publishing the Textile Worker at Paterson, N. J.

The other unions are growing according to the vigor of their membership and the spread of knowledge among the workers in their industries.

Now, Fellow Workers, our present growth is a positive demonstration that we cannot be destroyed as an organization. We may receive setbacks, but the principle of Industrial Unionism are immortal. The working world is now awakening to class consciousness and we have the opportunity to demonstrate that the Industrial Unions can take over the industries and save a civilization that has been wrecked by the greed and corruption of its plutocratic overlords. We have been accused of attempting to wreck the social structure when we pointed out its inherent rottenness, and warned the world of the impending disaster. Our function is to save the good there is in life and restore the world to sanity.

A hundred forceful and determined men could now overthrow capitalism, but in the present disorganized state of the working class, only chaos could result from such an act—a disaster that would be irretrievable. Our duty is to organize the workers, not so much to overthrow capitalism, for it dissolves before our very eyes, as to carry on production and guarantee the needs of life, and create social stability when the old system goes upon the rocks. This is the task of the working class—the task for which we must prepare.

Remember, also, that we have hundreds of faithful fellow workers languishing in the unspeakable jails, to whom we must give an adequate defense. Our best defense, of course, is organization, an overwhelming increase in numbers, but while we build the unions as the final fortress of defense, let us also contribute largely to the immediate battle and the propaganda through the courts.

## New I. W. W. Papers

The Reader's attention is called to the fact that two new I. W. W. papers have recently been started, one in German and one in Croatian (South Slavic). The Fellow Workers should, regardless of the language they themselves speak, do their utmost to give these papers a good start in working up a circulation. Get in touch with those who can read them, get their subscription and order bundles for sale or distribution. The only way to get these workers properly lined up with us is to give them the opportunity to read I. W. W. papers in the language they understand.

The name of the German paper is DER KLASSENKAMPF (The Class Struggle). Issued twice a month to start with. \$2.00 per year. \$1.00 for six months. 5 cents per copy. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy. Send all remittances to **Der Klassenkampf**, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The name of the South Slavic paper is GLAS RADNIKA, (The Voice of the Worker). Weekly. \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months. Single copies 5 cents. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy. Make all remittances to "Glas Radnika" or "The Voice of the Worker," 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## THE I. W. W. TO-DATE

The I. W. W. has at present 20 Industrial Unions in Working order besides the General Recruiting Union, which latter comprises a large number of branches. Outside of these general bodies there are a considerable number of isolated unions in industries in which we have not yet a sufficient membership to form an Industrial Union. Some of the Industrial Unions are as yet small, and are to be considered merely as a starter.

Charters have been issued to the following Industrial Unions:

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 8.

Bakery Workers' Industrial Union No. 46.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300.

Shipbuilders' Industrial Union No. 325.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400.

Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 448.

Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 480.

Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 450.

Rubber Workers' Industrial Union 470.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500.

Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600.

Shoe Workers' Industrial Union No. 620.

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800.

Coal Miners' Industrial Union No. 900.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1000.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union No. 1100.

Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200.

General Distribution Workers' Industrial Union No. 1300.

Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 1500.

As far as the membership is concerned our records have been sadly upset in the past few years thru the numerous raids and confiscations, but for the last year we have a rather complete record for the important unions.

The increase in some of the unions for the time from Sept. 1, 1918, that is the time our fellow workers were sent to Leavenworth from Chicago, up to Sept. 1, 1919, is as follows:

No. 300, 2,243 new members.

No. 400, 5,815 new members.

No. 500, 8,800 new members.

No. 573, 3,334 new members.

No. 600, 597 new members.

No. 800, 6,592 new members.

No. 1100, 556 new members.

This increase in the face of the most severe persecution that a labor organization has ever suffered is proof enough that the One Big Union idea has a vitality that capitalism will never be able to crush.

# UNMAILABLE NIXIES, I, W W Literature From Canal Sta. Chi Ill

The above cut is an enlarged copy of a stamp being used in the Chicago Post office. This explains in part why some copies of the One Big Union Monthly and other I. W. W. publications have not reached you regularly.

It is almost unnecessary to state that this interference with our mail is entirely arbitrary and illegal, and it is being practiced more or less "on the sly" without official recognition. There is absolutely no legal justification for labeling our literature as unmailable. The civic liberties of the people are being circumscribed, partly by official action and partly by private "patriotic" buccaneering, which is officially tolerated. The interests hostile to the workers are using every insidious means of blocking our progress. The same power that is driving hundreds of our members into jail for no crime except that they are obnoxious to the capitalist class, the same power is thru its tools tampering with the machinery of mail distribution. We have an unlimited supply of evidence. Some day the

American people are going to put a stop to this and round up the gang of spurious patriots who are traitors to the people.

### I. W. W. OPENS TWO NEW HALLS IN CHICAGO.

Metal and Machinery Workers I. W. W. No. 300 have opened a new hall at 1019 N. Ashland ave., Chicago.

Another hall has jointly been opened by No. 573, No. 300 and No. 1100. This is called The Forum Hall and is located at 1239 N. Clark st., Chicago. There will be lectures in this hall every Sunday night and open forum every Thursday night all winter.

