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The One Big Union Monthly



Maurice Becker

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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.

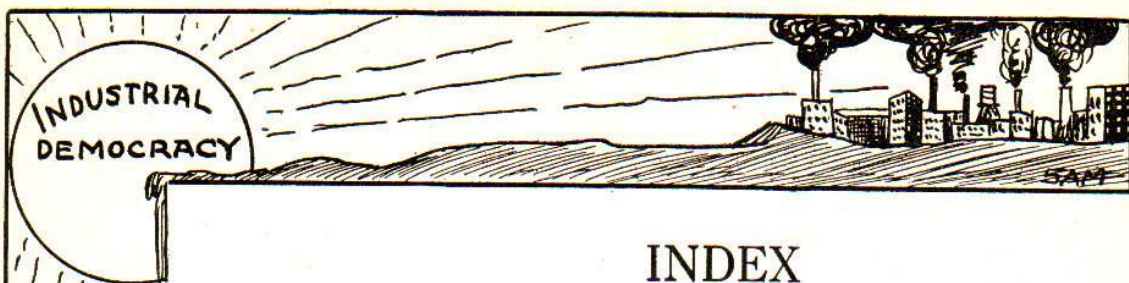
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the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



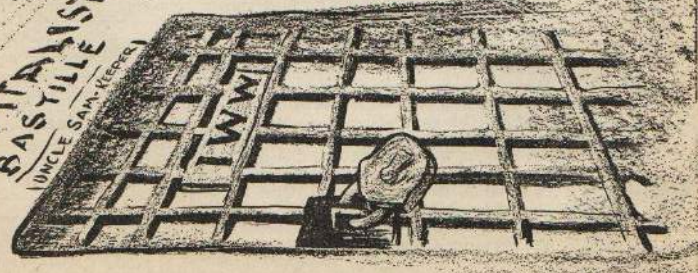


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CAPITALIST
BASTILLE
(UNCLE SAM - KEEPER)



Justice

Manice Bixler

JUSTICE PLEADS WITH THE PRISON GUARD.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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\$1,000,000 For Bond \$100,000 For Defense

ONE MILLION DOLLARS must be raised for BOND.

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS for RELIEF, DEFENSE and EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Securities for Bond must be in cash, Liberty Bonds, unencumbered real estate, or such collateral as can be used to indemnify those who furnish bond.

It will require every dollar of the stupendous sum named to secure the release of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World now confined in the jails and penitentiaries. Every red-blooded member and friend of the organization will be required to exert their utmost energies to raise these securities. Assistance will be rendered by the bail and bond committees of the organization.

Later, territory will be assigned, but for the time being the work:

WEST OF THE ROCKIES will be handled by the Co-Operative Bail and Defense Committee, J. L. Engdahl, Secretary, P. O. Box W, Ballard Station, Seattle, Wash.

EAST OF THE ROCKIES by the Committee at Minneapolis, Wilfred Engdahl, Secretary, 1821 Fullmore Street, N. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

MIDDLE STATES by the Committee at Detroit, E. S. Rose, Secretary, 215 Gratiot Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

EASTERN STATES by the Committee at Philadelphia, Walter T. Nef, Secretary, 900 North Franklin Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following named men, confined in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, will be released on bond in the amount opposite their names. Let us make this slogan good. Remember: THEY are IN for US, WE are OUT for THEM.

Wm. D. Haywood.....	\$15,000	Out on Bond
C. L. Lambert.....	15,000	
Geo. Andreytchine	10,000	Out on Bond
Vladimir Lossieff	10,000	" " "
Richard Brazier	10,000	
W. T. Nef.....	10,000	Out on Bond
A. V. Azuara.....	10,000	
Carl Ahlteen	10,000	
Sam Scarlett	10,000	
Forrest Edwards	10,000	
Ralph H. Chaplin.....	10,000	Out on Bond
Leo Laukki	10,000	" " "
James Rowan	10,000	" " "
Manuel Ray	10,000	
Charles Rothfiser	10,000	Out on Bond
C. W. Davis.....	10,000	
John I. Turner.....	10,000	
Peter Green	10,000	
Ragnar Johanson	10,000	Out on Bond

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Alex Cournos	10,000	
J. P. Thompson	10,000	
Jack Law	10,000	Out on Bond
Grover H. Perry	10,000	" " "
J. Baldazzi	10,000	
John Martin	10,000	
A. Sinclair	10,000	
Fred Jaakkola	10,000	Out on Bond
Dan Buckley	10,000	
Don Sheridan	10,000	
E. F. Doree	10,000	Out on Bond
Francis Miller	10,000	" " "
Ed Hamilton	10,000	
John Walsh	10,000	
A. B. Prashner	10,000	Out on Bond
Charles Ashleigh	10,000	
Charles Bennett	10,000	Out on Bond
S. L. Clark	10,000	" " "
Bert Lorton	10,000	
Sig. Stenberg	10,000	
J. H. Beyer	10,000	
C. H. Rice	10,000	
Jos. J. Gordon	10,000	Out on Bond
James Slovick	10,000	
G. J. Bourg	10,000	
Ben Fletcher	10,000	
John Pancner	10,000	Out on Bond
J. A. McDonald	10,000	
Vincent St. John	10,000	Out on Bond
Arthur Boose	5,000	
Frank Westerlund	5,000	Out on Bond
Peter McEvoy	5,000	
W. H. Lewis	5,000	
Wm. Tanner	5,000	Out on Bond
Wm. Moran	5,000	
P. S. Wetter	5,000	
Wm. Weyh	5,000	
John Avila	5,000	
Joseph A. Oates	5,000	
H. F. Kane	5,000	
M. Levine	5,000	
Herbert Mahler	5,000	
Harrison George	5,000	
James Phillips	5,000	
Joe McCarty	5,000	
Lewis Parenti	5,000	Out on Bond
James Elliott	5,000	
Ray Fanning	5,000	Out on Bond
Clyde Houge	5,000	" " "
V. V. O'Hair	5,000	
Joe Graber	5,000	
Ted Fraser	5,000	
Charles Plahn	5,000	Out on Bond
James H. Manning	5,000	
C. R. Griffith	5,000	
J. T. Doran	5,000	
Harry Lloyd	5,000	Out on Bond
Olin B. Anderson	5,000	" " "
John M. Foss	5,000	" " "
C. H. McKinnon	5,000	" " "
E. J. McCosham	5,000	

Following named members convicted at Sacramento, California, now confined at Leavenworth penitentiary. Bonds will be fixed at:

Mortimer Downing	\$10,000
Phil McLaughlin	10,000
Herbert Stredwick	10,000
George O'Connell	10,000
Henry Hammer	10,000
Elmer Anderson	10,000
Robert Connellan	10,000
Godfrey Ebel	10,000
George Voetter	10,000
Frederick Esmond	10,000
John Graves	10,000
James Quinlan	10,000
Roy Conner	10,000
P. Bernardi	10,000
Caesar Tabjb	10,000
Harry Gray	10,000
William Hood	10,000
Chris Luber	10,000
Louis Tori	10,000
Edward Quigley	10,000
John Potthast	10,000
Myron Sprague	10,000
Frank Elliott	10,000
Harry Brewer	10,000
Vincent Santelli	10,000
Edward S. Carey	10,000
Robert Feehan	5,000
James Mulroonery	4,000
James Price	4,000
John Murphy	4,000
Joseph Carroll	5,000
Otto Eisner	3,000
Joseph Harper	3,000
Frank Reilly	2,000
Harry LaTour	2,000
Edward Anderson	2,000
Ralph Moran	2,000
Felix Cedno	2,000

(Note—On the Wichita indictment ten men will be released on a blanket bond of \$15,000.)

That a few of us have secured our temporary release from long terms in the penitentiary is not enough. Every man must gain his freedom. Washington, California, Kansas, Oklahoma and Michigan members shall not be railroaded. The appeals of the Chicago and Sacramento cases must be won. These cases must be reversed. This can only be done by EDUCATION and ORGANIZATION.

For this purpose ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS will be required. Agitation must be carried on by speakers, through the columns of our papers and of the radical press of the country.

It's a big job, but the members of the Industrial Workers of the World have never fallen down on any proposition. WE CAN DO IT. LET'S GO!

Receipts from all sources for the month of August	\$ 8,981.71
Expenses	5,476.87
Cash balance	3,504.84
Receipts from all sources for the month of September	\$17,474.93
Expenses	12,996.89
Balance, General Defense	\$ 4,478.04

During the month of August there was received at this office for bond \$1,535.09.

During the month of September there was received at this office for bond \$4,646, not including monies raised by Bail and Bond Committees. All big fees for lawyers have been paid.

REMEMBER: A MILLION DOLLARS must be raised for BOND, and ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS for RELIEF, DEFENSE and EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Wm D Haywood.
Secretary.

P. S.—Since this was set in type sixteen more members have been arrested in Los Angeles, Calif., and their bail was fixed at \$5,000 each. Two have been arrested in Sacramento, Calif., fifteen at Scotts Bluff, Neb., and twelve at St. Louis, Mo.



MORE CHAINS

Riots and Race Wars, Lynchings and Massacres, Military Law, Terrorism and Giant Strikes

In the above long heading the social conditions at present in the United States are briefly summed up.

There was the insurrection in Drumright, Okla., where several thousand oil workers suddenly took possession of the city government and threatened to hang the mayor. In Omaha there was both an insurrection and a race war. In Chicago and Washington, D. C., there were riots and race wars. In Elaine, Kans., where over a dozen negroes were killed, there was the beginning of an insurrection of tenants against the landlords, altho the affair gets the appearance of a race war as the tenants happen to be colored. The lynchings have increased enormously in the South. Hardly a day passes without the most hair-raising stories from those parts. In other parts of the country, great numbers of workers are being arrested, in addition to those already in jail. At the time of writing we hear of sixteen I. W. W. men incarcerated in Los Angeles and Sacramento, Cal., and of fifteen I. W. W. men being imprisoned in Scotts Bluff, Nebraska, and 12 in St. Louis, Missouri. Great numbers of the striking steel workers are in prison in Gary, and a riot was on the verge of being started. Hundreds are being arrested throughout the strike zone, and great numbers have been clubbed and maltreated and shot, and some have been killed by the tools of the steel trust. "Patriots" are doing longshorework in Seattle and regular soldiers are unloading ships in New York. In New York one hundred "REDS" were recently wounded when the police made an attack on a parade, and so it goes thruout the country for every day that passes.

Constitutional rights are formally suspended in many parts of the country, while in every part of the country these rights are being ruthlessly trampled upon. The right of free speech, free press and free assemblage have been circumscribed and limited and in some parts entirely suppressed.

Federal troops are in control in three steel cities in Indiana and martial law is declared. In other states armed troops of cossacks are terrorizing the steel cities, oppressing, clubbing and murdering. One great strike follows upon the other and the people suffer and wrife in pain.

Such are conditions in the promised land of democracy anno 1919.

To this must be added, that so-called "patriotic" societies and organizations of

duped soldiers thruout the country are exercising private terrorism, oppressing, blackmailing, threatening and maltreating private citizens who are suspected of rebellious thoughts against these terrorists.

From where does this terrorism come?

Its fountain head is undoubtedly in Wall Street and its ramifications are found among the social layers whose economic interests are identical with Wall Street's. It has been nursed with a tidal wave of lies in the prostituted press, and it is being kept alive by a strong and steady stream of agitation against the imaginary danger of so-called Bolshevism. The low passions of national hatreds are being appealed to, and the American flag is in the name of "patriotism" being draped about the most vicious and most dangerous acts against the liberty of the people, and all this tremendous agitation is being financed by the rich and is directed against the poor.

Only such efforts are tolerated by the terrorists as have for their aim to protect private ownership in the form that it is approved by Morgan, Rockefeller, Dupont and Gary. Every effort to solve the social question by striking out for a new society on a communist basis is branded as criminal and treasonable, and everyone who publicly voices such thoughts takes the risk of losing life, liberty or the means of livelihood.

Liberty is practically dead in this country. Courageous and daring truth speakers are either made harmless or are silenced, and the field of publicity is reserved solely for the criminal philosophy of profiteerdom. Rapacious "business men" and gamblers are spreading themselves insolently with their platitudes and their criminal principles in the columns of the newspapers, and what they say is made to weigh as much as the word of God. These terrorists have bit the head off shame and turned morals upside down. Right is what agrees with the interests of these robbers; wrong is what is contrary thereto. The so-called "intelligenza," consisting of professors, lawyers, journalists, physicians, priests, and others with a university education, have long ago been made so dependent that they no longer dare to speak the truth, and if they should do so, there is no publicity given to it, for swindledom controls the whole big press. The majority of the American intelligenza has not stopped here, but has gone still further and placed their ability on the market, selling their soul for

bread, speaking and writing lies for pay.

Capitalism has now come to the point where it can no longer stand the light of day. The shameful crimes are becoming so numerous and so terrible that the knowledge of them has to be suppressed with violence and oppression. Production is to a great extent being carried on at the point of the bayonet, under the police club, or even under the mouth of the machine gun and cannon, and the mass is held in silent awe and given the choice between submissive slavery or prison and death.

When a social system can maintain itself only at such a price, it is evident to thinking people that its days are numbered. Capitalism cannot very long hold on to the rudder of the social ship. It is on the verge of collapsing. Certain learned men and social observers are predicting a tremendous crisis, and we for our part hold that it can't be very far distant.

But among the working masses there seems to be very little uneasiness. There

is no general realization of the impending danger. Like a soulless herd of buffaloes it wanders in the known furrows and in the beaten paths against unknown dangers. They dress and they feast, they dance and go to the theatres as if everything were calm and peaceful, and masses of them are blind enough to place themselves under the banner of the profiteers and help with the oppression.

What shall we do under these circumstances? We who can see the coming storm, the precursors of which are now whistling past our corners.

There is only one thing we can do and that is, in spite of all obstacles, to spread information about the only road to salvation for mankind; that is industrial organization. If we survey the whole field of human endeavor there is nothing else that is adequate to cope with the conditions resulting from the collapse of capitalism. It alone can save the freedom of the people and safeguard the uninterrupted flow of the necessities of life.



GEN. WOOD TO "CITIZENS" OF OMAHA:

"It was the I. W. W. that incited you to riot."

The Collapse of Capitalism

Repeatedly we have raised warning cries about the impending collapse of capitalism. The easy-going and thoughtless will perhaps dispatch this warning with a sickly grin as uncalled-for prophecies of disaster and accuse us of making a false alarm, but this is not going to deter us from repeating the warning.

"Warning," says somebody, "is that anything to warn us for? Haven't we always been wishing for that collapse? Why should you warn us for a gift from heaven? May it take place today! If this is true it would be occasion for us to see if we have no poetic vein in our soul so that we could write a long and spacy song of praise and thanksgiving for the realization of the long-ing of centuries instead of warning."

Well, this is true. If we had a lyre at our breast, as the poets have, we probably would try. The impulse is there, but there is another impulse that is much stronger and that is the impulse to tell those who are busy with their daily tasks that the collapse of capitalism will not only be a victory festival but that it possibly and probably will mean a terrible social catastrophe.

We consequently warn with the purpose of awakening our fellow men to a realization of the necessity of considering what they ought to undertake in order to soften the blow of the unquestionably impending catastrophe.

Capitalism collapsed, at least in part, in Russia, and we know what it meant. The people became free from their old oppressors and that certainly was a great cause for celebration, but the collapse had another side which has caused streams of tears to flow and unspeakable suffering.

The bird Phoenix, the new society, did not rise out of the ashes at the same moment as capitalism flared up. It hasn't risen yet. Hundreds of thousands have succumbed from want and hundreds of thousands have been compelled to sacrifice their lives, arms in hand, to defend the infant new society. The same thing has happened on a smaller scale in Hungary and Germany, and in the other European countries the gradual collapse of capitalism is every day causing nameless sufferings. The bread revolts of Italy are nothing else than symptoms of this gradual collapse, and bread revolts come only when people suffer from hunger and want.

The great railway and dock workers' strike in England, which was on the verge of spreading to the whole working mass, is nothing else than symptoms of the collapse

of capitalism. The few days the strike lasted, limited to one industry as it was, were enough to give us an idea of what conditions would have been, had it at this time come to a final conflict between England's capitalists and workers.

The insurrections, riots, race wars, lynchings, military law, terrorism and great strikes which characterize America of today are also symptoms of the impending collapse and will be multiplied a thousand-fold as the real crisis approaches.

The collapse of capitalism commences when the necessities of life get beyond the reach of the people and when the pressure of capitalism, its tyranny and oppression, coupled with the economic insecurity, becomes unbearable. Capitalism is now making a failure of its monopolized undertaking, to supply mankind with the necessities of life, because it is absorbing too much of the products of labor for the use of the capitalist class and for the running expenses of capitalism. There is not enough left for the mass of the people, and on what there is left the capitalist class has felt compelled to set such a high price that we cannot pay it.

In accordance with its nature, Capitalism continues to collect rent, interest and profit at a more cruel rate than ever and on an ever increasing capital, the stolen wealth produced by the people. Capitalism in itself is a logical and mathematical impossibility and an absurdity. As the structure of capitalism rises in the sky like an Eiffel-tower, the short-comings of its foundations are becoming apparent. The whole structure totters and sways and can be held in place only by artificial means, i. e. violence and the threats of violence. The structure of Capitalism was not designed by social engineers of wide learning and knowledge. It is a structure built according to the plans devised by greed, selfishness, cruelty and social irresponsibility.

The new society on the other hand, is being built with due consideration for all the material at hand with a complete knowledge of mankind's past experiences and on a moral foundation of human solidarity, mutual aid, brotherly love, and justice to all. These four corner stones will be able to bear up the tremendous structure of the new world society which we are planning to erect on the ruins of capitalism.

Still somebody might say that this might apply to the European countries but that America has been built so solidly that capitalism here will endure. To this we will an-

swer that American capitalism, English capitalism and French capitalism and the capitalism of other countries are grown together like the Siamese twins. If one of them gets sick the other breaks down also, if one of them dies, the other has not many days left. Should capitalism collapse in England, or in France, it is only a matter of hours when it will draw its last breath in America.

We maintain that we are no prophets of disaster to be grinned at, but we are reasoning logically from facts that are known to everybody. The danger of a universal social cataclysm is a ghastly reality. It may take place this year or next year or later, but it is coming.

How are the English workers prepared for such an event? How are the American workers prepared? They are hardly prepared at all.

The English workers are partly organized in craft unions in an emergency manner patched up with the superstructure of shop stewardism, but this clap-trap apparatus is hardly fit for the taking over of production and carrying it on. Production will stop and fall into disruption. There will be chaos and disorder and fights between competing elements who all want to take the leadership in the country's affairs. So it will go in this country, altho in much more terrible forms because we here are split up into so many nationalities.

There is one way in which this world-disaster could be diverted, and that is by the capitalist class voluntarily abdicating from the ownership of the means of production and the right to the products of labor, without for a moment stopping production or withdrawing the services of such elements as are necessary for carrying it on. Still, this would not be sufficient as the workers of this country and other countries have no organs ready with which to take over this great inheritance. The capitalist class have hindered our efforts in every conceivable way when we tried to create the needed organs by organizing the workers industrially, and as a result the great mass of the people are unprepared to take the responsibility, even in the face of the impending calamity. If the capitalist class were as humane as it pretends to be, and as conscious of its social responsibilities as it boasts to be, they would not only immediately abdicate but they would immediately divert all the tremendous educational facilities from the channels of lies and misinformation where they are now operating, and turn them all in one general direction for the purpose of educating the people in industrial organization by means of which

they could take over and run production under a communist system of ownership and management by the people themselves.

If the capitalist class followed such a course the transition from capitalism to industrial communism could be accomplished with no more jar than what is felt when a railroad train passes over a bridge on to terra firma.

By suppressing the I. W. W. and hindering our efforts at enlightening the people, they are increasing the scope of the disaster for which they alone will have to be held responsible, for we are doing our best in spite of all persecution to prevent this disaster.

Dear friends, do not despise our warnings. Take them seriously. By so doing you will have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Drop everything else. Drop your pleasures, your hobbies, your fancies, in the face of impending danger and throw the whole weight of your ability and your personality in the work of organizing the workers industrially, so that we shall have as much as possible of the new organs of production ready to function when the big crash comes.

The work is simple. There is only one way to do it and that is to participate in and support the campaign of agitation, education and organization carried on by the I. W. W. Our efforts are directed upon this very point since fifteen years back. They have never slackened and they are increasing every day, and our work is being taken up in one country after another, showing that the people are beginning to realize the necessity of following our example. So far as we can see, the work accomplished by the I. W. W. and the prospect of more work of the same kind for the future, is the only ray of hope to which we can cling with heart and mind as the black clouds of the social doomsday are approaching.

A LESSON IN LAW AND ORDER

This Season's Pest

Swing upon him with a vim.
Whale the daylights out of him.
Ask your neighbor to assist.
Thrash the insect. Use your fist.

Take a little powder-gun,
Hold it ready. Squirt it, son.
End each crawling, sneaking one.

Reams of sticky paper buy.
Ever keep your swatter nigh.
Down it now—the Bolshefly.

—Life.

Industrial Franchise, Industrial Representation, Industrial Administration are the Elements of Industrial Democracy and Industrial Communism

ALL of us know what political franchise means. It means the right to drop your vote on election day in the ballot box and to have it counted in the election of officers for the management of the capitalist state. The right to vote has for a long time been the privilege of American citizens and has been gradually extended in the course of years so as to include even women in most of the states. Nominally there is universal political suffrage in this country but as a matter of fact immense bodies are excluded from the privilege. Millions of Negro workers are terrorized into absenting themselves from the ballot box, millions of white workers who are citizens are deprived of their vote by residential qualifications and by the nature of their work, and millions of foreign workers are, of course, excluded from participation in the political affairs of the nation. Those of us who are old enough to have observed conditions in other countries for the last twenty or thirty years have witnessed the successful struggle of the propertyless for political equality in most every country; in fact, we have seen political democracy grow up from suckling infancy to powerful manhood right before our own eyes. In some countries the propertyless have already secured a majority, or are on the verge of doing so, in the political parliaments.

These franchise enthusiasts, however, are standing more or less aghast at the results of their labors. It is becoming evident that in spite of increasing political influence the condition of the working class is not improving through political activities, but what little gains are made are to be credited to the action of the workers on the industrial field thru their unions. It is being proven that all that the parliaments do is to slowly and grudgingly register the gains made by the workers thru their own organizations on the industrial field.

To the surprise of the workers it is also becoming more plain every day that they deceived themselves when they hoped thru political action and thru the use of their political franchise to create and inaugurate a new society based on ownership by the people of all the means of production. It is becoming clearer every day that no new society will come about except by creating new organs for owning the means of pro-

duction and for carrying on production. There they stand, these political victors, rather shame-faced while we the I. W. W. men of the English speaking world and the Syndicalists of Europe, are calling to them: "That's what we always have told you. If we want a new society, we must build the new organs of society within the frame-work of the old. What we the workers need is not so much political franchise as **Industrial Franchise.**"

On the industrial field, the workers continue to be without a vote, just as they used to be on the political field. Autocracy is as complete in the industrial field as Russian autocracy once was on the political field. We haven't got a single word to say in the deciding of the quantity and quality of what shall be produced, nor a single word to say as to the distribution of the products of Labor. We have not a word to say in regard to wages, hours or working conditions. Just as before the time of the political franchise we had no way of carrying out our will except political revolution or insurrection, so we now have, on the industrial field, no way of making our will felt except thru industrial insurrections, or so-called strikes, for the strike is fundamentally nothing else than an industrial insurrection.

Everyone will admit that this is a very primitive, uneconomical and unpractical method for the people to act on the industrial field. It causes them sufferings and troubles too numerous to mention. What the working class needs to remedy this state of affairs is the industrial franchise. Not a franchise with the various limitations known from the struggle for the political franchise, such as for age and income, but a complete universal franchise; for any person wise enough and old enough to perform productive labor is also good enough to vote on matter pertaining to production and distribution.