The Construction Workers No. 573 are doing a great business at their old stand at 951 West Madison St., while at 119 So. Throop St. there is a never ending chain of public meetings, lecturers and business meetings. Open meeting on the North Side, every Sunday and Thursday night at Vardandi Hall, 5015 North Clark Street. Lectures and entertainments.

## Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800, I. W. W.

Financial Statement for the month of August, 1919

RECEIPTS:			
\$41 initiations .....	\$1,682.00	Rent, heat, light .....	176.43
5,788 due stamps .....	2,894.00	Stationery and fixtures .....	77.76
General defense stamps .....	48.00	Postage, express and wires .....	396.33
Relief stamps .....	58.00	General defense account .....	1,585.70
Organization stamps .....	36.00	Bail funds forwarded .....	131.09
Six-hour stamps .....	70.00	Bank exchange .....	4.80
Buttons, pins and brooches .....	89.50	81 Craft Union cards allow .....	162.00
Literature, duplicate cards and banners .....	489.96	E. Holmen, acct. R. Brunner meeting .....	14.20
Card cases .....	37.00	Miscellaneous expenses .....	37.31
Credits on branch secretaries and delegates accts. ....	2,587.42	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$9,087.24</b>
Contributions for press fund .....	67.14	<b>RECAPITULATION:</b>	
Contributions for general defense .....	1,127.77	Total receipts for August, 1919 .....	\$9,357.48
Contribution for bail funds .....	131.09	Cash balance, August 1, 1919 .....	398.80
Contribution for Croatian paper .....	20.75	<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$9,756.28</b>
Personal deposits .....	11.15	Total expenditures for August, 1919 .....	9,087.24
Miscellaneous receipts .....	7.70	Cash balance, August 31, 1919 .....	\$ 669.04
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$9,357.48</b>	<b>RECAPITULATION:</b>	
<b>EXPENDITURES:</b>		Cash on Hand, August 1, 1919 .....	\$ 7728.16
General Headquarters, 1 Charter.....	\$ 10.00	Receipts for August, 1919 .....	23,625.01
Literature, Bulletins and papers .....	922.27	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$31,353.17</b>
Subscriptions .....	3.85	Disbursements for August, 1919 .....	23,967.04
Wages—branch secretaries and delegates .....	2,538.68	Cash balance on hand, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$ 7,386.13
Mileage .....	350.23		
Charges on branch secretaries and delegates accts. ....	2,011.59		
Main office salaries .....	665.00		

## Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300, I. W. W.

SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL REPORT FOR AUG. 1919

<b>Total Receipts</b>		Held on hand by Br. Secretaries.....		292.64
Initiations, 283 .....	\$566.00	Advertising .....	10.00	
Dues, 1,710 .....	859.90	Main office, wages .....	213.00	
Buttons .....	4.25	Rent .....	269.34	
Literature .....	159.24	Stationery and fixtures .....	60.97	
Cr. Br. Secy.'s and Dr. Del.....	427.95	Office expenses .....	47.96	
Donations .....	47.48	Printing .....	81.50	
Assessment stamps, No. 300 .....	44.50	Relief .....	120.00	
Hall rent .....	6.85	Entertainment .....	15.50	
Cleveland relief .....	327.89	Refund, A. Grabosky .....	3.00	
Jail buttons .....	10.00	Refund, John Edenstrom .....	2.50	
Charter fees .....	20.00	Picnic, advance .....	5.30	
O. B. U. Monthly sub.....	1.50	To No. 400 .....	5.00	
Collection, North Side hall.....	87.11	Thos. Whitehead, general defense.....	10.00	
A. Felszbadulas .....	220.00	On account, Solidarity.....	20.00	
Record book sale .....	.50	Moving .....	3.00	
Duplicate cards .....	.75	Thos. Whitehead, Cleveland defense don. ....	136.80	
Bail for Rumbaugh .....	25.00	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$2,474.83</b>	
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$2,828.52</b>	<b>Recapitulation</b>		
<b>Total Expenditures</b>		Total cash receipts.....	\$2,828.52	
On account supplies .....	\$72.75	Total cash expenditures.....	2,474.83	
Literature .....	54.15	Balance .....	\$353.69	
Subscriptions .....	14.30	Bro't for'd, Aug. 1, 1919.....	105.22	
Wages, organizers and Br. Sec.....	648.33	<b>Total on hand.....</b>	<b>\$458.91</b>	
A. Felszbadulas .....	270.00			
Mileage .....	116.99			

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

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR AUGUST, 1919

Receipts			
Person deposits .....	\$90.00	Buttons, pins, etc.....	75.75
\$,039 initiations .....	6,078.00	Literature, card cases, dup. cards, etc.....	461.05
10,358 due stamps .....	5,229.00	O. B. U. Subs.....	1.50
Relief stamps .....	643.00	Monies paid on acct. supplies.....	29.50
Organization stamps .....	458.00	Monies paid on acct. by delegates.....	1,207.65
General defense stamps .....	1,047.00	Freedom certificate .....	5.00
A. W. I. U. assessment stamps.....	472.50	H. L. Varney, joint ofs. exps., July.....	35.40
General defense donations.....	169.12	C. N. Ogden, joint ofs. exps., July.....	25.40

E. Holman, joint ofs. exps., July.....	35.40	D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Bert Lewis, joint ofs. exps., July.....	50.00	M. K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
Misc. receipts.....	1.25	B. Lewis, No. 573, bal. for July reports	90.00
Dues and initiations for other unions:		C. N. Ogden, No. 600, bal. for July rept.	33.75
24 dues, G. R. U.....	12.00	A. S. Embree, No. 800, bal. for July rept.	11.50
17 dues, 1 initiation, No. 300.....	10.50	E. Holman, No. 1000, bal. for July rept.	2.25
13 dues, 1 initiation, No. 450.....	8.50	H. L. Varney, No. 300, bal. for July rept.	8.00
31 dues, 1 initiation, No. 500.....	17.50	Aug. 5	
281 dues, 35 initiations, No. 573.....	210.50	Thos. Whitehead, acct. supplies.....	1,000.00
49 dues, 1 initiation, No. 600.....	26.50	J. Higgins, relief at Wichita.....	10.00
44 dues, 1 initiation, No. 800.....	22.00	G. Tyson, acct. trip with supplies.....	28.00
1 dues, No. 1100.....	.50	O. B. U. Monthly acct. B. O. to date.....	182.00
5 R. R. W. I. U. assessment stamps.....	2.50	Aug. 6	
Total receipts.....	\$16,435.02	B. Lewis, acct. dup. cards.....	3.50

**Disbursements**

Personal deposits.....	\$13.00	Aug. 7	
Per capita, General Hdqtrs.....	1,000.00	M. K. Fox, acct. J. Rogers-T. dele.....	30.00
Acct. supplies, General Hdqtrs.....	2,325.00	Hungarian B. O. to date.....	1.45
Literature.....	524.99	Aug. 8	
Commission literature.....	27.29	Thos. Whitehead, misc. def. recpts. July	252.85
Dels. wages and commissions.....	2,374.01	Thos. Whitehead, on acct. supplies.....	1,325.00
Mileage.....	139.45	Aug. 9	
Monies held on. acct. by dels. and sectys..	1,986.87	D. N. Simpson, postage stamps.....	100.00
General defense and relief.....	294.15	D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Main office salaries.....	559.00	M. K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
Rent, light, heat, etc.....	88.30	J. Wosczyński, wages.....	24.00
Stationary and fixtures.....	16.47	L. Church, wages.....	24.00
Postage, express, wires.....	211.80	E. Serviss, wages.....	15.00
Acct. supplies for other unions.....	242.75	O. Baker, wages.....	24.00
D. N. Simpson, 1 trunk and rope.....	12.40	Aug. 13	
M. K. Fox, 1 suitcase for Yakima.....	4.25	D. N. Simpson, acct. A. Bare.....	50.00
Joint ofs. exps. for month of August.....	154.40	D. N. Simpson, acct. J. Kelly.....	30.00
Acct. trips with supplies.....	140.73	Aug. 14	
Stamps allowed for jails.....	15.75	J. Anderson, trip with supplies.....	22.00
C. E. Payne, Solidarity acct., Seattle.....	3.80	Aug. 16	
On acct. 2 A. F. L. cards.....	4.00	D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
Total disbursements.....	\$10,138.41	M. K. Fox, wages.....	28.00

**Recapitulation**

Total receipts.....	\$16,435.02	L. Church, wages.....	24.00
On hand Aug. 1, 1919.....	5,914.74	J. Wosczyński, wages.....	24.00
Grand total.....	\$22,349.76	E. Serviss, wages.....	15.00
Total disbursements.....	10,138.41	G. Allridge, acct. collection taken up.....	6.50
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$12,211.35	C. E. Payne, Solidarity acct.....	3.80

MAT K. FOX,  
Secretary-Treasurer A. W. I. U. No. 400.

**CASH DISBURSEMENTS, MAIN OFFICE, FOR AUGUST, 1919**

Aug. 1		Aug. 21	
Paul Mash, railroad fare and exps. to Soo City.....	\$24.80	G. Deschamps, trip with supplies.....	14.00
Aug. 2		Aug. 22	
Russian papers and magazines.....	12.35	J. Gravel, acct. relief.....	3.00
Int. Ptg. Co., assessment stamps.....	12.15	Aug. 23	
C. E. Payne, Solidarity, Issue No. 37.....	62.75	M. K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
Eva Serviss, wages.....	15.00	L. Tyson, wages.....	21.00
		L. Church, wages.....	24.00
		D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
		Aug. 25	
		Int. Ptg. Co., ballots and by-laws.....	56.55
		J. Higgins, relief.....	10.00
		W. Eggleston, wages and fare with supplies.....	28.00
		Aug. 26	
		Thos. Whitehead, per capita tax.....	1,000.00
		Aug. 27	
		D. N. Simpson, on acct.....	16.40
		O. B. U. Monthly, Sept. issue.....	125.50
		Aug. 28	
		Swedish paper.....	6.30