The old voting districts used for political elections will not do for this purpose. The new voting districts will have to fit the industrial body as a suit of knit underwear has to fit the human body. The smallest electoral district will be the workshop and the next higher will be groups of workshops in the same industry, or so-called industrial districts; the highest electoral group will be the whole industry on a national, or eventually on an international

basis, but in any case it is the man on the job, the man with the tool of production in his hand who shall vote. Thus each worker has a deciding vote not only on the affairs of his own workshop and of his own district but in the affairs of the whole nation and the whole world.

As to local administration of cities and other communities the industrial franchise should be exercised by workers in all work shops and in all useful lines of activity for the purpose of electing persons for local administration. This form of franchise would give the power of decision in the common affairs of the people to every man and woman who is actively engaged in useful occupations, while it would self-evidently exclude all whose occupation is recognized as not socially useful.

This franchise is in fact all that the I. W. W. strives for. We want to have the workers who produce with hand and brain decide everything in the common affairs of the people.

The I. W. W. organization as well as the One Big Union in all other countries is the embryo of the new society. We are already now exercising the industrial franchise to the extent that we are organized, and our decisions are being followed to the extent that we can compel the capitalist class to obey us. We realize that the only way to extend this franchise is to build up the industrial unions, and no man or woman will ever participate in this privilege except by joining the industrial unions.

Russia is so far the only country which has introduced the universal industrial franchise. But due to the abnormal conditions the people were not able to immediately take advantage of this fruit of the revolution. The people had not been in advance educated up to an understanding of how to run the production and distribution of the country on a communist basis and, consequently, only part of the workers are exercising this right. Day by day, the new electoral system is developing and approaching a complete economic administration of the country, but so far the communists themselves have been unable to dispense with the political administration inherited from capitalism. In fact, they are compelled to use what they call the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of extending the use of the industrial franchise to the point where it will result in an economic administration that would make the political administration superfluous. Some day, we hope, to see this thing accomplished and the proletarian dictators step

down from their power and give room for the representatives elected from the workshops, thus substituting dictatorship with industrial democracy.

The course of events will be very much the same in other countries. To the same extent that we are building the new administration within the frame-work of the old society by exercising our universal franchise in our industrial unions, to the same extent we are speeding on the day when we shall be able to throw the out-of-date political administration aside.

The big capitalists can see this time coming. They are busy concocting industrial franchise reforms which would give the workers only the shadow of influence in industrial affairs. This they do in order to break the point off our urgent agitation for a complete industrial franchise, so as to prolong their parasitical existence for as long a time as possible. Thus John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has recently sent out millions of copies of a pamphlet in which he proposes a franchise dividing the people into three classes, capitalists, working-men and consumers. By throwing out this bone they hope to stop the hungry wolves—the working masses—for the time being.

The so-called Plumb plan and other similar plans of “socialization” and “nationalization” in England and America go more or less in the same direction. Just as in the case of the political franchise, the concessions were gradual and wound up with complete victory for the previously disfranchised, so the industrial workers of the world will never stop for any baits thrown out to them in this manner before they have acquired complete universal industrial suffrage.

Universal political suffrage was gained thru a campaign of agitation, education and organization, extending over many decades. The fight for the industrial franchise is being carried on in the same manner, altho we, of course, are meeting with a hundred times the resistance the former had to contend with.

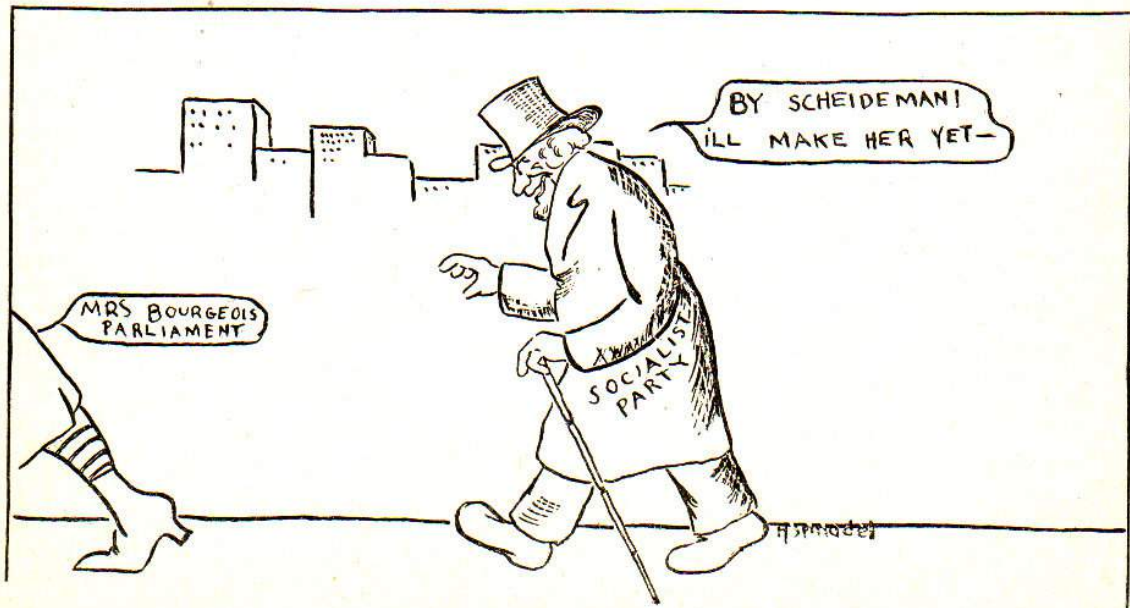
It is the I. W. W. in the English speaking world and the SYNDICALISTS in other countries who have taken up this struggle for the industrial franchise and we have so far made a great success of it. Some twelve, fifteen years ago, we had nothing and now already this industrial suffrage movement has become a world power before which capitalism trembles. It will never stop until we have established Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy.

POLITICS.

By B. E. Nilsson.

Beside the road which Labor walks through life
 There lies the Paradise of endless strife,
 Of unkept promise and of saintly sin,
 A witless mob in many devious ways;
 "Come, vote for me, ye sons of honest toil,
 Where faith is broken and where words are wind.
 Before the gateway stands a hopeful youth,
 Who seeks for honesty and faith and truth;
 To youthful eyes the hidden land is fair
 And siren song and fragrance fill the air,
 And he is bidden by a beckoning hand
 To cross the threshold of the Promised Land.
 Inside the gate a smooth-tongued statesman sways.
 A witless mob in many devious ways
 Who love your home, your land, your native soil;
 This is a land where everyone is free,
 Your rights are sacred if you vote for me."
 The statesman won, the mob has lost the day,
 For words are wind when statesmen have their way.
 Then Youth begins to search for honest men,
 When they are found, the game begins again.
 But search is vain, no honest man is found,
 Our youthful hero feels that he is bound
 To take a thankless task upon himself,
 He seeks no place, nor power, nor job, nor pelf.
 And yet he fails, though honestly he tries;
 His lesson is—that votes are bought with lies;
 He gets in office, when he learns to tell

Lies meaning little—but which listen well,
 And so he enters on his life career,
 The ship of state a righteous course to steer.
 And words of fire he pours out like a rain
 In lofty halls, a "labor law" to gain;
 But words are cheap where talking is a trade
 And plentiful in halls where laws are made;
 Week after week the stifling word-storms blow,
 Till words are worthless as the polar snow.
 But Youth will conquer, and the law came through
 By grafty barter with a shifty crew;
 For laws and bills are but things to trade,
 And the faith he had was the price he paid.
 The Witch of Endor is still in biz',
 The ghost of Samuel is her's to quiz;
 And laws are void until passed upon
 By honored sages long dead and gone.
 And seven doddering fossils said
 They heard a whisper from the silent dead,
 "This law of yours no law can be
 Till you dot an "i" and cross a "t."
 He started back on the weary route
 And traveled far around about,
 And as he pondered the tricks of Fate
 He drifted back to the open gate.
 He saw the angel shape with horns and tail,
 Who bade him wander in the cork-screw trail;
 And politics has taught our weary scout
 The same old gate lets you in—and out.



MAYBE IT IS PADDED

TIME

By Harry Lloyd.

(Federal prisoner, Leavenworth, Kansas)

Time is but the fleeting shadow of the past, present and future;
 It moves with rapidity of which no mortal mind of man can grasp;
 The dimpled, alert, rosy-cheeked youth of yesterday is but the shriveled, wrinkled up
 old man of today.
 Time is kind, generous and cruel,
 It is life, It is death, It is humanity's most precious friend and his most deadly enemy;
 It brings light, joy and sorrow,
 It increases the precepts of man, makes his burden light, and under certain environ-
 ments it hardens them;
 For instance, prison time is laborious, spiritless, conscious time it drags on and on,
 Man always in its grasp is but a bird in a gilded cage, helpless and almost forgotten.
 Humanity always in its shadow from the cradle to the grave, is but a falling star in
 the canopy of space;
 Time conquers all things.

Twelve Thousand Miles Away

By Covington Ami

"Current Opinion" quotes the "Philadelphia Pres-
 byterian" as commenting on the Korean atrocities
 as follows: "The groans of these innocent people
 have ascended to heaven, and it is time that Christian
 nations entered their protest, and the mission
 boards, who either condone this violence, or fail to
 protest against it, are already condemned." Just
 why it is any more wrong to torture Christian rebels
 in Korea than it is to commit the same atrocities on
 Socialists, Conscientious Objectors and I. W. W.'s in
 these Christian United States, I fail to comprehend.
 But still, I know "God works in a mysterious way
 His blunders to perform."

How clear the Church can see a wrong—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How bravely it defies the strong—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How swift its eyes o'erflow with tears,

What floods it weeps upon the biers

Of those who died for conscience sake

In prison chains or at the stake—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How noble is the Church's ire—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How quick it gets upon the wire—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How white-hot flames its wrath divine

When rebels fall at freedom's shrine;

When, just as it was done in Butte,

The heathens stretch some rebel mute—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How valiant wars the Church for right—

Twelve thousand miles away.

How hard it toils to spread the light—

Twelve thousand miles away.

O'er Chosen's Leavenworths and hells,

Its pity broods, its mercy dwells;

It hates all wrong it's safe to hate,

This soul policeman of the State—

Twelve thousand miles away.

IN "NO MAN'S LAND"

By Covington Ami.

In "No Man's Land" the dead lie deep,
 Ten million martyred boys there sleep;
 Their "Government" has done its best,
 And "glory" found its age-long quest.
 In "No Man's Land," with thralling drums,
 No politician-statesman comes;
 No shrieking editors are there,—
 Only the dead are everywhere.
 In "No Man's Land" there's no "sweet sod,"
 No "peace on Earth," no "truce of God";
 There, red with their own people's blood,
 "Great" empires sink in seas of mud.
 Somewhere, sometime, a deathless hand
 Will yet arise in "No Man's Land";
 The suiciding armies hear
 The Race-call ring triumphant, clear!
 Somewhere, sometime, the Lords of Woe,
 The "might of folded arms" shall know;
 In "No Man's land"—how long the night!—
 O, Workers of the World, unite!

FREEDOM

By Raymond Corder.

Thou art the revelation
 Of hidden things divine,
 A crown of consolation,
 The dark earth's anodyne.
 A glow that fills the twilight,
 The sense of every song,
 The clarion call of day-bright,
 Avenger of all wrong.
 Thou art the inspiration
 To do the daring deed,
 The hope of every nation,
 Of serfs who slave and bleed.
 Thou art the end of hating,
 The usherer in of love;
 For you the world is waiting
 Her sorrows to remove.
 NO. 10010.

The Truth About the Steel Strike

By Harold Lord Varney

As I write these words, the great A. F. of L. steel strike is rattling into its third week. The atmosphere is crisp with excitement. Almost anything may happen.

In the Pittsburgh district the satellite cities are dead and strikebound, but the city furnaces are blazing. Bethlehem has remained loyal to its masters. Youngstown has proven a bonfire of revolt. Gary and Indiana Harbor and East Chicago are a rock of solidarity. South Chicago is wavering, but safe. Bristling bayonets and a scab-protecting militiamen are swaggering through the Calumet district, while the murmur of gathering violence begins to be heard on the picket line. In Pennsylvania the clattering hoofs of the Cossacks thunder thru the strike-swept cities. Gunmen beleaguer the railroad depots and challenge everyone. Day by day, one feels the tightening of the Iron Heel, while in Washington, frightened faced business men gather in industrial conference to wheedle and bribe the Gompers crew of craft fakers. And out in the strike belt, Mrs. Sellins lies in her grave in Breckenridge, and Mrs. Hantala is dead and forgotten in Newcastle, and nameless others die daily.

It is a ghastly, yet thrilling panorama. There is something titanic and immense about it. One doesn't need to go into Pittsburgh to feel the hugeness of it all. In fact, one would do well not to go to Pittsburgh, unless he is sure of his perspective. For the panorama is writing itself upon a truly NATIONAL canvas. THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND men! Revolting against TWENTY-FIVE BILLIONS of capital! Labor history never knew such an explosion.

And yet, after visiting Pittsburg, and Ferrell, and Youngstown, after studying Gary and its anomalous labor movement; after talking intimately with the leading propagandists of the belauded Steel strike, I am disillusioned about it all. It isn't what it seems. It isn't going to do what it asserted. It isn't trying to do even that which it can.

The Steel strike may be won. God knows, we of the I. W. W. hope it will be. But it won't be a victory for the revolution. It won't be a triumph of One Big Unionism. At its very best, A. F. of L. victory in the steel industry will lead to nothing loftier than another shoddy, sickly bargain, for a wormy system of craft "fakeration."

In justice to truth, I must say that in this strike we meet an A. F. of L. which has reached the very apex of its career. Indeed, in some isolated trenches of the strike I am almost tempted to say that it is an A. F. of L. which even surpasses itself. But, when this is said, all is said. For, splendid as it all is—unprecedented as it all is—the Steel strike remains—AN A. F. OF L. STRIKE! A battle of craft unions! This, and no more! On this point there is no question. And I found everywhere, that

the strike leaders themselves were at pains to impress this proudly upon us. "It is an A. F. of L. strike."

Characteristically, then, we see the inevitable features of all A. F. of L. strikes—in Pittsburgh. Craft unionism, lack of program, autocratic strike control—evasive and compromising propaganda. All are here. And before I go into the main story of this great moving Steel strike, I would like to discuss these four fatal spots in what might otherwise be a splendid solidarity. I would like to fix them poignantly in your minds, and then you will understand the Steel strike.

First, CRAFT UNIONISM. Rumors have gone over the land that the steel workers were organized upon the basis of industrial unionism. Radicals have whispered that Foster and Fitzpatrick have created in Pittsburgh a new kind of A. F. of L. A One Big Union! Most of us have believed it. I believed it myself because I wanted to believe it. But when I went into Pittsburgh I learned that the rumors were only rumors. Foster has no One Big Union among the steel workers. The organization is glaringly craft unionist, as utterly so as any federated A. F. of L. body or Central Labor council.

Where observers were misled was in the fact that the original organizing committee of iron and steel workers used a sort of mass unionism in their preliminary organizing drive. But it was but a temporary expedient. In order to facilitate the lining up of new members, the organizing committee issued a red, white and blue temporary membership card to the applicants. This card certified that the bearer was a member of the American Federation of Labor. After a certain date, however, the holders of these red, white and blue cards were automatically sorted into craft unions. And this was the beginning and the end of Foster's One Big Union. It was this small morsel of industrial unionism which some of us magnified into a roseate solidarity.

Of crafts, in the steel mills, there is a multitude. Twenty-four of them! Each with a jealous, iron-chained jurisdiction! Each avid for the rich revenues of those herds of new steel mill members! Each shrieking autonomy and stamping out the hope of solidarity!

The Foster-Fitzpatrick plan of organization is as reactionary and craft-tied as any A. F. of L. central body. In fact, to duplicate it, we need merely study the Chicago Federation of Labor. Foster's central steel organization is a counterpart of the Chicago Federation of Labor. It is a delegate federation—that is all!

Each of the twenty-four autonomous crafts elect representatives to this central delegate body. And each of the crafts reserves a veto power over the action of this body. This central body is as feeble in power as a British House of Lords. Of course, in times of weakness and common danger—in

strikes, etc.—the internationals do allow it to function. But once let the crafts secure contracts and job control, and the central body fades like a dying day. Behind every camouflage of One Big Unionism the real hand in the steel organization is the hand of the twenty-four internationals. **IT IS THE HAND—THE DEAD HAND—OF RICKETY, PALSIED, DISCREDITED CRAFT FEDERATION!**

Again, we find that the steel organization, even in this crisis of general strike, is without an ISSUE. The one astounding fact that struck me everywhere in the Pittsburgh district was the fact that the workers don't know what they are striking for. It is a crude, deathless instinct of class loyalty that swept them from the mills and holds them together. But now that they are out, there seems to be no mighty, magnetic issue to stiffen them. Indeed, the A. F. of L. has preached no class issue to them.

The one theme that the A. F. of L. has been shrieking through the valley for months has been ORGANIZE! They repeated it with a sort of savage monotony. Then dinned it so incessantly that, subconsciously, the workers reacted to it. The cold fact of organization took the place, in their minds, of the burning magic of issues. Automatically, the workers flocked to the union, trusting that, since the union was perfected, the issues would be born.

Had the I. W. W. or any other constructive labor movement led the organizing drive, they would have preached a flaming and magnetic program. They would have plowed the minds of the steel workers with furrows of glittering dreams. They would have rocked the industry like a deluge, with their programs and their issues. And a strike under I. W. W. leadership would have been a crusade, a gigantic revolution. And the A. F. of L. is just the reverse of this.

Well does the great strike exemplify the stern contrast of the A. F. of L. to the I. W. W. The A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. union organizers differ precisely here. The A. F. of L. man organizes an industry with just one motive—organization for organization's sake. The I. W. W. man organizes an industry in order that the resultant organization may be a vehicle to his great social program. To the A. F. of L. organizer, the gleaming goal is the goal of high dues receipts, and a fat, steady dues-paying roster. He views his union as an insurance company views its policyholders—as an immense field of per capita. But the I. W. W.—apostle of a program—makes of his union a machine of social regeneration. In the Steel Workers' Union then, it is this appalling lack of vision, lack even of issue, which strikes us.

And the third weakness of the strike flows from this same trend. For it is a strike in which there is NO DEMOCRACY. The workers are merely pawns; the game is being played by a dozen self-appointed men. It is a bureaucratic strike.

In an I. W. W. strike, to make the point clear, the striking workers are allowed to hold every thread of the situation. Strike committees, composed of

the strikers themselves, are elected in great mass meetings, and these strike committees hold the executive control. Negotiations with the bosses are conducted by these elected committees. But the committees are checked in every decision by the supreme executive power of the rank and file. The mass vote is the final arbiter. Leaders are but the executing servants. An I. W. W. strike is thus a tremendous training in working class self-administration.

But it is far otherwise in Pittsburg. There is a national committee for organizing iron and steel workers. Fitzpatrick is its president, Foster its secretary. This committee was appointed from Washington. It is responsible, not to the strikers, but to the executives of the twenty-four internationals. And this committee hold an unlimited and unchecked power over the 300,000 strikers.

It was this committee which called the strike—not the workers. The workers were allowed to vote in a referendum, but so inconsequential was this vote that its result was never even announced. It was the committee which decided there should be a strike. And if it had willed, it could have decided not to strike, and there would have been no revolt.

This committee rules every activity of the workers, save in isolated centers like Gary, where the workers have seized the power. The workers in the mill towns do not hold strike meetings. They couldn't if they wanted to, because Foster has got them split up into twenty-four different unions. Instead, an organizer, appointed by the committee, has charge of each town. He runs the strike for them. He calls general mass meetings, from time to time, but business is not discussed at these meetings. The workers listen to speeches, and then they file out.

And this committee, when the time comes, will have the right to call the strike off. It has the authority to carry on all the negotiations with the Steel trust. It has the authority to sign agreements with the trust. And it has authority to drive the workers back, at the terms it bargains.

It is an undemocratic strike. Not a spark of that industrial democracy which labor is striving for, brightens the Pittsburgh situation. Like obedient children, the workers were jerked from the mills, out into a leader-ruled strike. Is this syndicalism? They know nothing of their own strike, and its far-flung issues, save the bulletins which they read in the press. Is this industrial democracy? Where, in all the wide stretches of this titian of strikes, can we find the spirit of workers' control? And without that, strikes are meaningless; without democracy, labor's revolt is a dead and doomed attempt.

This fatal autocracy of the strike is its most chilling symptom. Everywhere I went in Pittsburgh I was struck by the apathy of the workers. "I don't know." They could make no other answer. They knew they were striking. Foster and Fitzpatrick knew the rest for them.

And a fourth reason for my disillusionment is

the UNSPEAKABLE CONSERVATISM of the whole affair. Of course, it is an A. F. of L. strike. But even an A. F. of L. strike in such an industry ought to have some fleeting touch of the revolutionary spirit. But, instead, even radicalism is interdicted.

The A. F. of L. leaders tread in terror lest one radical utterance slip unawares. They shriek of their horror of Bolshevism. They damn the I. W. W. with threats and profane force. They swab themselves in the folds of the star spangled banner and sing enthusiastically of their Americanism. If an I. W. W. speaks among them they make a virtue of their respectability and turn him over to the police.

And so the whole magnificent opportunity of the Steel strike is slipping away from them. What an opportunity Fitzpatrick had, for instance, as he sat before the silly old senators at Washington. He had the ear of the nation. By his mouth all labor might speak.

The causes of the strike? The senators asked him. And how well Fitzpatrick knew them. The long, deadly hours of it; the lashing, killing servitude of it; the ruthless arrogance of an industrial monster; the smarting shame of enslaved and sullen helots—all the dumb, burning outrage of a stricken class could speak at last to the world THROUGH FITZPATRICK. This was the untold thing which had caused the strike. This was the thing—crime of crimes—which had sent the masses rushing and quivering and sobbing, out of the mills, into the great general strike.

This, Fitzpatrick could have told them—but instead:

"We have gone on strike because the Steel trust didn't live up to President Wilson's policies. We are striking in order to STAND BY THE PRESIDENT." That is how the Associated Press reported it. And while Fitzpatrick mumbled these craven words, how Judge Gary and Pierpont Morgan and the rest of the gang must have chuckled. "Standing by Wilson." Wilson, indeed!

But Fitzpatrick merely exemplified the spirit of the strike. Or, to put it more accurately, the spirit of those who run the strike. Everything is offenseless and correct. It is a strike of "gentlemen." The lid remains clamped down—stapled down by the A. F. of L.—and Hell is unseen. Radicalism? No, not a radical speaker has gotten on their platform. Even poor old Mother Jones was barred. She might say too much. They won't even employ a radical attorney for the strike work. Such is the strike they are running in Pittsburg.

But now for the story of the strike. The beginning of it all was at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Paul. At this convention it was voted to organize the steel workers. The time was certainly ripe. Again and again the steel workers had turned to the A. F. of L. organ-

ization. But the job was too big. The craftites had shirked it.

At St. Paul the drive was inaugurated. Gompers and Fitzpatrick and Foster—a strange trio—took charge. An office was established in Pittsburg. Branch offices were opened in all the steel towns. The twenty-four internationals got together on the red, white and blue card system, as explained above, and they appropriated huge funds for the task. Under Foster's supervision an army of high paid organizers were put out.

But the workers didn't heed organizers. They wanted unionism and they wanted it bad. At least the workers of three nationalities—the Hungarians, the Russians and the South Slavs—did. The A. F. of L. needed merely to open its offices. The foreigners flocked in.

But not the American workers. In the steel mills the Americans and the Anglo-Saxon element hold the best jobs. There are rollers who work at tonnage rates and make \$50 or \$60 a day. There are puddlers who make \$20 and \$25. These highly skilled workers are the key to the industry. Naturally they are company men. The A. F. of L. didn't get them. The A. F. of L. didn't even try to get them. Foster's union is a union of the foreigners. He organized the easy groups—the groups that would have flocked just as eagerly to the I. W. W., had we made the drive. The Americans stayed out, and the Americans are scabbing now.

These foreign elements were attracted to the union because they thought that it was to be an industrial union. They felt that it was a new unionism they were joining. They, also, believed that "Foster was boring from within." Deliberately the A. F. of L. capitalized this misconception.