Aug. 29	
Russian paper .....	16.85
Aug. 30	
M. K. Fox, wages.....	28.00
L. Church, wages.....	24.00
L. Tyssen, wages.....	21.00
J. Wosczynski, wages.....	24.00
D. N. Simpson, wages.....	28.00
M. K. Fox, postage stamps rec'd in Aug.	6.43
Joint office expenses for Aug.....	154.40
Total cash disbursements.....	\$ 5,299.08

<b>Recapitulation</b>	
Total cash receipts.....	\$11,595.69
On hand Aug. 1, 1919.....	5,914.74
Grand total .....	\$17,510.43
Cash disbursements .....	5,299.08
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$12,211.35

MAT K. FOX,

Secretary-Treasurer A. W. I. U. No. 400.

## Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800, I. W. W. Superior District

FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1919

<b>Receipts</b>	
301 initiations .....	\$602.00
2,202 due stamps .....	1,101.00
17 six-hour assessment stamps.....	8.50
12 general organization assmt. stamps....	12.00
10 class war prisoners' relief asst. stamps	10.00
Buttons and pins .....	39.25
Literature and papers.....	56.85
Card cases .....	24.00
Banners .....	3.75
Duplicate cards .....	1.00
War class prisoners' relief and def. fund	\$61.89
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 press fund.....	67.14
Personal deposits .....	15.79
Credit on branches and delegates' accts..	322.85

<b>Miscellaneous</b>	
A. L. Vecellio on account.....	70.00
J. Toivar, mileage advanced.....	20.00
G. Henricson, on account.....	20.00
N. Ranta, advertising .....	7.25
G. H. Ricker, J. Toivar, wages from No. 500 account .....	12.00
Total receipts .....	\$ 2,755.27

<b>Expenditures for Superior District Office</b>	
Wages .....	\$222.00
Mileage .....	5.55
Rent, heat and light.....	22.00
Stationary and fixtures .....	12.10
Postage, expressage and wires.....	59.23
Literature and papers .....	6.75
Refund on personal deposits.....	.86
Relief to Mrs. Masanovich .....	200.00
Remitted to M. M. W., I. U. No. 800 headquarters .....	600.00

<b>Miscellaneous</b>	
Airtcraft Print .....	91.00
J. Korpi, loan .....	20.00

H. Toivar, on acct. of J. Toivar's wages	30.00
T. Kezich, on account.....	50.95
I. Lampi, on account .....	13.51
G. Henricson, on acct. ....	34.45
L. Borzich, on acct. ....	36.54
First Nat. Bank, exch. on Can. cur.....	4.80
L. Mammi, deficit report .....	21.89

<b>Branches and Delegates Expenses</b>	
Wages for br. secretaries and comm. to delegates .....	772.51
Mileage .....	169.94
Rent, heat and light.....	13.25
Stationery and fixtures.....	3.61
Postage, expressage and mileage.....	21.99
Literature and papers.....	7.90
Winton Br. 800 relief to J. Mohorch.....	6.00
Gen. Hdqtrs. for charter.....	10.00
Charges on Bchs. and Del. accts.....	73.14

<b>Miscellaneous</b>	
Winton Br. 800, M. Lukkaninen, funeral expenses .....	139.80
N. Kudin, on acct. with A. L. Vecellio..	45.00
L. Mammi on acct. with L. Borzich.....	49.64
L. Borzich, adv. meeting at New Duluth..	4.17

Total expenditures .....	\$ 2,748.58
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<b>Recapitulation</b>	
Total receipts during August, 1919.....	\$ 2,755.27
Cash balance, Aug. 1, 1919.....	233.28
Grand total .....	\$ 2,988.55
Total expenditures during August, 1919..	2,748.58
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$ 239.97

Peter Petaja,  
Superior District Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, I. W. W.

## Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600 I. W. W.

Bulletin No. 19.

1001 West Madison Street  
Chicago, Ill., Sept. 10, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

One hundred and forty-two new members in August. Over fifty new delegates put in the field in August. The sentiment in all parts of the country is steadily growing for the O. B. U. We are badly in need of job delegates to handle the business. Each and every member should call or write for credentials and supplies at once and help build up

the O. B. U. in his vicinity. Remember, fellow workers, if you want better conditions, the only way to get them is to become an organizer and line up those working alongside of you. The boss will not give you anything. If you want anything better in this life, then organize and take it.

**BOOST FOR 500 NEW MEMBERS AND 499 NEW JOB DELEGATES FOR SEPTEMBER!**

Message from Bloomington, Ill.: "We have just finished with first night with Richarson's Organ-

ization, which proved a great success for the O. B. U. They held a mass meeting with one of their G. L. officers as the leading speaker. We went up to listen to it. It took him about two hours to relieve himself of what he called the O. B. U. idea. We listened patiently, at last he stopped and thanked us for our kind attention and told us we could join and ask questions. I managed to get a chance to talk for 15 minutes and evidently the G. L. officer thought the audience was giving me more attention than they had given him, for he jumped up and yelled, "Stop, stop! We will have no I. W. W. talk in this hall!" But we rented it and therefore we told him that we had heard him make the remark that he was a democrat and had a democratic organization several times during his speech, and that if it was true he should put it up to the audience to decide whether I should be allowed to finish my talk or not. I only asked for 10 minutes more. He yelled, "No, no!" The audience supported me with cries of "Yes, yes, yes!" I tried to finish my talk but he kept yelling at me so that I could not make myself heard. So some of the workers got up and shouted, "Come on you I. W. W.'s, this is no place for a working man." I told them that it was clear that this was not a democratic organization, so I said that I would leave. About three-fourths of the audience followed me and about ten minutes later the rest of the crowd followed us. We sold our stock of literature, mostly to members of their organization. Rush more literature to us at once.—Yours Del. X44."

The members working on the railroads in the Twin cities have decided to get together and form a branch, also an organization committee to get better results in the Twin cities. They expect to have a good live branch there in a few days. Watch them grow.

Over fifty members lined up in Missoula, Mont., in the last two weeks. This is a good field for live delegates. Members in this part of the country should write for credentials and supplies.

Sentiment in Miles City, Mont., is strong for the O. B. U. Many request to send organizers there. Any member going in that direction should get credentials and pay them a visit.

The railroad workers in California went back to work by orders from the BIG Four Officials. This is another step in the education of the craft unionists. Such action as that should open their eyes.

We have a traveling organizer, working in the Seattle District. If you want him to stop and see you, write to A. L. Emerson, who will forward mail to him. Members can get credentials and supplies from him or by writing to this office.

CALL OR WRITE FOR CREDENTIALS AND SUPPLIES TODAY.

ALL ABOARD FOR THAT 500 NEW MEMBERS AND 499 NEW JOB DELEGATES.

With best wishes,

Yours for the One Big Union,

GEO. APT,

Chairman, G. O. C. No. 600.

C. N. OGDEN,

Secretary-Treasurer, R. R. I. U. No. 600

### RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 600

#### Summary Receipts for August

142 initiations .....	\$284.00
597 dues .....	298.50
Relief stamps .....	5.00
Organization stamps .....	15.00
Defense stamps .....	10.00
R. R. Mag. stamps .....	85.00
Buttons, pins and dup. cards .....	25.75
Literature .....	14.37
Papers and magazines, B. O. ....	29.46
Refund from I. U. No. 500 .....	7.50
Collection org. purposes, R. R. ....	4.00
Credit, Br. delegates' accts. ....	69.87
Account G. R. U. dues .....	3.00
Account No. 480, dues .....	1.00
Account No. 400, initiations .....	44.00
Account No. 400, dues .....	44.00
Account No. 500, initiations .....	8.00
Account No. 500, dues .....	5.50
Account No. 573, dues .....	10.00
Account No. 1100, initiations .....	4.00
Account No. 1100, dues .....	3.00
<b>Total receipts.....</b>	<b>\$970.95</b>

#### Summary Expenditures

A. F. of L. cards exchanged .....	\$8.00
B. O. literature and papers .....	72.06
Wages and com. del. and branches .....	168.21
Mileage .....	28.55
Main office, wages .....	170.00
Rent, heat and light .....	33.17
Stationery and fixtures .....	5.40
Postage, express and wires .....	36.71
Drawing cartoons .....	5.00
Printing .....	45.95
Charge acct., branches and delegates .....	125.50
Charge acct., Ind. unions .....	5.75
Allowance on supplies, Ind. unions .....	59.50
<b>Total expenses.....</b>	<b>\$763.80</b>

#### Recapitulation

Total receipts for August, 1919 .....	\$970.95
Balance cash on hand Aug. 1 .....	251.50
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,222.45</b>
<b>Total expenses .....</b>	<b>763.80</b>

Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1919..... \$458.65

C. N. Ogden,

Secretary-Treasurer R. R. W. I. I. No. 600, I. W. W.

**Bundle order agents who have unsold copies of The One Big Union Monthly on hand will do us a favor by notifying us how many they could return to us of the various issues, as we need them to fill orders for back copies.**