On May 25, of this year, the members of the new union had begun to get restive and demand that something be done. They had joined the union in order to strike a blow for freedom from slavery. They were not content, now that they had the union, to be mere dues paying figures. To mollify them, a conference was called in Pittsburg. It was the greatest convention of steel workers in the history of the industry. From every Hell hole of steel the workers came. The hundreds of delegates met each other with one common mind—to beat the Steel Trust. They knew the job would be hard. But they were willing to pay the price—and they're paying it now.

At this conference the great overshadowing issue was the issue of the ONE Big Union. How can we have an industrial union, the workers asked, if we don't even have the universal transfer system between our twenty-four internationals? If each international is to dike itself off with extortionate initiation fees? This issue of the universal transfer system was the prime issue of the conference.

But the conference had no authority. The twenty-four internationals had seen to that. The Fos-

ter-Fitzpatrick committee had been careful on that point. The conference was merely a "deliberative body." Its only power was the power to recommend.

And so, when the issue of the universal transfer system came up, the conference could only "recommend" that it be adopted. The final say was left to the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. The conference adjourned and the workers went home and waited. And they are still waiting. For at Atlantic City the universal transfer system died in the pigeon hole of a committee. The one essential thing which was necessary to build a solid organization was denied them by the A. F. of L. Poor "borers from within!"

And at last came the strike. The A. F. of L. didn't call it. The A. F. of L. merely accepted it. And Judge Gary picked the time. As the summer went on, the saturnine and invisible planners of the Steel Trust began to move. In city after city they began turning off the union men. They were trying to provoke the workers into strike. And well they knew the temper of those tempestuous hordes who had crowded into the union.

Foster and Fitzpatrick felt their union slipping. On the one hand was the Steel Trust weeding out the active agitators, turning them off by the hundreds a day. And on the other hand there were the men—screaming for a strike—threatening to halt the precious per capita if something didn't happen. The craftite "leaders" didn't want the strike. They had hoped for a triumph of moral suasion; they had looked to gain job control by peaceful conferences with Gary; by "gentlemanly agreements" and cozy mahogany tete-a-tetes. But they had reckoned without Gary. Instead of talking to them and negotiating, he ordered his butler to turn them out. And so there was nothing left to the poor, wilted "leaders" but to return to the plan of their members.

Of course it was asinine of Judge Gary to do this. What safer guarantee could he have bought against red Bolshevism than the bromide of a safe, sane craft unionism? What better jailer could he have placed over the minds of his slaves than the walking delegate of the A. F. of L.? But Gary belongs to an old school. He has a religion—the Open

Shop. He stands with Taft and Nicholas Butler—and he believes in the divine rights of business. He is an anachronism—an industrial troglodyte. And so, foolishly, he slammed the doors in the face of this master opportunity to buy the healing lotions of Gompers.

But now we stand midway in the strike. As the great guns of the battle roar around us—screaming in Bethlehem, popping staccato-like in Pittsburgh, roaring like Niagara's falls from the granite solidarity of Youngstown and Donora and Gary, we of the I. W. W. feel the thrill of the fight, and we are in it. Forgotten must be the past; forgotten even the name in which the strike is waged. Forgotten must be the dingy American Federation of Labor, and though it has made every mistake that union can make, in this Steel drive of theirs—we lay the recollection aside, and line up beside them, face to face. For no longer is it A. F. of L.; now it is Labor—Labor enslaved, maimed and revolutionary—which mans the trenches in a hundred bloody scenes of strike. And Labor **MUST ALWAYS WIN.**

Bill Haywood, I believe it was, who once said: "The working class; may it ever be right; but right or wrong—the working class!" And it is the working class in Pittsburgh, and Gary, and Homestead, and Newcastle, and Farrell, and in a hundred blazing mill towns that consecrates for us the fight against U. S. Steel.

We pray that they will win. Nay, more, for we have a steel workers' union, too; we are out on the picket line, **fighting**, that they may win. But Labor never will win anything until Labor knows the truth, and reads its stern lesson. The truth of the steel situation we have tried to give in this article. Perhaps some will be hurt because we told too much. But what we told had to be told. All the destinies of our class, all the hopes of a higher unionism, were waiting for this truth to be known. Now that we have printed it, brother steel workers, act upon it! You can remedy the past, now! You can save the future, now! And the way to do this is to fight like Hell until the Steel Trust is beaten, and then rally for the next great battle in the ranks of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300 of the I. W. W.

The Significance of Gary

By Anne Gallagher

The evolution of society is toward an understanding of itself, self-consciousness. "The atom," Haeckel tells us, "does not act, but reacts." This is largely true of society, but we of the present day have the privilege of witnessing the gigantic struggle of society as it emerges from the state of blind reaction to one of purposive aim and understanding of its own laws and forces. For evidence of society becoming self-conscious, behold Gary.

Unlike the other towns of the now famous Calumet district, Hammond, Whiting and East Chicago, Gary did not develop from a somnolent rural village into an industrial center. Gary is a "made" town, designed and constructed with the needs of the Steel Trust in mind—a product of self-conscious Capitalism.

With its wide, clean streets, its fine public buildings, its ultra-modern school system, up-to-date

apartment buildings, good residential sections, and decent enough dwellings for the ordinary workers, Gary differs considerably from the average factory town, with dirty streets, tumbledown shacks, or rows of prison-like tenement buildings and a ragged half-starved population.

What is now Gary was once a part of the wonderful sand dune country, and bits of this former grandeur can still be found on vacant lots which the Gary Land Company has not yet succeeded in disposing of. In the heart of the city almost, one comes suddenly upon one of those miniature sand hills, with its peculiar stunted vegetation seeking the sunlight like factory children escaping for the moment the master's watchful eye, as though, in spite of the blight of Capitalism, some irrepressible impulse toward freedom still remains.

In short, Gary is not a bad looking place, and it is quite a credit to its builders, but over it looms the shadow of the Steel mills.

The Steel mills themselves are a veritable fortress the first, perhaps, ever erected with the inevitable class war in mind. The mills are situated on the lake front and on the north side are accessible only to the lake steamers. On the south side, three spans, bridging the Grand Calumet river, lead to the only entrances to the mills. A machine gun planted on one of these bridges could conveniently mow down the workers should they ever madly attempt to storm this modern bastille. Between the town of Gary and the mills, the river has been widened to 300 feet, and inside the river runs a cement wall and upon this wall at all times are guards armed with rifles and at each of the entrances to the mills are stationed special police. Inside these ramifications, and shut off from the town is the steel company's hospital. The injured can be removed to this benevolent institution without undue attention being called to the number maimed in the course of a day or week. In fact, when they enter the mills in the morning the steel workers are effectively shut off from the rest of the world and are virtually held incommunicado until night.

These fort-like mills, in their inaccessibility, their remoteness and the stratagem of their approaches, call to mind the moated castles of the ancient robber barons, but unlike the robber barons of old, a meagre toll from the casual traveler does not satisfy the Steel Trust. Twelve hours a day, seven days a week, with one twenty-four hour shift, is the toll the Steel Trust exacts from its workers who daily traverse the bridges leading from Gary to the steel mills.

It is against this tyranny of long hours that the steel workers are striking. "The right to organize" is their slogan, and eight hours a day, six days a week, is their aim.

And the evidences of class consciousness in Gary are not all on the master's side. This is not a strike where the workers were driven by desperation into a blind rebellion against starvation wages. This is a well-planned struggle in which the workers, who, during the war and since, have made good wages,

are prepared to hold out until the Steel Trust comes to terms.

It is an industrial strike, in a sense, as all the workers, skilled and unskilled, are out, but there is a weakness apparent to us in the craft union psychology of some of the leaders, who advocate "fair" conditions and urge the workers to heed the advice of their officials and to do the bidding of their executive board. However, we can let that pass. The right spirit is there in the rank and file of the workers and in some of the most influential leaders. Factors stronger than the bonds of craft unionism are at work in the Gary steel mills. Skill, the unit around which the craft unionist builds, is rapidly disappearing from the industry. The machines are being perfected to the point where skill is becoming superfluous and the distinction between the crafts is becoming obliterated. The craft unionist is being converted to the industrial viewpoint by the industries themselves which are grinding him down into the ranks of the unskilled majority.

One of the interesting features of this industrial conflict is the position of the petty bourgeois of Gary. In no other city, perhaps, are the class lines so definitely drawn. Gary is a city of workers. Even the aristocracy of Gary, the so-called better class, is made up of the families of office men and superintendents employed at the mills. The only citizens not directly dependent on the Steel Trust for their livelihood are the shop keepers and merchants, and at present their situation is desperate.

On the one hand the strikers are threatening to boycott trades people whose sympathies are with the mill owners, and the mill owners, these merchants know only too well, have numerous ways of making those who incur their displeasure feel the weight of their disapproval. The bourgeoisie of Gary is fulfilling its historic mission of being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of industrialism, the mill in this case being more real than poetic.

Some of the merchants have declared themselves boldly on the side of the strikers, offering them extended credit, and agreeing to give 10 per cent of their profits to a strike fund while the strike lasts. Others armed themselves with tin stars and billies to bully the pickets and start riots, doing the masters' dirty work in the name of the American Loyalty Legion. The strikers welcomed the United States troops and martial law as protection against these lawless thugs.

Perhaps before this article reaches you the strike will be settled, but as we go to press the result is still in doubt. Riots have occurred, troops have landed and the city is under martial law, but the strikers are not disheartened. There is a quiet determination about them that is inspiring, and whether they win or lose in this particular struggle they will be the ultimate victors. Gary, whose school system has attained a country-wide fame, is giving us all a practical education in class consciousness, and the workers are learning their lesson.



SHALL HE MAKE THE PLUNGE?

The War Against Gompersism in Mexico

(By Linn A. E. Gale)

The workingmen of Mexico are almost a unit against Samuel Gompers and the American Federation. Yet the first national congress that the Mexican Socialist Party ever held sold out body, soul and breeches to Luis N. Morones, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and bosom friend of Gompers. Strange? No. It merely shows how sharp and shrewd the enemy is, how cunningly he plays the game, how he continually contrives to slip into the midst of those sincere but erring people who

pin their faith to political action as the open sesame to Industrial Freedom. It shows once more what an easy thing it is to subsidize a political party and reminds us that, on the other hand, it is a hard job to do anything like that with industrial unions.

Instinctively, the average Mexican worker approves of Industrial Unionism and looks with suspicion on craft unions. The psychology of the Mexican may explain this party. After centuries of servitude and exploitation at the hands of Spaniard, Englishman,

American, German and Frenchman, the Mexican toiler begins to feel an unreasonable, unexplainable but strong and withal very justifiable sense of solidarity with every other toiler. He does not philosophize about it. He cannot. He has been a beast of burden for alien robbers so long that intellectual effort is well-nigh impossible in many cases. But without giving it much thought he just "knows" that all workers are in about the same class and ought to stick together, and he figures out that there is not much difference between them, even if some do one kind of work, others another, and so on. So the notion of One Big Union strikes him as a good one because it means that all the poor devils in the same boat with him are going to work together with him, and the idea of separate craft unions is distasteful to him because it means just the opposite. Primitive reasoning but it rests on a sound basis. It is a pity some of the more educated members of craft unions in the United States cannot see with as clear mental vision.

Still another reason why the Mexican worker does not usually "take to" agents of the A. F. of L. is that attitude which the jingo press north of the Rio Grande usually calls the "pro-Germanism" of the said worker. As a matter of fact, the laborer here is not pro-German and never was. He is not "pro"-anything. He simply knows that as a general rule the well-groomed American who comes down to Mexico comes for the purpose of exploiting him, grabbing the country's wealth and using shotguns and similar devices as a means of arbitration when difficulties arise. He notices that the A. F. of L. organizer generally looks very much like the capitalist, mining man or oil magnate. The organizer seems to belong to the fortunate few rather than the oppressed many, of which the peon forms a part, and the peon has his doubts when the organizer offers membership in the A. F. of L. as the short road to big pay, short hours and greater bliss. When a "wobbly" comes to Mexico the peon knows the difference instantly. He feels a kinship for the "wobbly," believing the latter is actually an under-dog like himself and is on the level in his promises. He has an idea that I. W. W.'ism is something not distinctly American and this appeals to him, for he has come to associate "Americanism" with robbery and slavery. The word "world" in the name "Industrial Workers of the World" sounds pleasanter to him than the word "American" in the name "American Federation of Labor." Internationalism, although he usually only incompletely understands the word, seems to him a desirable thing, but he detests "Americanism." The only "Americanism" he knows is misery, wretchedness and abuse, and if he had no other reason this would be sufficient to perpetually prejudice him against the Gompers organization.

Again, the Mexican worker had a strong impression during the late war that after Wall Street disposed of Germany it would crush Mexico. That was why, in many cases, he did really hope Germany would win the war. He thought in such a case one gang

of robbers might balance the other, and Germany's victory would keep the "gringos" from invading his own fair country. Recent events and the entrance of American troops onto Mexican soil in two distinct instances have made him feel that his fears during the war were correct. He knows that Samuel Gompers was very active in helping Wilson and Wall Street "win the war." And he concludes that anything that Gompers, Wilson and Wall Street are in favor of is a splendid thing for him to keep away from.

However, in spite of these beliefs and prejudices, the Mexican Socialist Party is completely in the hands of Gompers. And the sale of the party has resulted, very naturally in the formation of the Communist Party of Mexico which is emphatically on record in favor of Industrial Communism and will cooperate to the fullest extent possible with the I. W. W. Although organized as a political party, it frankly says that political action is of value only in a secondary sense for purposes of propaganda, education and agitation, and that industrial action is of far more importance. The Communist Party has organized with provisional officers to serve until the national congress of the party called to be held in Mexico City in November. Its International Secretary is Adolfo Santibanez, formerly International Secretary of the Mexican Socialist Party and virtually the pioneer in Mexican Radicalism, having been a worker for the past fifteen years. Santibanez is a lawyer who devotes his energies entirely to the legal work of the toilers. He was ousted from office in the recent Socialist Congress when the "Moronistas" or followers of Morones, seized control. The National Secretary of the Communists is Enrique H. Arce, a printer of nine years' connection with the Socialist Party and a man with exceptional literary talent. The address of the Communist Party is P. O. Box 985, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico, and all I. W. W. secretaries in the United States should communicate with it for they will find the party unequivocally committed to I. W. W.'ism and ready to do anything possible to further the One Big Union idea.

The story of the capture of the Socialist Congress by Gompers' man, Morones, is an interesting one. It hinges largely on the doings of a Hindu, M. N. Roy, who is supposed to be an exile from the United States, but who is also said by some to be a spy for the American government. As to the truth of this I do not know. But I do know that Roy and his wife have lived in Mexico City for nearly two years and during that time he has given frequent lectures and written a few pamphlets and articles on British misrule in India, a subject in which all Radicals are naturally keenly interested. However, in this period Roy took no interest in Socialism or allied subjects until a couple of months ago. In fact I have a letter he wrote in January, 1919, declaring emphatically he was "not a radical" and had "no connection with any radical group." Not many weeks ago, for reasons to be surmised, Roy's attitude changed decidedly and he manifested sudden and noticeable interest

in the Mexican Socialist Party. He and his wife joined and began to attend regularly the meetings of the Mexico City local. A little later he offered to give financial aid to "El Socialista," a little monthly published by Francisco Cervantes Lopez, National Secretary of the party. His financial backing was admitted by Lopez in a meeting of the Mexico City local the other evening. "El Socialista" increased in size, improved in appearance and was soon published semi-monthly instead of monthly.

Arrangements were begun shortly thereafter for the first national congress of the Soc. Party and the various groups and organizations whose ideas were practically the same. In these arrangements Roy also took a prominent part.

The congress met in this city on August 25th and was attended by a little less than thirty delegates, about half being from Mexico City and a few from Puebla, Zacatecas, Morelia and other cities. Mrs. Roy came as a delegate with the proxy of the "Centro Radical Feminino," a Radical and anti-Catholic organization of women in Guadalajara. Roy had credentials from "El Socialista," each publication being entitled to representation. Lopez, the National Secretary, was present as delegate from the Mexico City local with Santibanez, International Secretary.

A murmur went around the hall of the bakers' union, in which the congress was held, when a portly, fashionably dressed man with a diamond stickpin, took his seat, accompanied by another portly and prosperous looking chap. The former was Luis N. Morones. He was accompanied by one Samuel Yudico. The two had credentials from some obscure labor organization of Mexico City which, it developed, rents a hall and is supposed to meet once in a while, but details as to the membership, origin and activities of the said organization were not forthcoming. It functioned "somewhere in Mexico" and that is about all anybody knew. Morones looked decidedly out of place, but he is hardened and was not disturbed by a sense of fitness of things—or unfitness. A majority of the delegates came in their working clothes, some wearing the typical wide-brimmed Mexican sombreros which are becoming less and less common with the advance of our commercialized civilization. Not a few of them looked askance at Morones and Yudico. Several swore vigorously in Spanish. But Morones and Yudico were cool and unperturbed.

The convention began to pass on credentials. Morones and Yudico presented theirs and the storm began. A whole day was spent in oratorical fireworks. I had the audacity to say some harsh things about Morones, declaring he was not a Socialist, had no business in a Socialist congress, came there for no good purpose and represented an organization that existed chiefly to betray the working class into the hands of its exploiters. For this I was called to order by—my friend, Roy, the financial angel of "El Socialista." I had been a little doubtful of the genuineness of Roy's conversion to Socialism anyway, but it had not dawned on me before that he

was working hand-in-hand with Morones. Even then I was not sure of it. I thought perhaps Roy only objected to my strong language on general principles and might have done the same if a friend of Morones had talked in the same way. But I soon changed my mind. When Roy addressed the congress he said he did not approve of the policy of the American Federation of Labor, but he left the impression that it was only a friendly difference of opinion over minor details. There was no hint of a fundamentally different conception of economics. Not a word about the real object of the A. F. of L. being to patch up a rotten system and make it last a little longer, instead of preparing the way for the new and better system.

Speech-making finished. A ballot was taken. Roy did not vote and the result was—tie! Another ballot. Tie again—Roy still not voting. Then, as though fully decided to do a painful task, Roy voted in favor of seating Morones, casting the deciding vote! !!

International Secretary Santibanez left the congress in disgust and said he would not return. He did, however, to help us fight Morones, for at one time we thought we could down him. Later, the Morones machine kicked Santibanez out and that sent him into the new Communist Party with the rest of us direct-actionists. National Secretary Lopez was angered and humiliated, but he did not leave the congress. He tried to convince himself that Roy might have acted from honorable motives. His was not an easy place. Without Roy, "El Socialista" might have to suspend, or at the best, could not be published regularly as at present. Roy, of course, explained his vote to Lopez and the rest of us. He thought it would be better to give Morones a seat and then "show him up" in the congress. Maybe it would have been, but this is precisely what he didn't do.

From that day Morones really ran the congress. When the national committee was named a furious fight developed over letting him have a seat on it, and he discreetly allowed himself and his friend Yudico to be excluded. This Roy, aided by Frank Seaman, editor of the English page of "El Herald de Mexico," the liberal bourgeois daily of ex-Gov. Alvarado of Yucatan, proudly declared was a great victory over Morones. But as a matter of fact, it was a beautiful piece of camouflage, for while not a member, Morones, it later developed, controlled a majority of the national committee. When the executive committee was named, Morones got three of the five members, possibly four. Lopez is the only one who is not a Morones man, but his sincerity will avail little if he remains with the Gompers-dominated organization. However, it is believed he will break away and join the Communists soon.

The congress lasted for ten days but it consisted really in grandstand plays and exhibition speeches made to convince the delegates that they were taking part in an epoch-making event. In this business of bluff Morones and Yudico were most active, and Roy

and Seaman were able assistants. Elaborate discussions over Utopian nonentities gave the congress the appearance of great activity, but an examination of what was really done shows next to nothing.

A statement of "revolutionary Socialism" of an ambiguous and dish-watery sort, was adopted and a program for a permanent organization was also accepted, after much philosophising and generalizing. The chief feature of the latter was that it left the control of the party machinery entirely in the hands of the present officials who are all Morones' men.

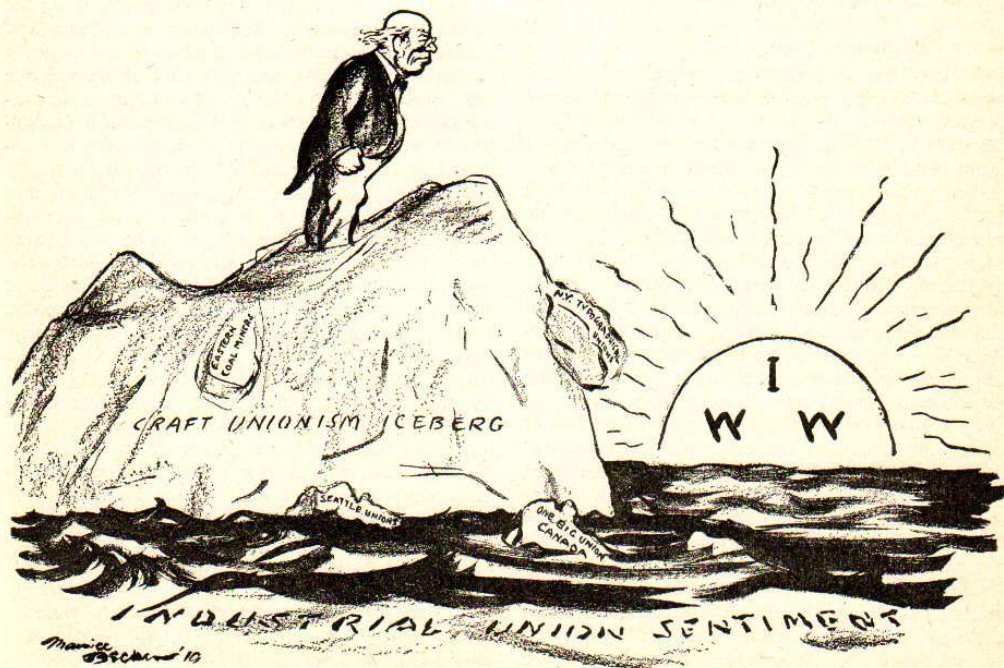
No official action whatever was taken on intervention, although the working class of Mexico is bitterly against any interference with Mexico's affairs by foreign governments. Of course Gompers (despite what he may say) does not want concerted opposition to intervention. That would make Wall Street's task harder and Gompers' business is to smooth out the obstacles to Wall Street's plans.

Early in the congress I called attention to the fact that the manifesto issued beforehand mentioned the election of delegates to the Second International at Berne, Switzerland, and remarked that such action would be an insult to the party. The committee which drafted the plan of organization, Roy and Seaman being members, therefore inserted a clause saying that delegates would be elected to the Third

International at Moscow, to save the face of the congress. But the congress adjourned without electing anybody and left the choice of delegates to the executive committee which will probably select Roy and Seaman and somebody else satisfactory to Morones. Inasmuch as the Communist Party will elect delegates to Moscow, it is not probable that the Socialist delegates will get much consideration from the Bolsheviki. But it was a clever thing to do to indorse the International Left Wing and it served in some cases to distract the attention of delegates away from the fact that the Gompers reactionaries had emasculated the congress.

Meanwhile the Communist Party is receiving assurances of support from all parts of Mexico and springs into life virile, well-organized, revolutionary and emphatically in favor of Industrial Unionism. There are many syndicates and not a few branches of the I. W. W. in Mexico and these will co-operate thoroughly with the Communists. There is reason to think that the Gompers victory will prove a Pyrrhic one. Industrial Unionism is stronger than ever in Mexico despite this temporary defeat.

(Editor note: Not knowing the condition in Mexico, we publish the above with some mental reservation, insofar as we believe that the I. W. W. men of Mexico may take a different view of cooperation with the new Communist party.)



DRIFTING IN WARM WATERS

The League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace

By W. J. Lemon

When President Wilson, some few months ago, made his triumphal entry into the city of Paris armed with his modern Magna Charter, his famous document better known as the fourteen pointless points of Democracy, which he had proclaimed far and wide would bring eternal peace and happiness unto this war-sick and weary world, millions of people were deluded with the idea that the world was now entering upon the long prophesied millennium, the day for the lion and the lamb to lie down together in peace and security had at last arrived.