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

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

August, 1919

**SUMMARY RECEIPTS:**

Initiations .....	\$1,098.00
Dues .....	2,192.00
Assessments org. stamps .....	258.00
"    C. W. P. stamps .....	297.00
"    defense stamps .....	389.00
Calif. defense list No. 348 .....	22.25
Seattle hall list .....	24.25
Seattle hall list .....	36.28
Seattle hall list .....	71.65
Calif. def. list Seattle .....	45.78
Frank Ferris, donation .....	.50
Day pay, M. Brady .....	3.50
Buttons .....	55.50
Literature .....	386.75
Card cases .....	70.50
Remit. acct. Dist. Br. Sec. G. O. C. and Del. ....	734.60
Rent refund, Detroit .....	3.00
Rent refund by I. U. No. 300, North side hall .....	50.00
Rent refund by I. U. No. 1,100, North Side hall .....	50.00
Refund by Seattle Pub. Com. ....	16.60
Refund, Wm. Ford .....	10.00
L. Van Wingerden .....	4.20
Mileage refund, by G. E. B. per Whitehead .....	100.00
Duplicate cards .....	17.50
Pennants .....	2.00
Collection, Boston branch .....	7.00
C. W. P. donation .....	.25
I. U. No. 300 press assmts .....	1.00
I. U. No. 600 mag. assmts. ....	2.00
Lost supplies Del. E360 .....	4.50
Refund by I. U. No. 500 .....	2.50
Strike victims' defense .....	1.00
Don. to Indus. Worker .....	.50
Business for other unions:	
No. 8, dues .....	4.50
No. 300, init. \$6, dues \$6 .....	12.00
No. 325, dues \$6 .....	6.00
No. 400, init. \$30, dues \$41 .....	71.00
No. 500, init. \$6, dues \$56 .....	62.00
No. 600, init. \$4, dues \$5.50 .....	9.50
No. 800, dues \$7.50 .....	7.50
No. 1000, dues \$13 .....	13.00
No. 1100, init. \$8, dues \$6 .....	14.00
No. 1200, dues \$6 .....	6.00
Grand total .....	\$6,163.11

**SUMMARY DISBURSEMENTS**

Headquarters, supplies .....	\$ 310.00
"    defense assmts. ....	307.00
"    C. W. P. assmts. ....	628.00
"    Org. assmts. ....	755.00
Literature .....	426.29
Wages, includ. G. O. C. Sec'y. and Del. ....	1,644.65
Mileage .....	106.26
Acct. supplies other I. U. ....	128.25
Charge other I. U. Br. Sec'ys. Del. G. O. C., cash balance .....	818.14
By Seattle Dist. remit. for def. C. W. P. & Cal. def. ....	477.71
Main off. wages, includ. chairman G. O. C. ....	448.00
Rent, light, heat, etc. ....	473.50
Stationery and fixtures .....	56.86
Postage, wires and exp. ....	240.27
Stickerettes .....	39.10
Leaflets .....	45.95
Adv. to Indus. Worker .....	75.00
Advance, Seattle D. O. C. ....	45.00
Advance, Seattle C. P. Com. ....	50.00
Advance, Seattle Hall Com. ....	100.00
Jail stamps .....	5.00
Refund, Del. E178 .....	1.00
Gen. D. List 126,937 .....	17.50
Adv. Indust. Worker .....	150.00
Adv. memb. G. E. B. ....	100.00
Adv. Seat. B. & B. Com. ....	50.00
Gen. S. Victims, Def. ....	1.00
Duplicates to No. 700 .....	1.00
L. Gross, Seat. D. O. C. ....	15.00
Calif. Def. List No. 348 .....	22.25
Back bills Industrialisti .....	36.00
Adv. J. Sigal by J. Ward .....	25.00
75,000 stickerettes .....	96.70
Adv. Seat. Hall Com. ....	50.00
D. Wallen cartoon .....	5.00
Bulletins .....	16.50
Bank exchange .....	.55
Total expenditures .....	\$7,767.47

**RECAPITULATION:**

Cash an hand Aug. 1 .....	\$4,212.10
August receipts .....	6,163.11
Grand Total .....	\$10,375.21
August expeditures .....	7,767.47
Cash on hand Sept. 1 .....	\$ 2,607.74

**Shipbuilding Workers Industrial Union No. 325 I. W. W.**

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

Aug. 1—Sept. 1

**GROSS RECEIPTS:**

122 Init. (3 A. F. of L. cards) .....	\$ 238.00
950 Due Stamps .....	475.00
101 Gen. Def. Stamps .....	101.00
48 General Org. Stamps .....	48.00
59 Class W. P. Relief .....	59.00
Gen. Strike V. Stamps .....	6.50
Buttons .....	71.00

Card Cases .....	3.00
Duplicate Cards .....	1.25
On acc't cash bal. ....	44.25
Picnic Tickets .....	18.75
From L. W. I. U. No. 500 .....	50.00
G. R. U., Pro-rata Expense .....	109.80
Total .....	\$1,225.55

## RECAPITULATION:

Total Receipts .....	\$1,225.55	Headquarters for Supplies .....	140.70
Brought Forward .....	84.26	On acc't cash balance .....	67.75
Total Gross Receipts .....	\$1,309.81	District Defense .....	107.50
Total Gross Expenses .....	1,268.21	M. M. W. I. U., No. 800 .....	3.60
On hand, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$ 41.60	Leaflets, printing .....	29.00
		Advanced Detroit Branch .....	100.00
		M. T. W. I. U. No. 8 .....	2.75
		Stickers and Bulletins .....	92.75
		Pro-rata hall expenses .....	9.34
		Getting out Bulletin .....	6.00
		Leaflets, printing .....	33.50
		Donation to Industrial Worker .....	100.00
		Typewriter rent .....	5.00
		Advanced C. P. C. ....	25.00
		On acc't supplies .....	40.50
		Total .....	\$1,268.21

## GROSS EXPENDITURES:

Delegates' Commission .....	\$ 33.00
Stationary Del., Wages .....	140.00
Office Wages .....	232.00
Stationary and Fixtures .....	19.35
Rent, meeting room .....	3.50
Rent of Office .....	20.00
Postage and Express .....	30.20
Subscriptions .....	23.75
Literature .....	2.12

THOS. MCKINLEY,  
Sec'y-Treas. S. B. I. U. No. 325  
Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

## Hotel Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial No. 1100. I. W. W.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4th, 1919

Fellow Workers:—

The month of August is always the worst month of the year for No. 1100. Owing to the present conditions in this industry, very few reports reach this office at present, but we are still making some headway. The coming months, without doubt, will show more activity.

Reports from all parts of the country are very encouraging. There seems to be an urgent need for organizers, and as soon as possible we will comply with the request and send an organizer out in the field. Your co-operation is asked to make this trip a success.

Job delegates are badly needed in St. Louis, Mo. and Denver, Colo. With a few active delegates on the job, the prospects there are good for No. 1100.

The strike of the lunch-room workers in Chicago is still going on. The Lunch-room owners have employed gunman and sluggers to keep our members away, but quite a few have lined up and with little more propaganda and activity on the part of the members, we will get them organized. All the members arrested in connection with this strike are released on bonds, and their trial is set for Sept. 29th. There is no evidence against them and we believe they will be acquitted.

The Denver branch have opened their own Hall, and the Los Angeles branch have decided to do the same. Together with No. 300 and No. 573 we have opened a new Hall on the North Side in Chicago.

The General Executive Board has passed the following resolutions of interest to every member of No. 1100.

That Housewives who are the wives of working

men shall be admitted to membership in H. R. and D. W. I. U. No. 1100.

**Note:**

We take this action because we deem it necessary to keep in touch with Housewives as they have a tremendous effect on the men in time of strikes. and this is the proper union in which to have them. if we are going to get them with us and educate them to their class position.

That M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 or one of its Organization Committeemen has not acted in fairness to H. R. and D. W. I. U. No. 1100, in keeping Roberta Bruner, who was making a tour for No. 1100 in Colorado, thereby breaking her tour for No. 1100 and causing No. 1100 to suffer a considerable loss in finances expended to advertise and make the tour a success. Be it further resolved:

That we condemn any action that tends to build up one Industrial Union at the expenses of another. and we further believe, that M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 should pay the loss sustained by No. 1100.

The result of the referendum is as follows:

Secretary Treasurer: Ernest Holmen.

Organization Committee:

Jack Fisher, Minneapolis, Lizzie Tyssen, Chicago. Hilma Pulska, Detroit, Betty Suoja, New York. Anna Pancner, Detroit.

Alternates: Geo Wheeler, Los Angeles, Hilda Silverberg, Chicago, Alfred Holmberg, Los Angeles, Anna Saima, Detroit.

The Organization Committee will meet as soon as possible. All the members are asked to communicate with this office in regard to suggestions and questions to be brought up at this meeting.

A very attractive sticker is just off the press. Send in your order and help us to spread the propaganda. If possible remit \$3,00 a thousand to help pay for the printing.

More delegates are needed. Every member in good standing should take out credentials. Write this office today.

With the best wishes, I remain  
Yours for One Big Union

ERNEST HOLMEN, Sec'y Treas. H. R. and D. W. I.  
U. No. 1100.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

of Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial  
Union. No 1100. Month of August, 1919.

**Receipts:**

Initiation (4 \$ 1.00) .....	\$151.00
Due Stamps .....	259.00
Duplicate Card .....	0.50
Defense Stamps .....	7.50
Organization Stamps .....	27.00
Buttons .....	1.00
Literature .....	11.70
Credit acct. of Cash Balance .....	44.28
Reimbursement from No 800 .....	14.20
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$516.18</b>

**Expenditures:**

Pen Defense Fund .....	9.40
Literature .....	7.45
Subscriptions .....	1.67
Printing .....	54.35
Wages and Com., Branch Sec., Organizers and	
Bail Money .....	50.00
Delegates .....	116.35
On hand of Branches and Delegates .....	26.72
Rent, Light, Heat .....	106.20
Stationary and Fixtures .....	40.45
Postage, Express and Wires .....	46.11
Main Office, Salaries .....	85.00
Business done by other Unions, Allowance .....	25.25
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$568.95</b>
<b>Summary:</b>	
Total Receipts from Aug. 1st to 31st .....	516.18
Brought forward from July 31st .....	248.90
<b>Total Expenditures from Aug 1st to 31st</b> ....	<b>765.08</b>
Cash on hand Aug 31st .....	196.13
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>765.08</b>

# Industrial Workers of the World General Office

Financial Report for August, 1919

**SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS**

Due Stamps .....	\$ 1,679.85
Organization Supplies .....	2,450.65
Assesment Stamps:	
Organization .....	1,708.00
Class War .....	1,708.00
Gen. Defense .....	763.75
Literature .....	165.75
Receipts from Publications .....	4,706.06
Office Rent by Ind. Unions .....	100.00
Press Fund .....	10.00
Refund on Express and Telephone .....	12.86
Cash Discounts .....	5.60
Contributions:	
Organization .....	6.65
General Defense .....	5,971.87
Relief .....	538.09
Deposits:	
General Recruiting Union .....	782.40
Joint Sec'y Workers' Hall .....	111.24
Industrial Unions .....	232.75
Personal Acc'ts .....	1,173.82
Bail Fund-Loans .....	1,535.09
<b>Total Receipts</b> .....	<b>\$23,662.43</b>
Bundle orders .....	73.60
Advance of cash .....	23.00
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$ 468.75</b>