No more would there be industrial strife between the master and slave. No more would there be cruel wars, to desolate the earth with famine, disease and death, and leave behind in its wake the cripple, the widow and the orphan.

But what a jest and a delusion! Were we just being kidded and fooled, or was the President and his Co-partners in the secret pact at Versailles, really unconscious of what they were doing under the guise of Liberty? We can hardly believe that such a group of Representatives of International Capitalism, as those selected to journey to Paris to play the role as saviors of this wicked world and to make us Safe from Democracy through and by open covenants, openly arrived at, and held behind closed doors, would be unconscious of the interests and purpose of the program, which they had been entrusted to formulate and put in action by their Master—The Ruling Class.

The very day this peace instrument was signed twenty-three wars were being waged, with every prospect of more to follow. The five Big Powers who were the initiators of the League are pounding Russia with their troops on seventeen fronts; and yet not a single nation of this group have declared official war on the Russian Federated Soviet Republic, the only working-class government in the world today. Neither has the Soviets declared, or even threatened, invasion of any other nation. Their only request and desire is to be let alone to work out their own program and destiny as best suits themselves, as enunciated by the President somewhere in his famous document of fourteen points, i. e., the self determination of all nations, great or small.

The civilized world today is a seething mass of revolt and discontent; not because it is in need of a League of Nations and Treaty of Peace, but that it needs a new Industrial and Social system of production and distribution to administer the essentials of life, in place of the present or capitalist system that has run its historic course and fulfilled its mission. It will require something more than mere scraps of paper drawn up by the diplomats of capitalism to usher in Industrial Freedom for the workers, and this is the only question of vital importance to the workers. To arrive at a conclusion as to the merits or demerits of a proposition, it is only

necessary for the workers to consider the status of its promotion. Who are they? To which class do they belong; never mind their color or their nationality? What are their economic or material interests, etc., etc., etc?

But, however, I will briefly sketch over a little of the class history of this, and other countries composing the League of Nations, in order to illustrate by facts, as they exist at present and have in the past, that not a solitary one of them are sincere and candid in doing anything of a beneficial character in the interest of the workers; their entire program is a snare and a delusion in order to more securely fasten upon the workers the chains of bondage.

In the document brought forth by the former professor we read beautiful phrases about the freedom of the seas; open covenants openly arrived at; the right to self determination of small nations; the protection of the weak by the strong; the square deal for labor, etc., etc., etc.

The working class can have no other interest or concern in this question except as it concerns the material welfare of the world's workers, regardless of race, sex, creed or color, and it will be from this phase that I will endeavor, by merely quoting conditions and facts, as they exist in the every day class struggle between the exploited and the exploiters of all nations, to tear off the mask of hypocrisy and deception, and to expose the League of Nations as being nothing but a group of international capitalists, with their cunningly devised program for the express purpose of deluding and further enslaving the workers, in order that International Capitalism for a while longer may have a free rein in plundering and robbing weak and defenseless people.

We must judge these nations by their deeds, not by fluent words and beautiful phraseology on Democracy and Freedom coming from the lips of their statesmen—and when we place them under the glaring searchlight of truth, what are the facts? The working class in all these nations are struggling with all their might and strength in order to maintain a bare existence; not only are they confronted with a worse economic condition than ever before, but they are being more brutally and autocratically ruled by both the civil and military power.

England has filled her Ireland's bastilles with Irish workers, and martial law prevails throughout almost every portion of Ireland this very day; and in her own little island kingdom the workers live and die in the direst poverty. Only by their industrial unions have the English workers been able to maintain any semblance of economic liberty.

In *Egypt* the workers, their wives and babies have recently been mown down by machine guns, and their hovels that they call homes, have been bombed from airplanes because they refused to submit and starve under British Capitalist Rule. Look at far

off India, millions of her workers, literally starving to death, not because of famine or lack of production of food and clothing—but because they do not receive back enough of their product in the form of wages to buy sufficient to keep body and soul together; and this is perpetrated by British Capital, legalized by British law, in a land that boasts, "Britons never shall be slaves."

Recently the Hindustan Gadar Party sent out an appeal to the workers of the world in behalf of the 100,000 cotton operatives out on strike in the district of Bombay, in order to enforce human conditions from their British masters. Do we see the Ruling Class—the exponents of Leagues and Peace Treaties, rushing to their relief with food and clothing? No! Instead of giving them Industrial Democracy they send machine-gun regiments to mow them down with bullets, and teach them to respect and obey British Capital and Authority.

The British Rulers of India, while palavering about British freedom and justice, have recently enacted a most infamous law known as the Rowlette Act, an Act more drastic than our own Espionage Act. It deprives the Indian native worker of all freedom and protection. It denies them the right of trial by jury, a legal defense, and their trial is conducted behind closed doors, not even is it necessary for their accuser to appear in person against them. The natives are also prohibited by this infamous act from gathering in groups or even carrying a harmless walking stick that might be used as a weapon of defense.

And there is little Imperialistic Japan who is helping to make the world safe for Capitalism. All socialist and labor organizations have been ruthlessly crushed and are absolutely prohibited in the Kingdom of the Rising Sun; and then some of our American Labor Traitors, who style themselves Labor Leaders, have the audacity to make frantic appeals to the American labor movement to endorse and stand behind the most bare-faced and iniquitous League of Imperial Capitalism ever launched.

In France and Italy the workers after going through four years of human sacrifice for what they mistook to be liberty, find themselves still under the yoke of Industrial Bondage, and their Ruling Class is leaving nothing undone that will more securely fasten upon them the chains of slavery. They too, are solidifying their ranks by Industrial organization, for they are now beginning to realize that there is no other real liberty, except Industrial Liberty, and that those of their countrymen who have fattened and fattened from the spoils of war, are of the class that are in no wise concerned in the welfare of the workers.

Now what about our own country? I mean the country we call ours, though as workers we don't own any of it—the U. S. A.—the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave. For the last three years we have been subjected to a barrage of high sounding phrases such as "safe for Democracy"; "self-determination of all nations"; "we must destroy

Prussian Militarism," etc., etc., etc. Where is this thing called Industrial Democracy for the American worker? Never in the history of this nation has there been such a wave of social discontent among the workers. Strike waves convulse the nation from coast to coast.

The high cost of low living steadily advancing, and the employers using all the power at their command to force wages and conditions downward. The master-class are all organized into their One Big Union, i. e.,—their Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Clubs; these institutions are in reality the supreme law-making bodies of the nation, whether federal, state or municipal; and owing to their strongly entrenched position, both economic and legal, they are making use of this tremendous power to crush the workers into complete submission. To them our criminal anti-syndicalism laws do not apply, even though they sabotage the workers by the blacklist, and kill them off with adulterated foods. The chasm between the workers and employers of this nation is getting continually wider and deeper, just as in all other capitalist nations. The lot of the agitator and organizer in the American labor movement has been in countless cases, the dungeon and the gallows. Our courts send the Debs and Haywoods to long terms behind steel bars, while profiteers and grafters who hoard and destroy foods go free and unmolested. Our corporations of wealth and greed shoot down workers and cremate their wives and children at Ludlow, they deport honest workers in cattle cars from Bisbee, and slaughter them at Everett because they demand the right of free speech. Native-born labor organizers are arrested and held for months in filthy jails without a trial; but if born on foreign soil they may be deported by consent of our friend of labor, Secretary Wilson, as dangerous Reds. Our Espionage Act which was enacted during the war, principally to ferret out enemy spies, as far as known has never touched a single one, but the jails and penitentiaries are overflowing with labor organizers and propagandists.

Our treatment of the colored worker should make us blush with shame; the recent pogroms in Washington and Chicago shove into the background the Jewish massacres committed under the regime of brutal Nicholas of Old Russia. Since 1889 over 3,000 of this race, a race just emerging from two and a half centuries of chattel slavery, and whose bone and muscle has created the wealth and luxury of the Bourbon South, have been crucified upon the gallows and the stake by ignorant and intolerant American mobs. They went across the sea by thousands to help make this world a fit and decent place to live in, but since the beginning of the present year almost two score have fallen victims to fiendish and brutal southern mobs; and yet our army must be sent to Mexico to establish Law and Order.

We have been told times innumerable that Prussian Militarism must be destroyed in order that we will have no more wars and that the future peace of the world will be made secure. Evidently judging

from press reports, the Naval and Military program of America is to be on a greater scale than ever before, candidly speaking they don't mean what they say. England proposes a standing army of 900,000 men, and is increasing her navy by building the largest battleships afloat; while this nation is going to build larger ships than England and maintain a naval force of over 80,000 and a regular army of 510,000 men. Secretary of War Newton Baker insists on passing through Congress a Bill authorizing the training of 600,000 young boys each year in the art of warfare. I presume this is to make the Plutocracy safe, both at home and abroad.

I am merely sketching over the class history of the nations composing the group, or rather the initiators, of the League of Nations in order to portray to the working-class the hypocrisy and sham of the Ruling Class in pretending to frame an instrument that is going to put the world on a peace basis and emancipate the working class from an Industrial and Military Autocracy.

Such a presumption as economic or social freedom and liberation from militarism is absurd and impossible as long as there is a vestige of the capitalist system in existence. Capitalism and militarism go hand in hand, cheek by jowl, neither can exist without the other; no matter what brand you put upon any capitalist system of government, capitalism is capitalism, and it must have an armed force both to protect its vested interests at home and to go forth, to maraud and plunder in foreign lands in the interest of our benevolent Industrial Barons. Without the bulwark of militarism, capitalism would melt and fade like snow under a July sun.

Then what folly it is for the workers to believe that their deliverance will come from the top down, when it is the material interest of those at the top to keep the workers at the bottom where they can produce wealth in order to maintain and perpetuate this parasite class in all their power and magnificent splendor and life of ease.

There is not a single provision or article in this Peace pact that is of any benefit to the workers; every concession or proviso granted to labor was won by organized labor years ago, and therefore is past history so far as we are concerned. Furthermore, we, the workers do not need any concessions or gifts from those who exploit and rob us, for they are detrimental to us as a whole when we accept them. For the workers to make permanent headway towards the goal of emancipation from industrial slavery they must first of all have high ideals to strive for, and a class conscious program that leads direct to the final goal.

Every point must be won by our own organized power, for it is only power that will hold that which we win. As we have seen both in the past and the present, the craft union system is useless for winning *Industrial Power*; i. e., partly because one unit goes on strike where the other units remain at work, either

because of time contracts or autocratic union officials, that are particularly concerned in their own personal welfare, but the principal reason for defeat is the lack of system, lack of the proper form of organization and lack of class solidarity on the part of the rank and file. This system of organization only means defeat to the workers and victory for the bosses. Therefore our unions from now on must be industrial in form, and must have as their aim and purpose to erect the New Society founded upon the Rock of Labor that will produce and distribute the necessities and luxuries of life for the use of the workers instead of for profits for the shirkers.

As labor is the real basis of society and civilization and is the only commodity and private property owned by the workers, it is therefore the exclusive right of the workers to build, own and administer the New Society upon the principle that *those who work not—neither shall they eat nor enjoy the fruits of those who toil.*

The League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace is purely and simply a capitalistic organization and document, and may appear to some to be of no concern to the working class. However, I consider it a very important subject at this time. If the workers were properly organized as a whole, and were conscious of their class position in society, it would then be a waste of ink and paper to even think about it. But unfortunately we are not, and the Ruling Class are taking advantage of the ignorance and apathy on the part of the vast majority of the workers. They are using every means at their command to capture the workers psychology; the oily politician, the press, the parson and the priest, the labor fakir, are all brought into use to play upon the minds of the unconscious workers in order to get them, either by their silence or endorsement, to stand behind their cunningly devised program for capitalistic Imperialism. Many of us reason entirely individualistically. We forget that the vast majority of the workers think and act in the terms taught them by the Ruling Class, and this the masters thoroughly realize. The capitalistic interests are lavishly spending the unlimited funds at their command to propagate their scheme in order to know the feeling of the masses, while at the same time enlisting their aid and sympathy and keeping the labor movement divided against itself. Many labor organizations have already endorsed the League and Peace Treaty without ever knowing its contents or realizing its purposes because they have permitted labor traitors and others to mislead them.

For the working class of America to either endorse or remain silent on this question is to give our consent and approval to the treatment being meted out by British capital to our fellow workers in Ireland, Egypt and India. We approve of race pogroms at home. We approve of our own and allied troops crushing the worker's republic of Russia and Hungary. If I understand article 10 correctly, we would approve of sending American troops to shoot down

rebellious workers in the other nations that compose the League or vice versa, and I am sure that that it would be very inconsistent for organized labor to permit this; if possible, they should prevent it.

The real danger to the labor movement at the present time is the fact that our enemy the capitalist is taking advantage of the situation and making valuable propaganda to his cause by teaching the workers to believe that the specific remedy and cure for our social evils is for the workers to

stand behind and support their League of Nations and accept the Treaty of Peace as their deliverer from bondage.

Workers: Our place and duty as workers is not to give our consent, either by silence or endorsement, to any instrument that will work an injury upon the workers of any land; we must not entangle ourselves in any manner with the enemy; but we must agitate—educate—and organize industrially, all workers of all nations, regardless of race, sex or color.



The Metal Miner---Copper

By Delegate M659.

(Acknowledging assistance of many metal miners throughout the United States.)

The dollar alarm clock rattles insistently, and the miner, conscious of the copper water sores on his back which are sometimes glued to the sheet, rises to go to work. For the past two weeks this miner worked on a night shift and the complete reversal of his habits periodically is hard, but it is no matter—he is a mere wage-slave at \$6.10 or \$5.60 or maybe as low as \$3.50 per day, with sore, stiff limbs and possibly the rattling cough of copper consumption itself.

Breakfast, a lunch put up, and off to the "change room." At the "change room" he finds a temperature sizzling hot or icy cold (for who cares about the comfort of a common miner?), and he crawls into his mining togs which he has washed out in a fashion (if he wasn't too tired), under the shower bath when he took them off last. They may be damp yet and there is always that smell. If they are dry now, they will not be for long, and with the sweat, the odor will also come out stronger.

Next the cage catches our miner. From nine to twelve on each story of the cage, packed in systematically, the miners descend from the collar of the shaft to the lowest level—perhaps 2,200 feet underground or lower, and are unloaded like so much commercial matter into the drift to go to work producing many times their wages in copper ore. Succeeding trips take other miners to each next lowest level in turn till the shift is all on. As he goes in, in some mines, he indicates that another slave is reporting to work by turning a tag with a number (his only individuality) so that it reads "in." Other mines have different systems of keeping track of the men employed.

Now that the men are "in," they begin their various tasks. Some mines still operate under the straw-boss system, but almost all mines have dispensed with this nuisance. He is called a "jigger-boss" and gets 25 to 50c a day extra for working his husky muscles overtime and reporting all of his squad of seven or eight men to the shift boss if they don't keep up with him. In short he is the official stool pigeon and has been known to report events that never happened in order to make his extra 50c solid. He seldom wants a union, whereby all the men could win big increases in wages—oh, no! he thinks the boss is "fair enough."

The air is charged with nitro-glycerine left by the last shift's blasting. Where three shifts work the air is always charged with smoke. In this smoke the muckers begin to shovel the loose ore down the shoot to the cars. The miners must do the timbering in addition to blasting and drilling. Drilling is done with a stoper, (usually called a widowmaker because of the danger in using it), or with a jack hammer (dry and wet), or with a machine called a

water leyner. The water leyner is a superior one, as it keeps the drilling wet, but, because it costs more, many mines still use the cheaper hand machine. Some states, Arizona for example, have laws requiring sprinklers on each machine to keep down copper dust. Perhaps one machine in ten will carry the sprinkler, perhaps less, and if there is no sprinkler the copper dust begins to fly. The air is saturated with infinitesimally small pieces of jagged-edged copper which are taken into the men's lungs and it is attested by many physicians that this is a certain cause of copper consumption. Thus young men who should be in the prime of life are forced on to the scrap heap comparatively early in life. The mines which have the "physical examination" system force these men, whom they have permanently disabled, on the tramp, and further use the system as a pretext for bringing other men to terms by declaring them physically unfit to work. Men who have led strikes or organized unions are usually found "physically unfit" to work.

Where copper dust is not kept down the miner's life is indeed hazardous, but there are also many other dangers incident to mining. The firebug, who receives miners' pay is not always successful in detecting fires in the mines in time to save his fellow workers' lives. If men are caught in a drift with a fire between them and the shaft, it is not such a loss to the mine owner as are the machines which are destroyed, for more machines will have to be bought—more miners will merely apply for work. In the latter case there is no initial cost, and the workers may even be at some expense for going into the face of probable accident or death.

Another source of danger is bad air. Few metal mines have a ventilating system. A few do. Some mines have fans *inside* that stir the air but do not change it. Others have nothing. This foul air grows hot, and men have to take off their shirts sometimes as often as twenty times a day to wring the water out. Otherwise the water would run down into their shoes. Some shift-bosses fire men caught wringing the water out of their shirts on the ground because they are wasting time. Men thus intimidated are known to go all day with water running out of their shoes.

Often water veins are struck in the drifts. The water is saturated with copper in solution, and everywhere it touches a person the skin is eaten off. I have seen miners with their nails eaten in to the quick from constant work in copper water. When the sweat gets into these sores it is irritating and painful. The depth of the sore is shown by the pits left when one succeeds in curing up a sore.

And this is the life, no, the living death, for which a man is paid a pittance and he gets a chance to do

that only intermittently! More men are killed outright from ground falls than from any other thing. If the ground is loose or if the timbering is inadequately done, a man is apt to be killed any time by a ground fall. Death from ground fall is very frequent. Miners have a saying among themselves that timber is more expensive than men, and proper timbering, "stuls" (posts) closer together, etc., would undoubtedly save many lives, but the ones killed are *only workers* and workers are merely a *cheap commodity* according to the employers and the *International!*

Overseeing these miners, (paid 6.10 a day in Arizona, \$5.50 in Nevada, and \$4.00 and \$4.25 in California) and muckers (paid \$5.60 a day in Arizona and \$5.00 in Nevada, \$4.00 a day in California, different wages elsewhere), and motormen (miner's pay), and firebugs, cagers, powder monkeys and tool nippers, is the shift boss. A shift boss will have 50 to 100 or more men under him. His pay is about \$7.50 a day. He competes with the shift boss just before him, and his sole concern is to get his slaves to get out more ore than any other shift boss in the mine. A better name for him would be slave driver. Over the shift bosses, to see that they keep competing, is the foreman with his assistant, receiving about \$10.00 and \$8.00 in wages per day, respectively. Over the foremen is the superintendent, and over and above all, to look after the masters interests is the general manager. The supers and managers draw the fancy pay, and of the entire force, from shift boss up, not one is industrially essential. They drive men—workers—for eight long hours for profit for a master who "owns" according to title. They never are needed by the miner to assist in blasting or timbering, nor for telling the mucker anything about shoveling ore, nor yet to tell the tool-nipper when nor how to gather in dull tools, nor the "powder monkey" how to function. Their sole function is to see that the utmost work is required at the hands of each tired worker in the mines. They oppose organization and strikes, and in many mines, Bisbee, Arizona, for example, a gunman or paid stool pigeon is employed for each worker, or perhaps even a larger percentage. These paid stool pigeons draw extra pay, it is assumed—about \$1.00 a day—and carry news always concerning men who are supposed to carry a union card. They are very inefficient workers and really cost the company much more than the extra pay they receive, for their business fundamentally is to carry news—not to work. It is estimated now that three men in Bisbee are required to do the work formerly done by one—due to this system of gunmen and stool-workers.

Any group of miners could select from their number a worker to see that the work in the mines was properly co-ordinated. After six months or a year in a metal mine any man of average intelligence will be acquainted thoroughly with the work. He will be able to know what method is best suited for taking out ore. Whether overhand, 40 per cent, square

set, caving, or slice system is best the men themselves can determine. They will seldom take to "slicing" merely because it is cheaper, where men are working from top down and have timbers creaking over their heads liable to *break down at any time.*

Where the formation of the ground permits, the square set is a fairly safe method of taking out ore, inasmuch as the men work from bottom up. Thus they have firm ground overhead and stand on a timbered floor. The method is economical because the waste used to fill in the gob will catch new deposits of copper, and in this way some mines are worked over three or four times.

Less man power is required in the *caving system* than any other. Intermediate drifts are run every twenty-five feet between the main drifts, and blasting is done in a circle, twenty-five inches in diameter upwards. Then the ore stuffs down through the shoot into the cars and one man is all that is needed to get the ore out.

According to figures obtained from the office of one copper mine, 50 tons of ore are produced daily by two shifts of 60 men each at a cost of not over \$750. The ore brings to the miner owner \$25,000. An astonishing profit!

All the work to bring this profit in is thoroughly understood by the men who do the work. A few, it is true, will not know what kind of ore they are taking out, but the majority do know. By cultivating self confidence, the present workers could operate every mine with facility, and then we would not see men compelled to work such long hours under such conditions that fatality would result in 62 per cent of their ranks from *unnatural causes.*

To accomplish a workers' co-operative control in the mines, the formula is the same as in industry in general. First, education, then *organization*, last *emancipation*. The workers, after understanding the fundamentals of their industry, with conscious application can devise ways of "going through the day" without the assistance of the bourgeoisie, our masters, who are mainly "at the club" or "gone on a yachting excursion." It would not require great acumen to elect from their number substitutes for shift boss, foreman, etc., who would account to their fellow workers for their accomplishments rather than to the master. They would be able also to change these off occasionally so as to equalize labor rendered, and to train more men for executive positions. What is more, the great masters of industry, the special interests, know the ease with which this program could be carried out, and that is why they fight *Industrial Unionism* so relentlessly.

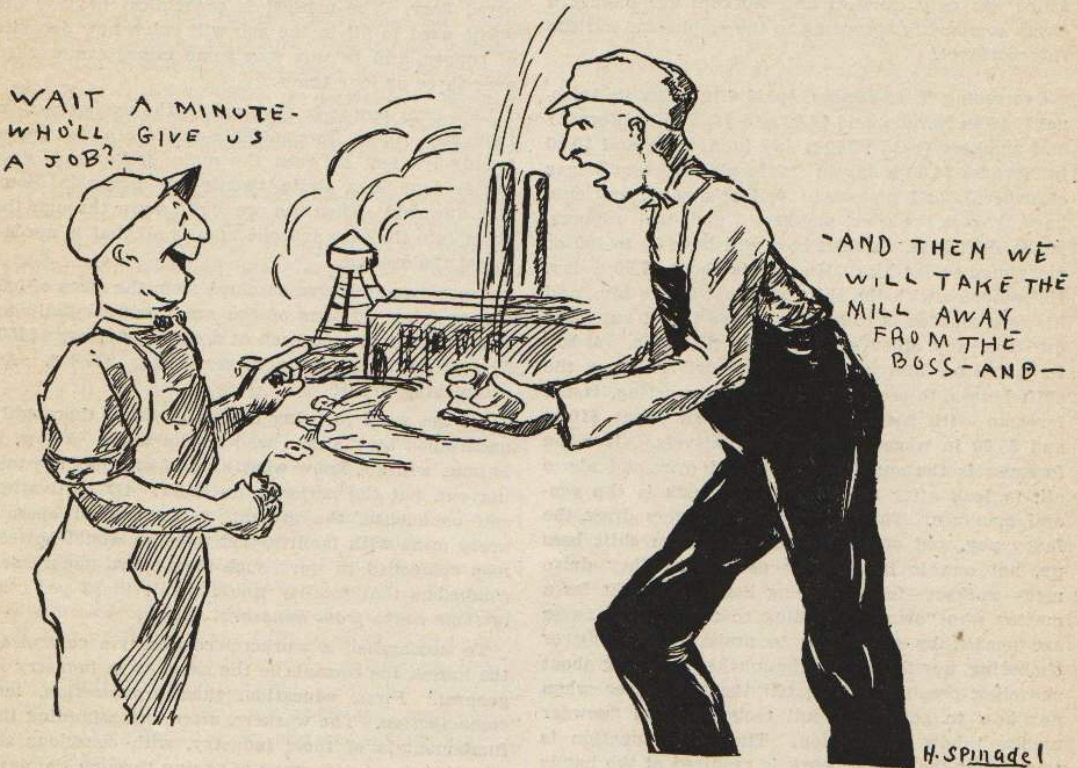
With all industries so organized, the processes of production and distribution simply and swiftly go into the workers' hands, and class distinctions cease to exist, because classes will cease to exist. There will be but one class—the working class. That is the program of the Industrial Workers of the World. But rather than select from the many *useful* lines of work, something for which they are fitted to do, the

capitalist class prefer to inaugurate a program of violence which would cause not only millions of workers to perish but they themselves also.

We seek no violence. We only wish labor to be equally required of all and to be equally and fully rewarded to all. Our enemies, the employers, rather than consider those terms would plunge industry

and society into bloody chaos. Oh, gluttoned foes, you are at the zenith of your power, and it intoxicates you! Workers of the World, awaken! Break your chains! Demand your rights, for your cry is the cry of the ages, your hope is the hope of the world!

Join Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800 now!. DO YOUR BIT! DON'T BE A SLACKER!



THE JOB DELEGATE STRIKES A KNOT

Did you ever pause to consider that in the Wichita trial a new Dred Scott decision was pending? That is, just as the old decision declared chattel slavery and the United States government ONE, so the new decision will declare wage slavery and the government ONE when, of course, it will be "treason," "sedition," or something of the kind to propose either through a labor union or a political party to get rid of our lords and masters, the plutocracy. But now, as then, as Debs so well put it, "The people are the court of last resort."—Covington Ami.

The Negro workers have just held a convention in Washington, D. C., where they adopted a declaration of principle on the lines of the I. W. W. See next issue of this magazine for details.

THE OVERTIME EVIL.

By Frederick A. Blossom.

Overtime is fine for the boss—it allows him to pile up stocks and then close his factory and take a vacation—but it is hell for the workers. It exhausts them physically and stupefies them mentally. It drives them at top speed during a few months and then leaves them without work or on part time until the surplus production is disposed of. It keeps wages down by deceiving the workers as to the real basis of payment. Like the speed-up system, it keeps other workers out of a job and hastens the day when all will be out of work.

When you work overtime you are SCABBING on yourself and on your fellow workers. Don't be a scab! No overtime!

The Railroad Workers Union

By Card No. 301479, No. 600.

To those of us who are employed in one of the most vital industries composing our industrial life today, namely the transportation, it is well to reflect upon the means and methods open to us, in the furtherance of our aims to better our condition and the conditions of our fellow workers. All those individuals or groups of individuals whose daily work is along the same general lines, tend to become, the longer they have worked, more sympathetic toward others who are in the same industry, even though they are miles apart and will never see one another. This feeling of sympathy is based upon experience, the experience which a worker gains through his daily work, from his fellow-worker, his hopes and fears, his ideals and ambitions. These feelings are likewise felt by the thousands of others who are engaged in the same occupations, and extends to all who work for a daily wage, regardless of craft or trade, though the feeling is more pronounced between workers of the same industry. In other words, it is the sympathetic feeling one worker has for another, a class conscious feeling that is caused by the knowledge of mutual interest, though some workers would not be able to explain this feeling in that way. Nevertheless it is true, and it is at the bottom of all our industrial labor organizations, which could not exist except for the fact.

If a wealthy man loses his fortune it arouses no feeling in the heart of the worker, or a purely negative one, if any at all, for the worker has not had the same experience, has had no fortune to lose, consequently cannot be expected to share his feelings with the rich man. An excellent example of this even in "our own country" is shown by the way the fall of the nobility in Russia is received, when harrowing tales of the poor rich being forced to work, to clean streets, carry baggage, and otherwise lend themselves to productive labor are told by dependable labor papers.

Just the opposite effect is produced when a worker even though we may have never seen him, don't even know his name, is hurt or killed, or loses what little he may have been able to accumulate under the present system. Everywhere among the workers are heard expressions of commiseration and sympathy; contributions are sent to the unfortunate, and a general feeling of sympathy is shown by those who have in all probability never seen the person in question. I have given this example because I wanted to show that this mutual sympathy is at the base of our efforts to bring all workers together in the form of unions, that it is a perfectly just and natural feeling.

Now since we have seen that all workers, regardless of what industry they are in, have a sympathetic feeling towards other workers, a class conscious feeling that is nurtured by the knowledge that all workers are fighting their exploiters, it might be well to see what means the workers have taken to further

this feeling of class consciousness, so as to use it as a weapon of defense in regards to their rights.

To begin with, we have the craft union, to which some of the workers belong, and upon which they base their hopes of higher wages and better conditions. But the craft union by its very nature destroys this sympathetic feeling engendered by the workers in their daily toil and sows hatred and distrust in its stead by setting one craft against another, and causes bitter dissension among their members because they are forced to do things from which this instinctive feeling of sympathy revolts.

Take for example the late strike of shop and carmen, which even now after months of talk and an abortive strike is still unsettled. Why? Because of the methods employed and also primarily by reason of the faulty construction and natural defects of the craft union.

One craft went out, several days later another craft laid down its tools, not in direct sympathy with the first, but because they too had a grievance to adjust, and took that time to force the issue. Train and engine service men kept merrily at work hauling trains inspected at terminals by foremen who stayed with the companies and scabbed on the striking carmen. Well, who is the most contemptible, the train and engine men or the scabbing foremen? We know such things could not be if the workers were properly organized, and had a proper understanding of their mutual class interests.

Consider now the organization under which, if the workers had been organized, all demands would have been granted the workers, confidence in their union strengthened, and a general feeling of class conscious solidarity exhibited. I refer now to the Industrial Workers of the World. The structure, methods, and general ground plan of the I. W. W. are as different from those of the craft unions as day is from night. The I. W. W. would, and does, take all workers in any industry and place them in One Industrial Union, regardless of craft. Any number of crafts may be in one industry, but under the I. W. W. plan there would be only one union for all the crafts in that industry, thus differing from the clumsy craft union, which would split all the workers in one industry into several small craft unions, thus dividing their power and lessening their chances of winning. It is the mass attack concentrated upon the enemies' weakest point that eventually wins, and this method of attack is impossible under the craft unions, where there is a lack of cohesiveness on the part of the several crafts. *It is fatal to divide our forces if we really expect to win!* Let us take the railroad industry which comes under the head of transportation, as an example.

Under our plan of organization, every man who was directly concerned with the railroad industry, its section men, telegraph operators, engineers, brake-

men, shop and carmen, signal maintainers, etc., would belong to the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, No. 600 of the I. W. W. If the section men went out on strike, every one employed in the railroad industry would go out too, because they would all belong to the same Industrial Union, in this case No. 600.

There would be no chance of any so-called leaders trying to double-cross the workers by putting off and evading the main issue and trying to keep in the good graces of the capitalists by selling out the workers. No cheap labor politicians could offer the workers "arbitration," give them a stone instead of bread, because the workers would have no need of such parasites, being able to force their demands by virtue of their inherent strength in their organizations.

The late shopmen's strike offers as good an example as any in regard to what would have occurred had it been conducted under the tactics evolved from the industrial experiences of the I. W. W. Let us suppose that the machinists, members of No. 600 of the I. W. W., had presented wage demands that were turned down, and had voted a strike. Then in this particular case all other crafts in the same industry (railroad) belonging to the same Industrial Union No. 600, would stand back of the machinists, and if they struck, all would go out, firemen, switchmen, section men, shopmen, etc., in fact the whole particular industry affected would go out on strike until the demands were complied with.

Then we would have a strike that would do for the workers what the craft unions by reason of their basic structure would be unable to do: win the demands of the worker.

Compare these efficient methods of the I. W. W. with the slow, disheartening, cumbersome and dangerous (to the worker) tactics of the craft unions. Could there be anything more disrupting of organization than to see a body of men go out on strike and lose because another body of their fellows in the same industry refuse to go out for the reason that they belong to different craft unions? Not so with the I. W. W.!

With the consciousness of class solidarity, the workers organized according to industry under the banner of the I. W. W. would present an invincible front to the enemies of organized labor.

The only thing the exploiters fear is the organization of the workers *along industrial lines*, they are not afraid of the craft unions because the craft unions will help lose the strike and bring discouragement to its members. The capitalist is not afraid where his enemies are *divided* as in the case of craft unionism, because he knows that he can pit one against another, and so he works to that end, giving way a little to this craft in order that he may crush that one. *But what he does fear is the education and organization of the workers on an industrial basis*, because he knows that the moment that the workers are organized in the One Big Union such as is planned by

the I. W. W. he is lost, because then the workers will have the power to *enforce any demand they choose*.

A favorite weapon of the employers, which is also used as a decoy, is the contract. Now the wage slave has, as an individual, a perfect right to sell himself to his master, but the highest principles of humanity forbid his selling his class to the same power. A contract may for the time being benefit the ones in whose favor it is drawn, but in the end it defeats the very purpose for which a union is formed, by withholding help just at the very time when it is needed.

It is an old game of the exploiters to play one set of workers against another, with a view of causing the collapse of both, so that at the supreme moment suspicion, hatred and distrust play a prominent part in breaking up what otherwise might have been a union for the workers.

The I. W. W. as an organization enters into no contract or agreement with any company or employer, as they recognize the futility of such action at all times.

The I. W. W. is organized along industrial lines to overthrow the present economic system, and has found that the only way in which this desirable end can be brought about is for all of us to organize, regardless of craft, creed, or color, and to pool our labor power, so that at the most proper time by withdrawing our labor power from the industrial field the collapse of the present system will ensue, if the collapse does not come before we are ready.

It is well for us to remember that we are robbed right on the job and not up in some legislative hall where, so we are told, all industrial wrongs will be righted by those most competent to do the righting. The only judge of what is just and right regarding commensurate pay for his labor is the worker; he is doing the work and knows what he wants, and he doesn't need some lily-fingered politician to advise him regarding hours of work or rates of pay, because the worker knows that he can't get what he wants by voting.

When we recognize that it is our labor power that is making all the profit for the capitalist class, and that it is through our lack of correct organization that we are in this position, and when we educate ourselves along the lines necessary to a proper appreciation of our part in the class struggle, then we will be able, without further time or trouble, to appropriate that which rightfully belongs to us.

We, as workers, have nothing to do with political parties, because a political party is unable to function as an industrial force capable of supplying the needs of the workers.

For the worker to expect the political party to free him from his industrial slavery is about the same thing as expecting a locomotive to run itself simply because there are certain orders directed toward its running, but there must be action on the part of those who are directly connected with the engine and who understand the proper functioning of it.

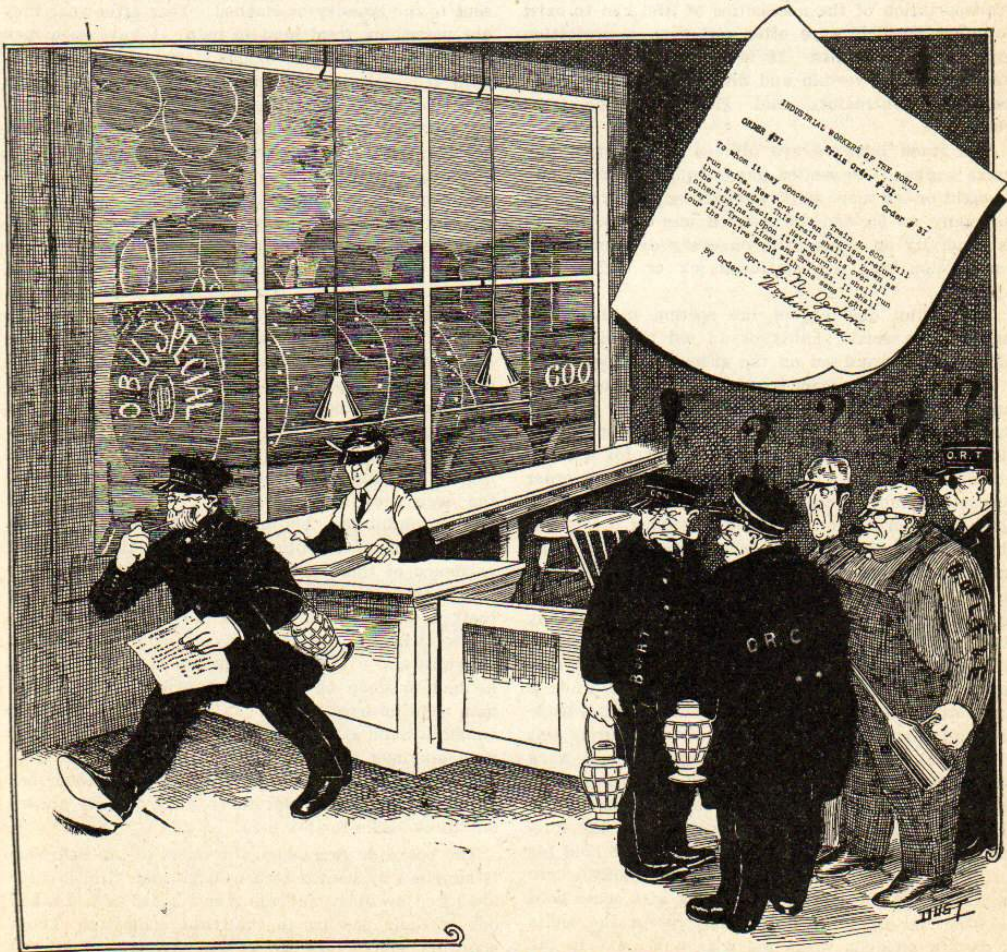
If it were voted upon on election day by the workers that they should receive a higher wage, and they were unorganized industrially, do you think they would get it? Neither do I. So then let us keep out of the political field and stay away from the cheap politicians who lead us away from the main issue, and unite under the banner of the I. W. W. The I. W. W. cares nothing for politics and has learned through experience that the only way the worker can benefit himself is by organizing in the union of his class with his fellow-workers.

We can't help ourselves by organizing into several little craft unions where high initiation fees and heavy assessments are the rule and where the workers are fighting each other, but by lining up in the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization founded by workers, for workers, and where efforts towards educating and organizing the workers are

going forward with remarkable rapidity. Remember the I. W. W. and its principles are found all over the world, and that it is becoming clearer every day to the intelligent worker that it is the only union that offers a way out of our present terrible system of Capitalism. Join us now, you need us, we need you!

Now is the opportune time to join, for the craft unions have shown that they are incapable of handling the present industrial situation by reason of their inherent defects, and everywhere the workers are turning to the I. W. W. with its sound principle of Industrial Unions and definite program regarding the battle waged between labor and capital.

The I. W. W. is for all workers for all time, regardless of color, creed, or craft, so get in line and join us now!



ONE BIG UNION OF RAILROAD WORKERS

The Life of a Railroad Trackman

By a Trackman.

One of the blackest pages in the history of the American railroads contains the story of the track laborer. It is a tale of almost unbelievable degradation and misery. The railroads have often been compared to arteries through which the life of a nation pulsates, and it is a well known fact that an efficient transportation system is the greatest asset of a modern people, but the men whose labor made the marvelously quick development of a continent possible, have been the lowest paid and the most inhumanly exploited of all the workers in the country. In our age of electricity and steamheat, of spacious dwellings and all the modern conveniences for those who neither toil nor spin, but live on the sweat and blood of those who carry on the productive labor of society, in this wonderful age of progress the men whose toil safeguards the life of the passengers as well as the transportation of the necessities of life, had to exist in hovels, which were often not even a protection against the elements. It is a story of graft and exploitation, of vermin and filth, of stomach-robbing boarding contractors and ghoulish employment sharks.

The track laborers are divided into section and extra gangs. The section gangs consist of from two to eight or ten men, while the extra gangs often have as many as 60 and 70 men in one camp. There is generally an extra gang on every division, while the section men are stationed six or eight miles apart.

The living quarters of the section men consist mostly of a small shanty or an old box car taken off the trucks and set on the ground. At some sections the laborers can board at the section boss's house, but in most places the men have to do their own cooking. With six or eight men trying to cook their meals on one stove it is necessary for some to get up as early as 4 o'clock in the morning in order to get a chance to cook their breakfast. On the sections on deserts and in mountain regions it is sometimes hard to get bread from the nearest town, and not very many stoves found on sections can be used for baking. Some of the foreign-born section men bake their bread in holes in the ground, while many live on baking powder biscuits and hot cakes. The life of a section man is not an easy one even now under the eight hours a day system, but when a day's work consisted of ten long hours of hard, back-breaking labor on the track his existence surely was a miserable one. When times were hard and work scarce the section men often had to turn part of their scanty earnings over to the foreman, who would pass the money on to the roadmaster, but the foreman also had to come across if he wanted to hold his job. As the story goes there were divisions where only a section foreman with a pretty wife could hold his position providing he did not resent the visits of certain officials while the wife was alone in the section house.

Bad as conditions are on the sections, in the extra gangs it is still worse. Although the eight-hour day is in effect, the scarcity of labor in certain districts and the incessant agitation of the members of the I. W. W. on the jobs, have brought about a few changes, but the extra gangs today are still in a deplorable condition. The camps consist of strings of old and dilapidated box cars with leaky roofs and broken floors with big cracks in the walls partly filled with rags and old paper. Some of the cars are fitted up as kitchen and "dining" cars, while others are turned into bunk cars. From ten to sixteen men have to make their homes in cars which are often so low that a tall man cannot stand up straight. There are no baths, no washrooms, and in many camps not even a toilet. In the eastern part of the country blankets are furnished, but they are never sent to the laundry or cleaned. Year after year they are passed on from man to man. I have seen men in those camps in the various stages of consumption, with venereal diseases, with the marks of syphilis in their faces, but when they left camp their blankets were turned over to somebody else. Lice and other vermin were always plentiful. Before the Government took over the railroads and abolished all Sunday work, there was no such a thing as Sunday in an extra gang. The work went on day after day, with no rest and no recreation. This also helped to a great extent to increase the filth and the swarms of vermin in the camps. If a man laid off a day to wash his clothes he would run chances of going into the hole on his board and commissary bill. In the summer time a man could take an empty coal oil can and go out after supper and "boil up," as this process of delousing is called in the camps. He would build a fire out in the open and boil his clothes and so destroy his "live stock" and for a night or two he would be able to sleep undisturbed. But in the winter time the deep snow and the scarcity of firewood would often prohibit the "boiling up" and the ever-increasing swarms of vermin would make the miserable existence of those men still more unbearable. The railroads of the west never furnished bedding on their extra gangs and some did not even furnish straw ticks or straw. If a man did not pack a mattress and a bundle of blankets around with him he had to sleep on the bare boards. And many a man slept on bare boards. In Northern Pacific extra gangs at Sand Point, Idaho, in January, 1919, I have seen six men in a bunk car sleeping on the hard boards with nothing under them or over them but three gunny sacks. Not three gunny sacks apiece, but three sacks for six men.

The board on extra gangs on most of the railroads is supplied by contractors. Cooks and kitchen help are hired by them, and the men's board bill is taken out of their pay by the railroad company. Those boarding contractors are in the business for all the money they can make out of it, and, of course, the

stomachs of the workers have to suffer. Half decayed meat, wormy fruit and adulterated food and substitutes are daily on the bill of fare. Although there are several of those stomach-robbing concerns, like Brogan & White, Miller, the Western Commissary Company, Fogg Bros., Grier, and other notorious outfits, the food is very much alike. Some seem to have an inexhaustible supply of "gut and liver," while others make a specialty of "lawnmowers and gate-lifters" (cowslips and pig snouts). As the conditions in those camps are fairly well known amongst the migratory workers, they will only "ship out" to an extra gang when they can't find anything else. The railroad companies furnish free transportation, and while some companies conduct their own employment offices, most of the jobs have to be bought from the sharks. Their fees vary with the conditions of the times. The more unemployed the higher the fee. The miserable life of a worker in those camps makes it almost impossible for a man to stay for any length of time. A week or two is about the average. And this is what makes it so hard to organize those outfits. Many of the old timers, who have been forced to live this life of degradation for many years have degenerated to such an extent that they don't seem to care about cleanliness any more and they are indifferent towards the educational campaign of the I. W. W. But in spite of all there are more and more trackmen coming into the I. W. W. every day, and there have been some fine showings of solidarity in some of the extra gangs of the Northwest. There is

really no opposition toward the movement in those gangs, only indifference. Men who have been driven from pillar to post all their lives and have lost all faith in humanity, are hard to convince that the I. W. W. is not some kind of a graft, but their only hope of delivery from a dreary, miserable existence. But slowly they are beginning to see that the only way to break up the unholy trinity of grafting officials, stomach-robbing boarding contractors and fat-bellied employment sharks is to organize in the One Big Union of all who toil. Only through organizing and organizing right, will the track laborer ever be able to do away with the intolerable conditions which have made millions of dollars for the employment sharks and other highly respectable citizens who were in on the deal. For the rotter the camps the shorter the time men would be able to stay, and the money would roll into the tills of the employment sharks in a steady stream to be split up with the men who were responsible for the bad conditions in the camps.

Trackmen, wake up! Organize into Railroad Workers' Industrial Union 600 of the I. W. W. and let us speed the day when all workers on the railroads will be enabled to live on clean, wholesome food and have the comforts and recreations of human beings.

(This article will immediately be issued as a leaflet by No. 600. Procure some and spread them. Send in your orders at one for a bundle to C. N. Ogden 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.)

When Earth's Last Conflict is Ended

Kuttings from Kipling.

By Douglas Robson.

When Earth's last conflict has ended and the guns
are all thrown aside,
When the oldest kingdoms have vanished, and the
youngest tyrant has died,
We shall rest, and faith we shall need it, then start
with a purpose true
The sons and daughters of Labor to build up the
world anew.
And those who were sad shall be happy and those
who were starved shall be fed;
They shall labor no more for a pittance, nor envy
the lot of the dead;
They shall feel real pleasure in working, no longer
shall Mammon rule;
They shall work for an age or an hour, but always
be paid in full.
And only our actions shall praise us and only our
actions shall blame,
And no man shall enslave his brother or live off his
sister's shame;
But each shall have joy in the working and each of
us do what he can
To make the world peaceful and happy to the ul-
timate Triumph of man.

The Cellmate

By Raymond Corder.

Of course I guess it wasn't right
To take them hams an' things;
I broke the law an' all o' that,
An' got what breakin' brings—
But I had to feed my wife an' kids
Ahungerin' at home;
I couldn't find a job at all
No matter whar I'd roam;
Well, I get kinda desprit when
I found the' was no work—
I saw that box-car on the track,
An' I give the door a jerk;
I seen them hams and bacon there
An' then I thought, "Well now,
Just one or two will pull us through
Till I find work somehow."
That's why I'm cell-mates here with you
An' numbered ten-o-ten;
I had to feed my wife an' kids,
That's why I'm in the "pen."

The Fundamental Principles of the I. W. W.

By C. E. Payne.

What is the I. W. W.?

The I. W. W. (The Industrial Workers of the World) is an organization of wage workers in every line of industry.

What is the purpose of the I. W. W.?

The purpose of the I. W. W. is to constantly raise the standard of living of the wage workers, and eventually to abolish the wage system and establish in its place the co-operative commonwealth of free workers, or industrial communism.

What is to be accomplished by raising the standard of living of the wage workers?

Raising the standard of living of the working class will mean at the same time increasing the general intelligence of the individual workers, and this intelligence will work to the safety and comfort of the entire human race by abolishing the wage system.

What is the wage system?

The wage system is the method by which the owners of industry induce those who do not own industry to perform the necessary labor to operate that industry.

Why should the wage system be abolished?

The wage system should be abolished because it is a form of slavery, and all slavery has the result of degrading a large part of the human race to provide glory and pleasure for a few.

What is the co-operative commonwealth or industrial communism?

The co-operative commonwealth or industrial communism is a system of common ownership of the earth and all it contains, the co-operative production from the earth's resources of the things each worker desires, and the taking by each worker of the value of his individual efforts while in co-operation with his fellow workers.

What will be the logical result of Capitalism if left to its own development?

The logical result of capitalist development will be that the capitalists will grow constantly more arrogant and drive the wage workers into a constantly more and more degraded position, both relatively and actually. It will then be an actual condition of slavery.

How can the wage system be abolished?

The wage system can be abolished by the workers consciously organizing for that purpose and setting up the co-operative commonwealth in its place.

Is there any alternative between the co-operative commonwealth and a system of slavery for the working class?