**Organization Expense:**

Wages of G. E. B. and or- ganizers .....	\$ 669.87
Mileage of G. E. B. and or- ganizers .....	352.19
Cablegram to Amsterdam .....	9.01
International Convention .....	12
Money order fees on remit- tance .....	1.50
Bundle orders .....	1.50
Cartoonist for all kinds of work .....	120.00
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$ 1,152.69</b>

**General Defense:**

Wages .....	\$ 317.00
Printing .....	473.06
Postage and telegrams .....	224.79
T. W. Stencils for mailing machine .....	120.00
Adjusting dictaphone .....	.90
Balance for Appeal expense (printing) .....	2,300.00
Mileage and expense of meetings .....	164.52
K. Fedchenko, reimburse- ment for defense ex- pense incurred .....	25.00
Counsel fees and expense .....	779.23
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$ 4,404.50</b>
Relief Disbursements .....	1,171.13
To Unions on account Deposits .....	12.75
Check to E. Riebe for check-payment stopped .....	110.00
On personal accounts .....	873.24
Advance to attorneys, not yet charged to Defense .....	500.00
Loan to Int. Ptg. & Type. Co. ....	500.00
Advance on order for Gold Buttons .....	275.00
Advance on Goss Press .....	1,000.00
Refund on Bail Loan .....	100.00
Checks from D. Kuokka for Defense, dishonored by bank .....	251.50

**Expenditures:**

Wages .....	\$ 140.00
Printing .....	304.34
Office Supplies .....	1.75
Cuts .....	5.58
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>451.67</b>
Credit Balance, Sept. 1, 1919 .....	\$ 448.03

Jewish Paper	
Credit Balance, Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 68.03
Receipts for August, 1919	137.00
	<u>\$ 205.03</u>
Expenditures:	
Printing	\$ 104.55
Cuts	5.67
	<u>110.22</u>
Credit Balance, Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 94.81

Russian Paper and Magazine	
Credit Balance, Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 596.56
Receipts for Aug. 1, 1919	1,113.20
	<u>\$1,709.76</u>

Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 265.00
Printing	606.35
Cuts, literature, B. O.s.	12.72
Supplies and Staty.	5.25
Refund. of Advance to start magazine	120.00
	<u>1,009.32</u>
Credit Balance, Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 700.44

Croatian Paper	
Credit Balance, August 1, 1919	
(Donations)	\$ 402.70
Wages for August	\$ 31.50
Credit Balance, Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 371.20

Polish Paper	
Debit balance, Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 83.62
Printing and Expressage	68.41
Debit Balance Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 152.03

German Paper	
Receipts for August, 1919	\$ 123.65
Cuts	4.39
Credit Balance, Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 119.26

Swedish Paper	
Deficit on Aug. 1, 1919	\$1,170.80
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 160.00
Printing	353.87
Linotype work by Scand.	
Workers Pub. Co.	49.72
	<u>563.59</u>
Receipts for August, 1919	\$1,734.39
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919	\$1,382.39

Spanish Paper	
Deficit on Aug. 1, 1919	\$1,321.59
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 105.00
Printing	132.15
	<u>237.15</u>
Receipts for Aug. 1919	\$1,558.74
	<u>160.88</u>
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919	\$1,397.86

Hungarian Paper	
Credit Balance, Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 19.22
Literature	\$ 5.00
Cuts	7.55
	<u>12.55</u>
Credit Balance Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 6.67

Bulgarian Paper	
Credit Balance Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 532.24
Receipts for August, 1919	\$ 367.46
	<u>\$ 899.70</u>

New Solidarity	
Deficit on Aug. 1, 1919	\$2,334.63
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 260.00
Printing	608.87
Cuts and cartoon work	60.72
Express and Postage	73.88
Office Supplies	12.60
	<u>1,016.07</u>
Receipts for August, 1919	\$3,350.70
	<u>\$ 741.30</u>
Deficit Sept. 1, 1919	\$2,609.40

One Big Union Monthly	
Deficit on Aug. 1, 1919	\$ 851.23
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 220.00
Printing	587.84
Cuts	25.53
Staty. and Supplies	32.00
Express and postage	223.41
	<u>1,088.78</u>
Total Debits	\$1,940.01
Receipts for August, 1919	\$1,503.06
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919	\$ 436.95

Italian Paper	
Deficit on Aug. 1, 1919	\$1,636.59
Expenditures:	
Wages	\$ 140.00
Printing	511.92
Office supplies	3.50
	<u>655.42</u>
Receipts for August, 1919	\$2,292.01
	<u>278.35</u>
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919	\$2,013.66

Thomas Whitehead, Gen. Secy.-Treas.

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