If the working class cannot develop an industrial organization strong enough and intelligent enough to abolish the wage system and set up the co-operative commonwealth in its place, they may in desperation, for the purpose of defeating slavery, overthrow civilization and cause the human race to revert to savagery.

Why will the capitalist system, if left to its own

development, drive the working class into slavery or the human race into savagery?

The capitalist system is maintained to furnish profits to the owners of industry. Profits are obtained from the sale of goods. There is a limit to the amount of goods the world can absorb at a profit. When that limit is reached, those who are not needed in the production of goods must remain unemployed. Unemployment under the wage system means no income, no wages, with the result that those who are unemployed have nothing with which to purchase food, clothing and shelter. The number of unemployed steadily increases, and in their effort to obtain wages they reduce the amount of wages they agree to accept in return for labor that is profitable to the employer. This reduces the amount of wages the entire working class must accept, thereby reducing the standard of living of all.

Some of the working class will resist this tendency of reducing the standard of living, while at the same time the owners of industry, the employers, will resist the attempts of the workers to raise the standard of living. The conflict of these two tendencies is what is known as the class struggle. In the class struggle if the employers are able to gain the upper hand the working class will be driven into slavery in order that they may not again be able to attack the master class to the reduction of profits. If the working class should gain the upper hand without a definite organization formed for the purpose of maintaining civilization and carrying on its orderly functions, there would be no directing and compelling force to keep industry running to feed, clothe and shelter the people. This would result in a new struggle, not against the owning class to raise the standard of living, but a mutual struggle within the working class for the barest necessities of life. As this struggle within the working class grew more fierce, it would draw a constantly larger number of workers from production into the fratricidal struggle for the constantly diminishing amount of goods produced, resulting in the numbers of people being reduced by starvation and war to the point where peace could only be resumed because of the growing distances between the different warring gangs. This condition would be a direct return to savagery, resulting in the necessity of again performing long hours of labor for a meager subsistence according to the most primitive standard, and by the most primitive methods.

How can the calamity of driving the working class into slavery or the human race into savagery be avoided?

The advantages of civilization may be saved and slavery for the working class avoided by an organization of the working class for the purpose of taking charge of the industries and operating them for the

purpose of feeding, clothing and sheltering the people, without profit to any individuals or groups.

How should this organization be formed?

An organization within the working class for the definite object of carrying on industrial production on a co-operative basis and preserving the advantages of civilization must be formed on industrial lines.

What is meant by "industrial lines?"

By the term, "forming an organization of the workers on industrial lines," is meant that those who work in an industry shall form an organization on the lines of that industry, and that there shall be but one organization in that industry, but with the organizations in the different industries forming their respective parts of one general industrial organization.

What may be accomplished by an industrial organization?

An industrial organization may bring two results: The first result will be that of giving a feeling of power and confidence in themselves to the workers in their everyday efforts, to obtain a constantly increasing standard of living, which will of itself help to increase the standard of living and make its obtaining an easier matter.

The second result will be that of giving the workers a practical experience in organization along industrial lines and an ability to work co-operatively, so that as soon as industrial organization has been effected in all lines of industry these industrial organizations of workers may take over and operate the different industries without allowing them to break down, and with the least possible friction.

What would be the greatest cause of friction in keeping the industries running between the present capitalistic production and the coming industrial communism?

The greatest cause of friction, and likely the only serious one, in keeping the industries in operation would be the capitalists themselves. The reason they would cause this friction would be because they are now receiving large unearned increments called profits from the ownership of the industries and they would not want this taken from them. To prevent the transfer of ownership from individuals for purposes of exploitation of the workers, to ownership by the workers collectively for the purpose of producing goods for use by the workers themselves, the present owners may be expected to oppose every obstacle possible, even to the point of destroying the industries to keep them from being taken by the workers.

What will be the method of payment for labor when the wage system is abolished?

The method of payment for labor when the wage system has been abolished and the co-operative commonwealth has been established will be by a system of exchange entitling the worker to receive the goods he wants in exchange for the goods he has produced, according to the labor time involved in the production of each, but with no profit to an owner who does no productive labor.

What is included in "the labor time involved in production?"

The different items included in the labor time necessary to produce an article are the work of planning its production, the cost of preparations, the work of superintending, the work of accounting, the physical labor of those directly engaged in the production, the labor time of those required to repair machinery, the setting aside of an amount necessary to renew machines when they are worn out and the allotting of the necessities of life to those who are too young, too old or otherwise unable to perform productive labor.

In what way will the exchange of goods on the basis of labor time involved in their production be different from the present wage system?

Under the present wage system all amounts necessary to balance the labor time involved in production are charged against each industry. In addition to this, there is a further amount set off to pay rent, interest and profit, each of which items in turn pays its own profits, so that there is a large class which is drawing an unearned increment from the industries. The exchange of goods according to the labor time involved in their production would be a gain in two ways: First, it would give to the actual producers of the goods the amount that is now absorbed by the capitalists in the form of rent, interest and profit. Second, it would cause those who are now absorbing this unearned increment to enter into the actual production of goods—of wealth—and thus add to the total amount and per capita amount of production by any portion of the human race which has adopted this system. The wage system, Capitalism, makes for a constant lowering of the standard of civilization with its logical end in slavery or savagery. The cooperative commonwealth, the exchange of goods on the basis of the labor time involved in their production, makes for the highest form of civilization, ending in the necessary leisure and intelligence to perfect the human race.

THE INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS POSTPONED

The Syndicalists of Scandinavia and Holland had taken the initiative in calling the syndicalist and I. W. W. organizations of the world to an International Congress in Amsterdam on Aug. 5, 1919, to take place immediately after the international Trade Union Congress, in which Gompers played a prominent roll. Our congress had to be postponed, however, as the delegates chosen by the various countries were refused passports by the Dutch consular authorities. Whether the Dutch capitalist government did this trick of its own accord or after pressure had been brought to bear by Gompers and his friends is not stated. Perhaps there was a little of both. The I. W. W. had not elected any delegate, but merely sent a cablegram promising cooperation.

This action of the capitalist class in preventing us from meeting speaks for itself. It requires no comments.

The Importation of Ideas in the Labor Movement

By John Sandgren.

The spread of civilization originally depended upon the export of ideas. It is nowadays generally conceded that Egypt is the country of the birth of civilization and that the Egyptian people made practically all the inventions in use to about a hundred years ago, and consequently is at the bottom of the whole of our civilization. Not only inventions, however, but also thoughts and ideas were exported from Egypt to all the countries of the earth, in greater or smaller extent, and formed the framework of their so-called civilization both for good and evil. For this reason there is no objection to be made to the export and import of ideas, provided it is conducive to progress and not to retrogression.

Barbarians and savages are to this very day very quick to import ideas from other countries and there is nothing bad, nothing derogatory to say about this, except when they import things that are of no use to them. The lower they are on the ladder of civilization, the less discernment they possess in regard to what should be imported. The negro of the Kamerun imports stove pipe hats and cuffs and Prince Albert coats, such as are worn by Lord Chamberlain and the Prince of Wales, but which to him are only a ridiculous appendage. The women of the whole world import the ideas of their exterior adornment from Paris or London, such as high heels, skirts as narrow as a trouser's leg, powder and face paint, etc., and a good deal of the world's men, not only import the ideas on which their clothing is built but their whole life of thoughts and ideas from foreign countries. The American "four hundred" seek as far as possible to ape the English, even to the extent of coquettishly dropping their h's, and in the radical world it is considered *comme il faut* to show off with imported ideas. Some people finally become so enamored in everything foreign that they despise what is native and domestic.

We have been lead to write this introduction by observing the numerous attempts at importation of foreign forms of organization for the Labor Movement to America, regardless of their fitness for American conditions.

Importation of Social-Democracy from Germany.

First there came the German Social Democrats with their German Socialism and their political ambition, grown as a natural product out of German soil and German conditions and manured by German oppression. With an almost ridiculous conceit these know-it-alls tried to obtain recognition of their monopoly of truth in regard to the Labor Movement. Now German Political Socialism, after thirty years of experimentation or more, proved to be unsuitable for American soil where there has been political democracy since time immemorial, and now we can safely say that this importation has no more chance in this country.

Anarchism from Russia.

Then came out of the soil of Russian Autocracy

the anarchist ideas, and its apostles traveled through the country and pointed their finger at everybody who did not immediately agree with them, and called them stupid, notwithstanding the fact that this imported current of ideas was as little suited to pioneer life on the American prairie and the wild west as a newly starched and ironed cuff on the ankle of a Kamerun negro.

Syndicalism from France.

Then came with immigrants from France, Italy and Spain, the purely syndicalist current of ideas. If we were living in France, Italy or Spain, it would be the most natural thing in the world to be a syndicalist after their pattern. European syndicalism answers excellently to the industrial, economic and historic conditions of their countries and is in sweet consonance with the spirit of the people. But if we transplant their form of organization to America and try to fit this garment on the limbs of the American industrial giant it will fit him about as well as a lady's corset would fit a Jersey-Duroc hog.

Craft Unionism from England.

The most important importation in this line, however, is the craft union idea and the craft union movement. It was imported from England as a counter poison against the native and more dangerous Knights of Labor. Seldom has the danger of importing foreign ideas proved itself so plainly as in this case. It was a most fateful mistake of the American working class to ever appropriate this craft union strait-jacket to their rapidly growing industrial body. It was suited for the conditions of production corresponding to the conditions of private capitalism in Europe forty or fifty years ago, but lacked every justification in this country at the time when production was already passing over into the industrial stage. As a result of this mistake, we see at the present time, the amazing spectacle of a strike in the steel industry which, as one of the leaders asserts, really consists of twenty-four separate strikes by as many craft union internationals, in an industry where craft lines for all productive purposes have been completely abolished. The craft union principle fits American industrialism about as well as a birch-handled water-power hammer from a Swedish iron smithy would fit in an American rolling mill.

When all these imported ideas have proved themselves impossible for American conditions, one would have reason to believe and hope that these enthusiastic importers would quit importing and try a native, domestic product, but their repeated failures with importations for the last few decades, do not seem to have deterred them a bit.

Soviet from Russia.

No sooner had the Bolsheviks made their revolution in Russia and introduced a Soviet government before the importers of ideas, not only in America, but in many other countries, almost run us over and

trampled us down in the frenzied attempt to force upon us the Russian Soviets. This was about a year ago. Now the storm has abated. The importation of this idea was a very clumsy attempt at doing violence to the intelligence of the working class of other countries. The Soviet is an institution which has its roots in the history of the Russian people since time immemorial, and is the most natural thing in the world for the Russian people to adopt. But any attempt to force these Soviets upon other peoples and extinguish their own particular institutions is bound to be a failure. The would-be importers of Sovietism made the great mistake to believe that the Russian Revolution succeeded as far as it did by virtue of these Soviets, and that all that other peoples had to do was to import the Soviet form of government and the great job of the ages was done. But the fact is that the Russian Revolution succeeded, not because the Russians had their Soviets, but because the economic conditions were ripe for it and because the great majority of the Russian people really wanted a revolution. When it had smashed the social organs built up by autocracy, there remained no other basic social element but the old Soviet, and it was nothing but natural that the Russian people should take this, their own institution, as a basis of the society of the people. To try to force the Soviet institutions on all the American people which had its origin from all the corners of the earth, and which has an evolution and a history completely different from Russia's, and industrial conditions of an entirely different kind, would be almost as absurd as taking the Soviet or corresponding institution of the Zulu-Kaffirs or the Matabeles and try to jam the steel trust or the oil trust into them. The Soviet agitation has now almost stopped. People are recuperating from revolutionary hysterics and are getting their social bearings.

Shop-Stewardism from England.

But no sooner had the Soviet agitation begun to subside, before our importers of ideas were ready with a new experiment which is equally, if not more absurd. We mean the agitation for the shop-steward system from England.

As every sober and thinking worker knows, the English workers introduced the shop-steward system during the years of the war, as an emergency measure to complete and supplement the unwieldy craft union system. Divided as they were into sectional unions, or craft union internationals, they were deprived of all possibility of co-operation in the shop or at the place of work, exactly as now during the steel strike in America only temporary co-operation between the twenty-four craft union internationals, outside the workshop, has been established for strike purposes. As we have already pointed out, it is not an industrial strike, but twenty-four contemporaneous craft union strikes. Well, the English workers were compelled to undertake something in order to resist the capitalist class in spite of being hampered with craft unionism, and they invented this primitive substitute for industrial organization which gave them a

semblance of a possibility for industrial co-operation. They were in the same position as the farmer, a long way from home, when one of the wheels of the wagon breaks down. He loads the broken wheel on the wagon and puts a plank under the axle and thus slowly but safely brings his load home. The shop-steward system is the plank under the broken-down wagon of craft unionism. The shop-steward system is not a free-standing institution, suitable for taking over and running the industries. It is only a modern patch on an old garment, making a patch work of the whole, which, it is true, served its purpose to a certain extent in the hour of need. It saved the life of the dear old craft unions and coffin societies which the English workers in their blindness are trying to drag with them into the new society. Neither the craft unions separately, nor the shop-steward system separately, nor both together, are suitable as organs of production in the new society. For that purpose is required a One Big Union of Industrial Unions.

Our enthusiastic importers were, of course, immediately on the ground and wanted to import the shop-steward system to America. This patch work was only intended to save the craft unions and to serve as a superstructure on same, this system suited the English workers admirably in the hour of need, but we believe that the English workers would laugh themselves half to death if they found out that there really are people who seriously propose to make this emergency invention the basis of a new society. Just as the farmer in question would probably split his sides laughing if he saw his neighbors take the sound wheels off their wagons and substitute them with a plank.

It reminds us of the good old times. The courtiers saw the king was limping around on two canes, dragging one leg behind him. To his surprise the king soon saw the whole court and visitors from far away parts of the country leaning over two canes and miserably dragging one leg behind them. Surprised, the king called to one of his chamberlains and asked for an explanation of this cripple-epidemy. The chamberlain had to admit that the court and the aristocracy had adopted this method of walking because they thought it the only proper way to walk in the same manner as the king did. "Such fools," the king said, "I am limping and supporting myself on two canes only because I fell off the horse and hurt myself during the last boar hunt."

The American importers of ideas are of the same kind as these foolish courtiers. The English workers were unable to drag themselves ahead because they were sick with "craft-unionitis." For this reason they leaned on the canes of the shop-steward system, and with the aid of these canes they could move and drag their sick craft union leg with them.

The American importers who hate and despise everything that in native American, now all want to acquire craft-unionitis, in order to get occasion to

use the canes and the crutches of the shop-steward system, and thus be "up-to-date."

Why These Importations-

How shall we explain this stubbornness to import foreign forms and methods, when there are in existence domestic forms and methods which have grown out of American soil and American conditions just as naturally as the craft unions grew out of European soil, just as naturally as the Soviet grew out of Russian soil, just as naturally as syndicalism grew out of south European soil, and just as naturally as the shop-steward system grew out of the war conditions in England.

In our opinion this strange phenomenon is due to the fact that the great mass of organizable workers in America are foreigners or people of foreign origin, people who only with exceptions have gained enough knowledge of the English language, or sufficient vision of American conditions to really understand what America is and what it means. This explains how the Knights of Labor came to succumb when they tried to experiment themselves into a form of organization which better corresponded to purely American conditions than the form imported from Europe. And this explains why the Industrial Union idea has had such a desperate struggle before it finally went "over the top." This also explains why the same importers, even after they had in principle accepted the idea of Industrial Unionism, insist on pasting such outlandish excretions as the Soviet and the shop-steward system onto it.

Native Product the Only Suitable One.

The American working class, or the small part of it organized into the I. W. W., has propagated and developed the idea of industrial organization and brought it to such a shape that it is being adopted almost without change by countries with the same

industrial development, and it is perfectly able to complete the building of it with the material at hand now in our industrial society. It does not need to import exotic institutions, adapted to other conditions and other peoples.

That Canada and Australia should import the idea from us is entirely natural, for the difference between these three countries in industrial respect is little or nothing, only that Canada and Australia are perhaps half a dozen years behind America, tramping in its industrial footsteps. It is only natural that this purely American form of organization fits them also. It probably will fit other countries, too, as they are coming up from the rear along the path of industrial evolution, following one another in Indian file.

Let us quit importing everything that is of no use to us. We have lots to learn from the Russians in regard to proletarian solidarity and self-sacrificing service to the revolution; we have lots to learn from the South European workers in regard to direct action and democracy in the labor movement; we have lots to learn from the English in regard to stubborn resistance against all attempts to deprive them of their liberty, but we have little or nothing to learn from all of them, in regard to the best form of organization for American conditions. This form we have to think out ourselves, develop and adjust to the conditions as we meet them. To import a form suitable for other conditions is like importing Islam or Buddhism on the religious field into this country.

The I. W. W. is the correct expression of the form needed here in America, for it strives to build One Big Union of all the workers, commencing with One Big Union in the individual workshop and place of work, and continuing up to the top of society, so that it organically unites all the productive forces into one productive-distributive unit that will eventually comprise the whole world.

The I. W. W. Needs an Industrial Encyclopedia

By John Sandgren.

We are constantly reiterating to the workers: "Organize into Industrial Unions by means of which you will not only be able to unite on a common battle-front in every industry, but also to take over the industry, using your Industrial Union as the new organ of production."

This is the "One Big Union Idea" which is now sweeping over the world. Hundreds of thousands are joining the One Big Union in the various countries as a token of their unqualified endorsement of this general principle, but we are not satisfied. We are not progressing in the direction of our goal with the speed that is necessary in order that we may be able to take over production and the whole responsibility for the smooth running of human society when capitalism collapses.

This collapse of capitalism appears to be so imminent, so close upon our heels, that the whole

structure may be expected to tumble down over our heads most any moment. The gigantic strikes taking place in every country, one after the other, signify a state of affairs that is very disquieting to anyone with a spark of a sense of social responsibility.

It is simply dreadful to contemplate what would happen if these strikes for some unforeseen reason should break out into a general social conflagration which would stop all the wheels of industry, or nearly all, and throw the world's hundreds of millions of humans into almost inextricable disorder, with no guiding principle for reconstruction and restoration of order and system, without which human society cannot exist.

"But," you will say, "have we not got the One Big Union of Producers as our guiding principle; is not that enough?"

Yes, we have, but as a matter of fact, the One Big Union is as yet little more than a "glittering generality" to an insignificant number of workers.

Here in this country there are close to forty million people in "gainful occupations." Of these we have taken in about 50,000 new members in the I. W. W. from Sept. 1, 1918, to Sept. 1, 1919. How long would it take to organize the forty millions or to teach them Industrial Unionism at this rate?

What means have we of reaching these millions and teaching them? Is there not every probability that the guiding hand of the capitalist master will become paralyzed and drop the reins and allow society to run away and go to smash long before we become strong enough to take up the reins?

It is imperative that we quickly devise some means of reaching the mass of workers, placing the means in their hands to maintain social order and continue production when capitalism goes helplessly on the rocks. If we would save ourselves and survive, we have to save the whole working class.

You may say we are doing the best we can; we are preaching Industrial Organization by word of mouth, through a score of I. W. W. papers and magazines and dozens of books and pamphlets.

The writer maintains that we are not doing the best we can. We could do much more, and we must do it.

Practically everything we say and write is along general lines, very little of anything along special lines. We have formulated the theory of Industrial Unionism, but we have only to a limited extent carried it out in practice.

Very often workers from various industries come to our general headquarters telling us that there is a strong sentiment for One Big Union in their industry and that the workers would like to have further information on the subject. We may be able to furnish a speaker, or we may not. He may understand the industry, or he may not. We show the inquirer our booklets and our papers, but we must with embarrassment admit to ourselves that there is little in them that would serve as a practical guide for the workers in fitting themselves to take over and run their industry.

Time and again the writer has felt the absolute and urgent necessity of carrying our theory more into practical detail if we want to educate ourselves and our Fellow Workers into taking over and running the industries.

This urgent necessity could in our opinion best be met by publishing special Industrial Union Handbooks for each industry.

The I. W. W. has now under preparation an "I. W. W. Handbook," which will probably be out by the first of the year. This handbook will fill a long felt need. It will be written in the simplest possible language and serve as an A B C book for the worker. It will introduce him to the labor movement, giving him a survey of the whole field and show him in a general way that industrial organization is the only way of saving society and civilization. So far, so

good. But there this general handbook must stop. It cannot go into practical details for each industry, for it would then have to grow from a handbook into an industrial encyclopedia covering many bookshelves.

It is such an industrial encyclopedia that the I. W. W. now needs and must have, an encyclopedia consisting of several hundreds of handbooks, each one covering a separate industry.

By issuing such a series of handbooks we would be able to say to the workers of every industry: "Come to us for information. We are able to tell you how to organize your industry so that you will be able to take it over and weather the coming storm."

To begin with we should elaborate and publish handbooks for the basic industries, for agriculture, forestry, coal mining, metal mining, the foodstuffs, the shoe and clothing industry, general construction industry, and all branches of public service, continuing with handbooks for, for instance, the steel industry, the auto industry, the electrical industry, transportation, and so on to the end of the line.

These handbooks should not, of course, contain such information as is given in industrial and technical schools to any great extent. There are already technical handbooks for that purpose.

What our Industrial Union handbooks should contain would be along this line:

1st. An introduction referring to the above-mentioned I. W. W. Handbook and giving a general review of our plan of economic reconstruction of society, pointing out the necessity of industrial organization for the taking over of production. This introduction could be nearly the same in all handbooks.

2nd. A general description of the particular industry in question, a drawing of its technical boundary lines and a survey of the closely related industries by means of which it connects with general production.

3rd. A geographical and statistical survey of the industry with tables, giving number, name, location of plants, number employed, quantity and quality of output.

4th. Present state of ownership and management, giving list of owners, principal stockholders and managers.

5th. A study of raw materials, quality and quantity, and where and how they are obtained.

6th. Disposition of the product, quantity and quality needed, best manner of distribution, where plants should be logically located.

7th. Present state of organization of the workers, in that industry as well as in the country in general showing danger of lack of organization, futility of craft organization and necessity of industrial organization.

8th. Giving complete description of Industrial Union needed in the industry, its branches, districts and councils, stating where they ought to be located and how they ought to function.

9th. Giving relationship to other industrial unions.

10th. Giving advice as to how to go about spreading this handbook to all the workers in the industry and building up the organization, suggesting committees and by-laws needed.

11th. The preamble and constitution of the I. W. W. and address of the Industrial Union office.

12th. A stirring appeal to the workers to wake up to a realization of the responsibility resting on them to take over their line of production to save themselves and their fellowmen from social destruction by doing their share in building up a society of industrial communism.

The above are only extemporaneous suggestions, calculated to give a general idea of the outline of each handbook. For many industries perhaps a somewhat different plan would have to be adopted. A handbook of this kind would perhaps cover from 100 to 200 pages and sell at 25-50 cents. The writer is absolutely confident that the workers of every industry would fight for the possession of such a handbook, because it gives a picture of himself and his relations to his fellowmen, his hopes and possibilities in life. It would raise him from a hypnotized, isolated, hopeless drudge without a rational aim in life to a consciousness of world citizenship, self respect and social responsibility.

There would be as many such handbooks needed as there are producers, that is in this country about forty millions of them.

Is the I. W. W. able to tackle such a tremendous undertaking? The writer maintains that it is. Sev-

eral of its industrial unions now have funds on hand to undertake it. The sale of the handbook would quickly bring the money back and make it possible to issue new editions until every worker has a copy.

The thing to do is to immediately engage a man of learning, or several, a capable writer, who can study and handle statistics and who has a good general insight into American industrial life. He must of course, be in sympathy with our aims. There are scores of such men available, men who would find the happiness of their lives in just such work. And we are able to pay them and support them while they are doing it for us. Anyhow, it will mean only a temporary outlay, as the money expended will rapidly come back. At our first opportunity we should establish a special "Bureau of industrial research" for this purpose under the supervision of the right kind of man.

As soon as possible we should extend this work beyond the basic industries and cover every field of human activity, thus bringing the gospel of industrial organization and the new society to every worker in the land.

The writer, therefore, makes the suggestion that everyone of our industrial unions, at its next convention, take up the matter of issuing such a handbook for their industry and that they pledge the general office financial support for the issuing of such handbooks for one industry after another.

Thus we are guarding against the imminent danger of a social calamity of terrible proportions and making this country "safe for Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy."

The Story of the I. W. W.

By Harold Lord Varney

THE DRIVE FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Chapter 9.

A whirlwind drive for membership was continued throughout the Pennsylvania district. Through the steel towns, among the miners, in the big cities, meetings were held and locals were formed. Joseph Schmidt and Joseph J. Ettor traversed the state together, the one speaking in Lithuanian and Polish, the other in English.

In March, 1910, a terrible strike broke out in the steel mills of Bethlehem. Here men were working ten and twelve-hour shifts for wages that ran the scale from 12½ to 27 cents per hour. The wretchedness of the steel slaves of Bethlehem defies description. The city was practically controlled by Charles M. Schwab, the mill owner. His 10,000 employes were the sole workers.

The I. A. of M. took charge of the strike from the beginning. But it was palpably incompetent to manage it. The majority of the strikers were unskilled workers and Slavic in race. When I. W. W. representatives arrived they were welcomed by the A. F. of L. leaders, who hoped to reap the benefit of their work. A great meeting was called for the foreign

workmen. Schmidt and Ettor, both mere boys, carried the audience by storm. The foreign workers came out of the mills almost to a man. Then the I. W. W. method of mass picketing was installed. For a time it seemed as though Bethlehem was going to be another I. W. W. strike.

But dissension soon arose. The A. F. of L. leaders, fearing that they would lose control, began to discredit the organizers of the I. W. W., and the latter having no meeting place, were unable to reach the strikers in reply. The A. F. of L. won out and Schmidt and Ettor were debarred from the strike. But this was the undoing of the I. A. of M. Having nothing to offer the unskilled workers, they soon saw the enthusiasm dying down. The general A. F. of L. organization gave them comparatively no financial aid and, although the strike dragged on for several weeks, they were eventually starved into submission. Since that day the workers of Bethlehem have never made another attempt to break the iron grip of the open shop.

In working the Pennsylvania district the I. W. W. developed an international system of propaganda. The industrial centers in the east team with foreign workers. In order to reach every race, a team of

organizers would be sent out, each speaking a different language. Thus the race handicap was completely overcome.

These tactics were very successfully employed in the Scranton coal district. This district, the largest anthracite producer in the United States, had begun to break away from the U. M. W. of A. at about this time. The miners were sick of the contract system and were suspicious of the U. M. W. of A. leaders. The nucleus of an I. W. W. organization was created here which, with many alternate ups and downs, has persisted to this day. The I. W. W. has maintained organizers in Scranton almost continuously since 1910 in anticipation of the next great anthracite strike.

The employing class were not idle at this juncture. They fought the I. W. W. every step of the way. Their heaviest attack was at Newcastle. Here the new I. W. W. organ, *Solidarity*, was attaining an alarming circulation. The *Newcastle Free Press*, a Socialist Party paper, had also become outspoken in its advocacy of Industrial Unionism. The strike of the tin plate workers was still raging and these two papers were becoming the nucleus of all organizing activity in the district. With the adeptness with which the ruling class always bends the law to its purposes, an old, obsolete statute requiring the publication of the names of the owners of all newspapers was excavated and used against these two papers. The editorial staffs of both papers were hauled into court and tried on this statute. They were found guilty and fined \$100 and costs. The managers of the *Free Press* appealed their case, but the I. W. W. decided to go to jail and serve the fine. The victims of this free press fight were McCarty, Stirton, Williams, Jacobs, Fix and Moore. While they were imprisoned *Solidarity* still continued to appear, Grover H. Perry, a young Newcastle member, stepping forward to take the place of the previous editors. If anything, this persecution gave the paper just the prestige which it desired. It has been consistently true that every persecution which has sought to destroy the I. W. W. has been the very instrument of its growth. Other charges were later pressed against the steadfast *Solidarity* "bunch," but they continued the fight and weathered the storm. The struggle which it cost to keep this weekly paper alive during those early days is a vivid story of suffering and grit. Only the buoying faith of a great ideal could have pulled it through and enabled it to survive.

On November 21, 1910, another I. W. W. strike broke out in the east, this time in Brooklyn, N. Y. Here, the shoe workers, who had long been organized in the A. F. of L., had become disgusted with the infamous contract system which that union imposed. A campaign in behalf of the I. W. W. was waged among them by Joe Ettor. It resulted in the formation of Shoe Workers' Industrial Union, No. 118 of the I. W. W. Organization was but the preliminary to a bitter strike. The A. F. of L., claiming that they regarded themselves as bound by their contracts, im-

ported union men to scab upon the strikers. The struggle was fought hard on both sides. It is estimated that over \$200,000 was spent by the employers' association to prevent the I. W. W. from winning the strike. In the face of a united opposition, from both employers and craft unionists, the outlook became hopeless for the I. W. W. and the strike was called off. Some slight concessions were wrung from the employers, but the I. W. W. was unable to hold its membership among the workers. A sad aftermath of the strike was the conviction of Vincent Buccafiori, one of the strike leaders, who was sentenced to ten years in Sing Sing for shooting a foreman in self defense. The Brooklyn shoe strike was not important, but it served to spread the reputation of the I. W. W. in the east.

In the meantime the class struggle in the west was unabated. After Spokane, many other brief but bitter fights were waged in the western states. The migratory workers of Washington, Oregon and Montana were saturated with I. W. W. sentiment. Efforts were made to extend the zone of influence into California. The migratory element in California differs somewhat from that of the states further north. It is less militant. Considerable headway was made, however.

One of the centers of propaganda in California was Fresno. Here, at the very center of the great fruit belt, the agricultural workers began to line up in great numbers. The employers and city officials became alarmed. Of course, the method of propaganda in Fresno was street meetings. Just as in Spokane, the city officials determined to crush the organization by denying it freedom of speech. Street meetings were forbidden, leading members were arrested or warned out of town. Speakers were pulled off from the box.

The I. W. W. retaliated by calling a free speech fight. This fight began October 16, 1909, and it lasted until March 8 of the following year. Calls were sent broadcast over the country for volunteers who would go to jail. And they came. From Seattle, from Portland, from Denver and St. Louis and from all the California locals, men poured in to Fresno to fight for free speech. A tent was set up outside the city limits where all the recruits were received and instructed before they entered the city. No lawyers were employed. When a group of men were brought into court, some rough-clad member would step forward out of the group and surprise the court by putting forward a cultured and masterful defense. Or else, the members would all agree to show their contempt for court procedure by refusing to utter a word. For three months 85 men lay in the jail, obstinate in their refusal to compromise the case. Dignified judges and lawyers were helpless to act. Never before had they seen such men, men who seemed to scoff at the legal penalties which other men cringe before; men who welcomed a jail and smiled through their suffering.

In the early spring word came to Fresno that 200 men had mustered at Sacramento, 200 miles away,

and were about to march on Fresno. These reinforcements were largely composed of veterans from Spokane. A chill of fear spurred the city officials to quick action. They endeavored to treat with some leader of the I. W. W. To their surprise, they were greeted with the strident reply, "We are all leaders!" A committee of citizens visited the prisoners. After unsuccessfully angling for a compromise, they at last reached an agreement. The I. W. W. won every point. The men were released from jail and the work of propaganda proceeded throughout the San Joaquin valley.

Another rather serious handicap to organization in California was presented by the A. F. of L. Although the leaders of that organization had always been cold to every appeal of the unskilled and migratory workers, they could not view the advance of the I. W. W. without alarm. In order to offset it, a convention was called by Andrew Fureseth and Olaf Tveitmoe, two of the California leaders of the A. F. of L. and a new organization of unskilled workers, the United Laborers, was launched and affiliated with the A. F. of L. This organization made very little headway, but it allowed itself to be used to deadlock many of the organizing attempts of the I. W. W. In the north the A. F. of L. invaded the lumber industry also. Before the I. W. W. appeared upon the scene the lumber worker was scorned as an "unorganizable hobo." The success of the N. I. U. of F. & L. W. roused the A. F. of L. to emulation. An International Union of Shingle Weavers was formed and began a strenuous campaign to organize the millmen. They were moderately successful and in the future lumber struggles in Washington this union was a consistent foe of the I. W. W.

The Fifth Convention of the I. W. W. had passed in 1910 without any noteworthy changes. St. John had been re-elected General Secretary, and Trautmann General Organizer. At the Sixth Convention, in 1911, the delegates were equally harmonious. It seemed as though a new spirit had gripped the union since the impossibilist element had been eliminated. The perpetual wranglings of the first three years were no longer heard. The only rivalries which now arose, were rivalries of sacrifice and competitions of achievement.

A small element of anarchists had been dissatisfied that the Fourth Convention did not definitely commit the organization to an anti-political stand. Neutrality on the political issue, they asserted, was not sufficient. But the bulk of the membership were not disposed to take an official anti-political position. At the Sixth Convention a motion of that nature was voted down without comment. This was the last occasion on which a political issue has been raised in an I. W. W. convention. The first rumblings of the coming controversy over decentralization were also heard at this convention, but no serious disagreement was reached. Vincent St. John and James P. Thompson were elected as the general officers for the year 1912-13.

Many of the anarchist element were drawn away from the I. W. W. shortly after this convention, by the Foster incident. This incident was extremely valuable as a means of clarifying the mind of the movement and hence is worth recounting. At the International Labor Conference held in Budapest, August 10, 1911, the I. W. W. sought recognition as the official labor movement of America, on a par with the A. F. of L. William Z. Foster, one of the Pacific coast organizers of the I. W. W., was sent to Budapest as a representative. Of course the A. F. of L. combatted the proposed move with all of its influence and, although the Confederation General du Travail of France championed the I. W. W., the convention voted not to seat Foster. On his return trip Foster had occasion to study the form and tactics of the revolutionary C. G. T. and he soon became convinced that its methods were superior to those of the I. W. W. Returning to America, he began a strenuous propaganda for the revision of the organization upon the basis of European syndicalism.

The difference is a radical one. In France, the revolutionary unions have never formed an independent organization. Instead they have entered the existing craft unions, and in many cases have gained control of them. Consequently, in 1911, when Foster was in France he found the C. G. T. almost entirely controlled by the revolutionists. Hence, he argued, the I. W. W. members should do the same in the United States. Instead of forming a rival union, they should support the A. F. of L. and "bore from within."

It was true that this was the method of syndicalism in nearly every European country. In France, in England, in Italy, the syndicalist organizations were mere propaganda leagues whose membership was restricted to trade union card holders. Foster falsely reasoned then that such should be the tactics of the American syndicalists, the I. W. W. In reality there has never been any official connection between the I. W. W. and the European syndicalist organizations. The I. W. W. claims to stand apart, it has an international jurisdiction of its own and, although it has never attempted to do so, its principles would even permit of the formation of I. W. W. administrations in countries where the syndicalists are in control of the craft unions. The I. W. W. has always claimed to be a step in advance of the syndicalists. The basic ideals of syndicalism are anarchistic; the basic ideals of the I. W. W. socialistic. Syndicalism is the intellectual offspring of Bakunin; the I. W. W. of Marx.

This is well demonstrated in the form which the I. W. W. has assumed. The European syndicalists are not fundamentally opposed to craft unionism. They have often displayed a strong predilection for industrial autonomy rather than for industrial solidarity. The syndicalist ideal is a labor movement which is a federation of autonomous groups; in the I. W. W. local and industrial autonomy is completely superseded. The tendency of the I. W. W. is toward higher and higher centralization. In this respect of

form the I. W. W. is more closely akin to the German than to the French labor movement.

As stated in a previous chapter, the I. W. W. is the child of American conditions. It found industry centralized and trustified by a peculiarly American mode of production, therefore, it shaped itself in a corresponding mold. In France industry is decentralized and skill is still a factor; therefore the C. G. T. has assumed a craft form. It is as futile to build an American labor movement upon the premise of French conditions, as it would have been for a French union to have shaped itself to American peculiarities.

The only element in the I. W. W. which responded to Foster's propaganda was a small faction of anarchists. This group had always been opposed to the centralized power of the General Office. In the early part of 1912 they followed Foster out of the I. W. W. They were not numerous. They numbered probably less than a hundred. Leaving the I. W. W., they formed the Syndicalist League of North America. This league never grew. Despite desperate efforts by Tom Mooney among the molders and Foster and Dezettel among Chicago building trades, the net result of their attempt was failure. The organization dropped to pieces and most of its members, instead of converting the conservatives to revolutionary unionism, became themselves the victims of their new environment and degenerated into the mold of conservative unionists.

An influence which began to give the I. W. W. considerable strength at this time, was the support of a considerable group of left wing Socialist. Simons, Sherman and the group of Socialist Party members who had been so much in evidence during the first year, had lost their interest in revolutionary unionism, as soon as it slipped from their control. The succeeding years of the I. W. W. were so dismal that few Socialists were attracted by what seemed to be a doomed experiment. But the new vitality which had evidenced itself at McKees Rocks and Spokane, began to attract the interest of another large group of Socialist Party members. This minority, known as the "Reds," were ready to give their support to any experiment in direct action which seemed to promise fruitful results. William D. Haywood, who had been only intermittently active in the I. W. W. since the first year, now began to loom large as a candidate for the leadership in the Socialist Party. At the party referendum in 1911, Haywood was elected a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Gifted as he was with the strongest personality in the American labor movement, Haywood soon became a power in the party. Many believed that he would become the candidate for president in 1912. Haywood never failed to throw the weight of his influence in favor of the I. W. W. whenever chance presented itself. Many of the "Reds" took out cards in the I. W. W. Others spoke favorably of it in the party.

Of course the A. F. of L. element, which has al-

ways been dominant in the Socialist Party, resented this move. A bitter controversy was soon engendered which hinged largely about the respective merits of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. But, regardless of future developments, the influence of Haywood among the Socialists was peculiarly fortunate at this moment, when the I. W. W. stood upon the threshold of the greatest struggle of its career.

The opening of 1912 was a landmark and a turning point for the I. W. W. It seemed as though all the work of the previous years was but a preparation for the events that were to come. At this point we will pause for a brief resumé.

Roughly speaking, the I. W. W. had passed through three periods. The first period was the period of Sherman's presidency. The net result of the first year was failure. Success was doomed by the lack of a unified aim and tactics.

The second period, from 1906-08, was the period of S. L. P. control. What little strength yet remained from the first controversy, was now almost annihilated by the second. Vagueness and division stifled all prospect of growth.

The real beginning of the I. W. W. dates from the beginning of the third period. Its policy became clear and *unmistakable*. It avoided the Scylla of politics and it was equally preserved from the Charybdis of anarchism. Its tactics took form. It found the real following which had been waiting for its call. The I. W. W. of 1912 had ceased to be the playground of factions. It had taken on an identity and individuality of its own. Its members no longer thought of themselves as Socialists, as S. L. Ps. or as Anarchists, but as I. W. Ws. The organization had become a distinct and exclusive grouping in the labor movement.

The result was something more than a union. The very boldness of its ideal and its methods was the magnet which drew together the bravest spirits of the labor movement. All those workers, whose veins were charged with the red blood of fearless action, felt drawn by the deeds of the I. W. W.

Strengthened by such a following, the I. W. W. had become the greatest dynamic force in the American revolutionary movement. It was greater than a union. It fought not only for shorter hours and greater wages; it supplemented its economic activity by a form of political activity. It had struggled for the right of free press in Newcastle. It had battled for free speech in Spokane and Fresno. It threw itself into the field and waged war for every need of the workers.

By the beginning of 1912 the place of the I. W. W. in the labor movement was firmly fixed. But, to the general public, it was yet unknown. The winning tactics of the organization had never yet been applied upon a scale large enough to attract national interest. It needed the publicity of a first class struggle to vindicate these tactics beyond dispute. This publicity was given by the Lawrence strike.

THE LUMBERJACK

By D. S. Dietz

It was a labor picnic. A crowd, packed within a circle, the radius of which was equal to the distance a strong voice would carry, was listening to the speeches. During the speaking the whole body of picnickers was very quiet. Those who could not get within hearing distance were scattered about in twos and threes; also, in other small groups of varying sizes, all talking earnestly in subdued tones. From the viewpoint of organizations, the crowd was mixed.

I noticed a strong built and reasonably well dressed man whose tanned face indicated his work was of the great outdoors; he was seated alone, contemplating the picnic scene. I approached, seated myself beside him, and vouchsafed: "Well, some picnic!"

"Yes, some picnic," he said, hesitatingly, "but," he continued earnestly and rapidly, "they don't seem to get to any point of understanding. One reason is, the world is too damn full of proposals. Smooth words and smiles are always fish bait. The great body of workers seem to be looking for something to swallow; but I guess the politicians will have to do more than spit on the bait this time. I can see a change since ten years ago. Workers are not so quick to open their mouths at every word that sparkles, nor to smiles that lie. That is the sign that they will get to a point of common understanding. I don't believe in speech-making myself. I believe in doing it. You see, the lumber barons, preachers and politicians did not come one day with nice words and smiles, sheets, pillows and baths for us in the camps. Oh, no! We demanded them and organized to enforce the demands; then we had the better conditions and the smiles, while they had the scowls. That's what we call revolutionary. Turning the thing around, reversing it; instead of asking the masters or their politicians for anything, we make demands, then do all we can to enforce them. Labor's got to quit the defensive and take the offensive. If labor don't, there'll be another thirty million of us shot and starved to death because of the intrigue of the masters and politicians. Always individual leadership has led, periodically, to wholesale slaughter."

At that moment I flashed my card, whereupon he smiled, then remarked, disappointedly:

"Well, I guess I'm wasting my time talking to you. The 'Wobblies' all understand. I don't need to explain to you."

Frankly, I was interested and wanted him to continue; therefore I ventured thus: "Tell me, Fellow Worker, in your own way, how best to organize for the final overthrow of the masters."

"Hell's fire! Just the same way we organize to get the logs out. Get an engineer to blue print the road which is to lead into the timber. We got that. That is the 'Preamble.' Then get the road staked out. That's the 'Constitution.' Now, we grade the

road and lay the ties and steel, which is establishing the main lines of communication. We're doing that. Then we run in car loads of 'rigging,' put up 'high leads,' having great numbers of guy lines. Let us call the spar-trees central points and the guy lines lesser lines of communication. Why, the 'Wobblies' are putting up spar-trees all over the continent! A logging camp is a miniature industrial world. If you are going to reorganize the world, do it on the job. The masters run the world by organizing the job their way. We'll organize the job our way for ourselves. We are 80 per cent of the people. All that is necessary is for the 80 per cent to get sense enough to realize that we should produce for use, not for swag. The 80 per cent already know how to handle the job. We are naturally social. When we cast out political hypocrisy we will at once become communistic. Then we shall throw a 'choker' around Wall street, another about the hallowed statue of liberty and give the engineer the highball. That's all. Just merely say so, when the rigging is all set."

About this time the speaking of the day finished, amidst great applause. The dancing, Dutch auctions, general bustle and laughter began simultaneously. The logger and myself also arose. At parting, he admonished as follows:

"As fast as you meet those A. F. of L. members, tell them that the workers for centuries have met with periodical slaughter because of leaders. Cut the leaders."

The Traffic Flags

By O. A. Kennedy.

Red flags, flapping in the wind,
What do the North winds say?
The North winds are chill winds,
From Russia's steppes they blow;
They sing shrill songs of liberty,
And tyrants' overthrow.

Red flags, flaunting in the street,
What do the East winds say?
The East winds are fair winds,
They bring good news to all;
From many a coast and hinterland
They bear the comrades' call.

Red flags, gleaming in the sun,
What do the South winds say?
The South winds are soft winds,
They waft from Mexico;
And Argentina calls to us
Cross summer zones aglow.

Red flags, standing there on guard,
What do the West winds say?
The West winds are bold winds,
They sweep in from the sea,
And whosoever breathes of them
Shall fight for liberty.

A Letter to the Editor

Dallas, Tex., Oct. 5, 1919.

Dear Editor: I am glad to see you are insisting on articles dealing with the economics of industry for, unless I am greatly mistaken, the day is not far distant when the workers, whether they will or not, will be FORCED to take over the operation and management of the industries. I agree with Nearing that a panic meaning the literal collapse of Capitalism is impending in the United States; this despite all the feverish activity now going on in the markets.

I note that one fellow worker recently stated that the workers were not interested in the price of Packard cars, but my guess is that they are, and vitally so, for the reason that all labor wasted on the production of luxuries for the kept classes is just so much bread, clothing and shelter TAKEN AWAY from the workers.

I note further than some of the fellow workers are holding that there is no such thing as "The Public," but there IS; the error they are falling into is simply this: In Capitalist society there are TWO Publics—the Public of the Workers, and that of the Bourgeoisie, and we must, necessarily, appeal of the Working Class Public to defend the working class interests and prisoners. This is true, or we would not need to publish papers and magazines, nor to put out speakers. It is true that the Capitalists know what we are after, just as we know what they are after, but the MASSES don't, and the Capitalists are working overtime to keep them from ever knowing what Industrial Democracy means.

This reminds me that I disagree with your use of the term "Industrial Communism," for it was we who first popularized the term "Industrial Democracy," this to distinguish the final aim of the I. W. W. from State Socialism and, by so doing, not only "talked American," but put the Capitalists, the Craftists and the State-Goddards on the defensive; we compelled them to drop the use of the British and German languages in the United States and, as soon as they were forced to do this, the workers began to "catch on," and now it is being insisted that we again quit "talking American" and go to talking Russian. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Lenin would be among the first to condemn us for this.

I enclose you a clipping from a local paper giving an account of Governor Robertson's (of Oklahoma) wholehearted endorsement of the mobbing of Senator Reed at Ardmore in that state. You will note that that super-patriot and revolution obsquatulator, Ole Hanson of Seattle, also spoke likewise. The day before the local papers quoted Robertson as saying, "If it were an I. W. W. going over the country speaking against the government of the United States the Republicans would favor giving him the same treatment as that accorded Senator

James A. Reed." And so they would. But, how soon legalized illegality is coming home to roost!

Also the local papers have been full of the recent "race war" at Elaine, Arkansas, only the later dispatches tell that it is like all the rest of the "race wars" I've seen in Dixie, at the bottom a struggle between landlords and tenants. In this "race war" several WHITE men have been arrested, and the dispatches state that a "committee of seven prominent business men," that is to say, a committee of landlords and credit merchants, have assumed the power to inquire into the trouble and fix the blame for the rioting, and as usual, and as a matter of course, these gentlemen are themselves in nowise to blame; they never are, for the PROLETARIAT CAN DO NO WRONG.

This is the third Union of Tenant Farmers to be broken up in this manner, the others being the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association of West Texas and the Working Class Union of Oklahoma, against both of which the Espionage Law was used.

I said in the beginning that the "Democratic" party, or rather the forces back of it, would attempt to use the war to extend the "Solid South" over the entire nation, as I said that Gompersism would attempt to use it to destroy the I. W. W., and I'm beginning to think I was "some" prophet.

But despite it all the Workers still persist in trying to organize for Industrial and Agricultural Freedom, and this is the only hopeful thing in this country today, for the Workers alone can save society from chaos.

Your for the liberty of man, woman and child, regardless of creed, race or color.

Covington Ami.

(Editor's Note—In regard to the use of the terms "Industrial Communism" and "Industrial Democracy," we wish to repeat what we said in a previous number of this magazine, namely, that Industrial Communism refers to the system of ownership in the society for which we strive, while Industrial Democracy refers to the system of management. The two of them complete one another as brief descriptions of the new society. Industrial Communism is the sixth of the evolutionary stages of property, these being Primitive Communism, Family Collectivism, Feudalism, Private Capitalism, Collective Capitalism and Industrial Communism. The term is no importation from Russia. The writer has used it for years long before the Russian Communists were heard of. It will be found in an article of his in the tenth anniversary number of *Solidarity* (1915) and also as a title of a book, called "From Primitive to Industrial Communism," written in Swedish in 1911 and published by the Swedish Syndicalists, 1914. The expression is being universally adopted by syndicalists of Northern Europe as a convenient term by which to describe the system of ownership for which we strive. Recently Fellow Worker Harold Lord Varney has written a pamphlet called "Industrial Communism—The I. W. W.," in which he demonstrates the fitness of the term as a brief summary of our program from the standpoint mentioned.)

Any fellow workers knowing the whereabouts of Fellow Worker Henry Pierce communicate with Charles Pierce, Oroville, Wash. Important.—Central Prop. Comm., Seattle Branches. (Seal.)

I. W. W. IN MEXICO

The newly formed Communist Party in Mexico has taken the initiative in gathering the existing labor organizations in Mexico into a common organization on the lines of the I. W. W.

The following are excerpts from their manifesto on this question:

7. We strongly endorse the organization known as the "I. W. W.," or Industrial Workers of the World, as offering the most practicable and constructive means of uniting the workers and preparing them for the task of taking control of industry. We regard the One Big Union a indispensable if the working class is to gain the power necessary to own and direct the factories, mines, land and resources of the world. For this reason we denounce the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations which divide the workers into separate craft unions with conflicting interests, and we oppose all compromise with these organizations or their representatives. Believing Industrial Unionism the most important branch of Revolutionary Communist tactics, we urge all members of the Communist Party to become members of industrial unions, preferable the I. W. W., and all members of

industrial unions to become members of the Communist Party, so that the dual forms of activity may be efficiently co-ordinated.

b) Industrial organization of the masses by formation of a Mexican branch of the I. W. W. with headquarters in Mexico City and local unions in all parts of the republic in accordance with the constitution of the I. W. W. These unions to be used as weapons of the working class for securing temporary gains in wages and working conditions, for forcing important concessions from the capitalists and capitalistic governments and for eventually establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Existing Unions and syndicates to be changed, when ever possible, to conform to the rules of the I. W. W., so that they may affiliate with that organization. Strikes, boycotts and sabotage to be used for immediate benefits and more particularly as practice that will be valuable when the time comes for the general strike.

c) Constant and intelligent co-operation between the Communist Party and the industrial unions of Mexico and the Communist Parties and industrial unions of other countries.

PRINTERS OF MEXICO CITY ORGANIZE IN THE I. W. W.

You will be interested to know that the printers in Mexico City are planning to organize an industrial union. They had a craft union up to a few months ago, but internal troubles split it up. Since then all their activities have been discontinued. The reactionary element evidently will do nothing further, which is a source of gratification, while the radical element will be the organizers of the new industrial union. They are waiting for the arrival of the literature from your headquarters and will probably organize a day or two after it comes as an I. W. W. union. Several other industrial unions will be organized here soon, too.—Linn A. E. Gale.

ATTENTION, MEMBERS OF NO. 480!

Fellow Workers:

All members of Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 480 are urged to communicate with the secretary-treasurer, Gust Anderson, 1715 Twelfth avenue, Rockford, Ill., at once, and take out credentials.

Fellow Workers, if you want to see the end of capitalism and the advent of industrial democracy, you must do your utmost to spread the propaganda of industrial unionism and to organize your fellow workers on the job. The secretary and organization committee of your union are anxious to make No. 480 a factor in the struggle for industrial supremacy of the workers. Get in touch with them and co-operate with them in any way you can.

Yours for industrial solidarity,
Thos. Whitehead, Gen. Secy.-Treas.

WHAT SEATTLE DOES WITH OLD PAPERS

"The copies for June which we gave away were fairly well placed," writes Fellow Worker Speakman of Seattle, "some of them going from house to house in the residence district and others were taken out to Woodland Park on Sundays and scattered among the crowds. We had a house to house canvass yesterday and covered a large portion of the working class districts of the city and got rid of five or six thousand old papers, some of which had been accumulating at the plant where the Industrial Worker is printed, and some bundles of Solidarity which had been held by the express people until too late to sell. You can use this for publication if you like, also let Fellow Worker Payne have same, and possibly the membership in other parts of the country will go and do likewise. A committee from the recruiting union here mapped the city out in routes and made cards which were used by the distributors."

Do thou likewise!

THE RUSSIAN I. W. W. PAPER

(All I. W. W. Locals and Agents Take Notice)

Golos Truzenika, the I. W. W. paper in Russian, which has hitherto been a weekly paper, will from now on be issued three times a week. Subscription price, 1 year, \$5; six months, \$2.75; three months, \$1.50; single copies, 3 cents.

I. W. W.'s magazine in Russian, *Trudovaja Misl*, will be continued as a monthly. Subscription price, one year, \$2; single copies, 15 cents.

The German I. W. W. Paper

On the last page of the One Big Union Monthly is found a list of twenty-one I. W. W. publications. They all deserve to be treated as if they were written in your own language. They all have the same purpose to serve, namely, to enlighten the workers on the greatest of world issues of all times, i. e., on industrial organization for the purpose of enabling the people to come into their own by taking over the means of production and distribution and operating them.

But there is one of the papers to which we want to call special attention at this time and that is the German I. W. W. paper, **Der Klassenkampf** (The Class Struggle.)

We do not want to single it out from the other twenty-one publications, but we want to point out the particular importance of this paper. There is no foreign language spoken so extensively in the United States as the German language. It is estimated that it is spoken by four to five millions of people. German speaking workers are found in every industry, in every line of occupation, and for this reason this paper has perhaps greater possibilities than any other foreign language paper of the I. W. W. We would not be a bit surprised to soon find it with a larger circulation than any other I. W. W. paper, provided it is given the right kind of support at the start.

Until this year the German speaking workers have been represented in the I. W. W. only by a few scattered individuals, the large mass of German speaking workers being identified with the craft union movement and the movement of political socialism.

The experience of late years seems to have brought about a change. The German speaking workers are beginning to see that industrial unionism offers the only solution of the social problem.

Let us grasp the opportunity and lead this sentiment into furrows where it will be effective and productive of lasting good for the American workers. This can be done only by molding this sentiment into an acceptance of I. W. W. principles as the correct expression of world industrial unionism.

Thus it becomes the duty of every I. W. W. local and every I. W. W. member to do everything in their power to build up this paper as well as the others, and especially is this the duty of the German speaking members of the I. W. W.

The paper is new. It needs funds to cover the initial expenses and the current expenses while it is building up a circulation. It needs cash contributions, it needs subscribers and it needs bundle orders. Let us all see to it that this important paper gets started right. After that it will take care of itself.

Address "Der Klassenkampf," 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

Raising of the Dues

The Stand of Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 6, 1919.

To all Fellow Workers in the I. W. W.:

There has been a referendum ballot issued by the G. E. B. calling for a raise of dues from fifty cents to \$1. The importance of this ballot has been called to our attention by the Paterson Branch of Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1,000. The referendum ballot is a proposed amendment to the constitution. In Article 10 of the constitution it clearly states:

"Section I. Proposed amendments to the constitution shall be in the hands of the general secretary-treasurer and printed in the official publication at least two months before the assembling of the convention."

"Section II. All proposed amendments to the constitution and by-laws shall clearly state the article, section and paragraph to which the amendment applies. New articles and sections shall be so stated. Each clause to be amended shall be on a separate sheet."

The twelfth convention of the I. W. W., held in Chicago in May of this year, decided upon a universal dues of 50 cents after considering all phases of the subject. Furthermore, when the referendum on the subject was submitted to the membership the resolution on universal initiation fee and dues was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Now the membership of Minneapolis have given the question of injury to the I. W. W. as a whole (through this action) considerable thought and discussion on the subject led to the adoption of the following motion.

"Moved and seconded that the members of the Minneapolis branch go on record in favor of declaring the referendum (calling for a raise of dues) null and void. Carried."

It was also moved and seconded and carried: "That we send to all branches of the I. W. W. a communication notifying them of our action."

We ask all branches and individual members not only to consider the welfare of their respective unions, but also to remember that the entire organization and its influence with the workers is a big thing.

We believe that it is possible to find a better medium through which to raise funds than increasing the dues.

Please bring this before your branch at its next meeting and let the G. E. B. and our branch know what you have done.

JOINT RESOLUTION COMMITTEE.

Tom Doyle, Wm. Gorham, Frank H. Bohanon.
Address all communications to

ALBERT ANZ,
14 So. First St., Minneapolis, Minn.

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

Bulletin No. 20.

1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

October 10, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

Owing to the fact that officials of No. 600 are elected for a period of one year only and that the present term is almost up, this office, after consultation with organization committee members has decided to put out a call for nominees for the organization committee members and secretary-treasurer, the organization committee to consist of five members, chairman included. The by-laws of No. 600 state that the candidate for secretary-treasurer must be a member in good standing at least two years, six months of which has been in the R. R. W. I. U. No. 500. All candidates for organization committee must be members in good standing at least one year, six months of which shall have been in the R. R. W. I. U. No. 600. Nominations will close November 10, 1919. Be sure to get your nominee's name and card number, also his address, to this office by that time.

Organization work is increasing very rapidly. Over 250 new members were initiated by No. 600 in September. Many new delegates have been placed on the job in various parts of the country. The sentiment is growing stronger day by day. The time is ripe for action as the railroad workers are asking for information about the O. B. U. form of organization and we need thousands of delegates to help us inform the railroad workers about the O. B. U. Each and every member should make it a point to become a job delegate. The job delegate system is the backbone of the organization, consequently the more job delegates, the stronger the backbone. If you are anxious to get better working conditions and more of the good things of life, call or write for credentials and supplies today, and organize your fellow workers that are working alongside of you, and then you will have a chance to get better working conditions. Do not wait for "George" to do it. If you do, you will never get it, for "George" is waiting for you. We fell short of the 500 members in September, now let us see if we cannot complete that number, over 500, in October. Let each member put his shoulder to the wheel and put No. 600 "over the top."

MEMBERS TAKE NOTICE! A stool pigeon who is working in the employ of the railroad company at Little Falls, Minn., is posing as a job delegate and has a red card and organizers' credentials. We cannot get the card number nor the number of the credentials, but he is just using this to get close to the workers so that he can SAP them up—so, be careful when going through Little Falls. Any member who can get the number of his card or the number of his credentials, please send same to this office so that we can advertise same.

We have the bosses worrying here in Bloomington, Ill. They sure are getting desperate for information. They are trying awfully hard to find out something about the strength of the O. B. U. here. They have had several expert investigators on the job trying to get this information for them. These experts have secured a list of names of members in Bloomington and they gave the number as 970. It surprises us that they did not find more than this number, and they will be very much surprised when they find out that this figure is only a small portion of the members in Bloomington. The superintendent of the C. & A. Ry. is running around in circles trying to get information. The more circles he makes, the more muddled he becomes. He is going to keep on running and the workers in Bloomington are determined that he shall run square into a pair of overalls. The greatest trouble we have is to keep supplied with literature. Whenever we get a supply on hand, it seems to be gone before we can turn around. Please double our orders of papers and magazines. All the delegates and members here are working hard to make this an I. W. W. town in a very short time. The only talk you can hear in this town is about the O. B. U. or the I. W. W. Everyone is talking on the subject. The sentiment is awfully strong in all industries here. Keep your eyes on Bloomington, for we will soon have a solid organized town.
(Signed) Delegate No. X-1001.

This issue of the O. B. U. Monthly Magazine contains two very good articles on the railroad situation by old railroad men. One is headed "The life of a Trackman," written by an old time track man. The other is regarding the situation in the shops and the railroads in general and is written by a railroad machinist. There are also some other very good articles. — How many O. B. U. Monthly Magazines can you use? Send in your order at once, for these go like "hot cakes."

The sentiment is growing strong along the Western Pacific, from Elko to Wendover. Many delegates are needed in this section of the country. Members desiring credentials can get same by writing to this office, giving their name and address, also card number.

Trainmen working out of Whitefish, Montana, unload all but red-card men. They sympathize with the I. W. W., but will not join unless they can see where they will get immediate returns. They do not want to do any of the fighting themselves, because it is easier to let "George" do it. They do not know that by their taking out a card and getting busy that it will help to abolish Child Slavery, cut the working hours and eventually would be the full product of their toil. The "Big Four" is after the O. B. U. hard in and around Whitefish. Delegates

here declare that all members of No. 400, No. 500, No. 573, and other Industrial Unions must have at least one Railroad Magazine Stamp in their book to ride on their trains. All these Delegates are supplied with these stamps. Members desiring to ride their trains can get these stamps from these Delegates.

The Railroad Magazine Stamp which is in the field selling at 50c each is not sold for the purpose of putting out a magazine, but it is used for the purpose of giving away free literature among the railroad men, also to create a fund to be used to place Organizers on the railroads. There has been some misunderstanding about this stamp, but hope this will clear up the misunderstanding. Members can get a supply of them by writing to the main office of No. 600.

Just chartered a Branch of No. 600 in the Twin Cities. Members are working hard trying to build up same, also to get a hall. Have not been able to get a location as yet. Watch the papers and Bulletin for location of same.

The Railroad Workers around Toledo, Ohio, think the O. B. U. is a good idea but are so much afraid of their bosses they will not line up. I guess they expect Industrial Democracy to be served to them on a "silver platter." Some day they will realize that if they are to get anything they will have to go after it themselves and not let "George" do it all.

Relief and Defense.

Fred Meyers of Portland, charged with Criminal Syndicalism, date set for trial October 23, 1919. Attorney Pierce will defend the case.

Charles A. Stewart, Yakima, a No. 600 Delegate, was critically injured by a notorious gunman, known as "Boston Whitey." Fellow Worker Stewart asked him if he had a card, also told him not to let any of the Fellow Workers catch him boot-legging, then this character stabbed Fellow Worker Stewart in the right lung. Fellow Worker Stewart is in bad condition. Anyone going thru Yakima can see him at St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Fifteen members arrested at Scott's Bluff, Nebr., charged with Criminal Syndicalism. No date set for trial as yet.

Jury has been secured for Spokane cases. Same consists of eight women and four men. The first witness for the State has been called. The thirteen defendants admitted they were members of the I. W. W. and believe firmly in its principles. Several hundred men holding educational meetings every night in Spokane. This case is getting quite a bit of publicity there thru this means.

Sixteen men, fourteen of whom are I. W. W.s, were arrested in Los Angeles by secret indictment of the Grand Jury. Attorney Cleary is acting as legal adviser in this case.

M. De Wall has just been released on bond of \$500 for ninety days' time. He has been held in deportation station at New York City for about a year and almost another year in other deportation camps. His health is broken and it will take some time for him to regain his strength. He sends

hearty greetings to all Fellow Workers and expresses a desire to get back on the job again for the O. B. U.

The Wichita case was granted a change of venue from Wichita to Kansas City, Kansas. Date of trial set for December 1, 1919. Judge Pollack states the case must be tried at that time.

Job News.

The T. & O. C. Ry. needs men bad at Bucyrus, Ohio. They are working four engine crews there, also an extra road man to do extra work between Toledo and Bucyrus, with a Toledo layover. Section men are needed at Bucyrus. 43 cents per hour, bunk house in fair condition. No cook furnished. This is a good place for a delegate who speaks Bulgarian. Many Bulgarians on the job.

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul bridge gang at Cedar Falls, Wash., job just started. 52 cents per hour and up, eight hour day. Board \$1.20 per day. The slaves on this job still carry own bedding. Delegates should visit these jobs. Colored extra gangs at Rockdale, Dorris and Noble, Wash. Wages 40 cents per hour, eight hour day, board \$7.50 per week. The board is absolutely rotten and the cars are full of bedbugs and lice. The men on these jobs are shipped from Chicago in carloads and are cheated out of some of their measley little wages by rotten bosses. They are ripe for organization in the O. B. U. but are mostly broke. Quite a few are lining up. This is an exceptionally good place for live delegates of No. 600.

Brakemen wanted on the C. M. and St. P. at Othello and Malden, Wash. Firemen wanted at Glendive, Mont., on the N. P. Ry. Good place for beginners as the Company prefers students. Experienced and student firemen wanted on the Milwaukee Ry. at Aberdeen, S. D. Mostly all the engines are equipped with mechanical stokers and is a good job.

The Pennsylvania Ry. still needs machinists and helpers at Olean, N. Y.

Extra gang located one mile east of Sunnyside, Wash., on the N. P. Ry. The foreman is fair to work under. The old straw boss was a red-card man but on the morning of the 22nd of September he told a worker to go and see the paymaster, so the crew struck and consequently Solidarity won out with a new boss. Thirtyfive red-card men on the job. The grub was also rotten, so at the same time they made a request for better grub and a new cook and all demands were granted. We have decided that we want better things on the job and not in the City, or in the halls and a vote was carried unanimously that we go on record to take a rest on October 8th for the release of all class-war prisoners. So come on, all you No. 600 members, and show where you stand.

(Signed) Delegate No. X-195.

We have just been informed by a member that there was a great number of Railroad men between Billings and Glendive, Mon., on the N. P. Ry. that want to line up in the O. B. U. in the worst way.

Delegates going this way should look the situation over, also members going that way should immediately get supplies and credentials and line up these workers. Remember we want to go well over that 500 mark this month, and we also should have over 500 new delegates this month, so—get busy, Fellow Workers.

(Signed) Card No. 442819.

The following cards are held at the office:

Chas. Mercier, 408529; Frank Hockenbeary, 279-867; Wm. McLean, 280621; John Stewart, 301395; Alfred Dietze, 187; Arthur Smith, 315490; Fred Johnson, 280819; Wm. M. Rickard, 271221.

These cards may be secured by writing to the main office of No. 600 at Chicago. Also card of Fellow Worker Ed. Bailey, initiated by Delegate E-338, a member of No. 600, can secure his card by writing to George Dutton, No. 1731 Market Street, Denver, Colo.

All members are requested to send in facts and news pertaining to their jobs. Job news is what makes a live Bulletin.

Just off the press three designs of stickerettes. One is a new one which deals with present situation on the railroads. Send in your order for a supply of them today. All delegates who can use small bundles of papers each week should write this office and have their names posted on the mailing list. State the number that you can use, also in what language you desire them.

All aboard for the No. 600 special.

Call or write for credentials and supplies today.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for the Big Drive in No. 600

Geo. Apt,

Ch'man, G. O. C. No. 600

C. N. Ogden,

Sec.-Treas., R. R. W. I.

U. No. 600

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

SUMMARY RECEIPTS

184 initiation	\$ 368.00
Dues	445.50
Relief	45.00
Organization	10.00
Defense	47.50
Railroad Magazine Stamps	73.50
Donations, Relief and Defense	9.25
Buttons, pins and duplicate cards.....	8.50
Literature, card cases, etc.	24.68
Papers and magazines B. O.	49.90
Papers and magazines, Subs.	3.00
Branch charters	10.00
Credit Branch and delegates accounts ..	107.29
Ind. Union No. 8 initiations	20.00
Dues	5.50
Ind. Union No. 300, Initiations	2.00
Dues	2.00
Ind. Union No. 400, Initiations	82.00
Dues	101.50
Ind. Union No. 500, Initiations	4.00
Dues	14.50
Ind. Union No. 573, Initiation	20.00
Dues	36.00
Ind. Union No. 800, Initiations	14.00
Dues	15.00
Total summary receipts	\$1,518.62

SUMMARY EXPENDITURES

10 A. F. of L. cards exchanged	\$ 20.00
B. O. Papers and Magazines	75.40
Supplies returned by delegates.....	3.00
Wages and Com. to Del. and Br. Sec'y's....	181.55
Mileage	10.35
Main office, wages	140.00
Rent, heat and light	27.00
Stationery and fixtures	53.65
Postage, express and wires	39.73
Printing	53.55
Allowance to I. U. acct.	128.75
Charge I. U.	5.00
Charge Del. and Br. acc'ts.	190.25
	\$ 928.28

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts, September	\$1,518.62
Balance cash on hand, Sept. 1	458.65
Grand total receipts	\$1,977.27
Total expenditures	928.28

Balance cash on hand, Oct. 1

With best wishes,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

C. N. OGDEN,

Sec. Treas. No. 600.

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

Bulletin issued by the Gen. Org. Committee,
October 6, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

The G. O. C. meeting started October 1st. All delegates were present.

Quite a bit of correspondence was sent to us, but as the Lusk Committee raided the office on June 22th, the communications received prior to this date were not available, as they seized them, and so far are still investigating them. They believe that an organization that receives communications from the four corners of the world in regards to organizing the marine workers in the One Big Union should be investigated in the interest of the Master Class.

Received a few communications from Seattle, and if other branches on the west coast had done the same, we would have been helped considerably. What

any committee in the I. W. W. wants is co-operation, and suggestion on any matter certainly does help.

Resolution from Seattle calling for a new referendum, has been seconded by Tacoma, Baltimore and according to the minutes, but not by a communication by New York.

Suggestions therein have been concurred by the G. O. C., and a referendum of the M. T. W. will be gotten out before the G. O. C. adjourns. In the future if the branches of the M. T. W. would send in resolutions of this kind, calling for a referendum vote or convention, send it to the general office, instead of direct to the branches, and let the office send them to the branches of the M. T. W. for seconds, it would avoid a lot of trouble.

We wired credential to the fellow worker that headquarters sent to Europe. He is to represent us at

the Int. Transp. Federation Conference at Amsterdam. We instructed him to live up to the principles of the organization.

The general office of the M. T. W. will get out a weekly news bulletin. All branches are requested to send in part of their minutes that they think will be of interest to the membership of the M. T. W. Also members should send through their branch any matter such as strikes, lockouts, etc. that is good for a bulletin.

There is a little trouble in the New York branch, but we expect to settle it before we adjourn.

In regards to a magazine, we believe it is a question for the entire membership to decide, as it would take quite a sum of money to run it. Also, altho the office has asked for a magazine for two months, we have about enough to fill five pages. What have you done regarding this matter. If you want news, the members must send it in. News must not be manufactured in the office.

Later in the month a detailed report of business done by the branches will be sent out. Also another bulletin will be issued before the G. O. C. adjourns.

We intend to meet with the editors of the Messenger magazine next week in regard to organization amongst the colored race.

Sentiment is good, or can be made good for the M. T. W. in all ports. What is needed is lots of delegates. What about you fellow workers, have you credentials? Get busy now and get there and help organize.

When Transportation stops, Industry ceases.

Elmer Kennards, Chairman,
Wm. Cunningham, Rec. Sec'y.
Members G. O. C., M. T. W.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 8, I. W. W. RECEIPTS

3 P. Petaja, Superior	\$ 63.00
4 C. W. I. U. No. 573	4.50
Delegate No. 361	35.00
John Hollis, Seattle Branch	407.00
5 Delegate No. 179	5.00
P. McClellan, Literature .....	.85
8 P. Petaja, Superior	47.30
A. C. Grant	1.50
9 T. S. Wetter, Baltimore	3.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland	65.68
12 J. Hollis, Seattle Branch	303.50
P. Petaja, Superior	30.00
Delegate No. 291	4.50
13 A. Canata, Don. for Ital. Leaflets	14.50
A. C. Grant, Tacoma	19.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland	91.50
15 L. W. I. U. No. 500	18.00
17 W. D. Jones, Philadelphia District	300.00
C. A. Johnson, Seattle Br.	138.68
Delegate No. 187	16.33
P. Petaja, Superior	50.94
20 A. C. Grant, Tacoma	5.00
Delegate 257	27.50
Office Report	66.64
Delegate 257	1.50
J. M. Bender, San Pedro	8.75
22 T. S. Wetter, Baltimore .....	.50
C. A. Johnson, Seattle Br.	124.87

24 Geo. Speed, Acct. supplies 470	5.00
25 Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U.	24.75
26 P. Petaja, Superior	118.50
27 A. C. Grant, Tacoma	8.50
Delegate 257	2.10
Delegate 138	25.00
W. H. Kopping, Portland	18.19
30 Office Report	28.50
Donations Spanish Paper on List	2.15
A. W. I. U. No. 400	1.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800	2.50
T. Humphrey, Seattle Branch	105.28
Total receipts	\$2,094.01
Business Done For Other Unions	
L. W. I. U. No. 500	\$ 197.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573	13.50
S. B. I. U. No. 325	28.00
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100	26.50
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300	3.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600	3.00
M. M. I. U. No. 800	23.00
G. R. U.	15.50
A. W. I. U. No. 400	7.50
Total	\$ 317.00

EXPENDITURES

2 A. B. Dick Co., Supplies	\$ 5.35
4 Western Union, Telegram to Chicago .....	.98
American Railway Express .....	.58
5 James Scott, wages	20.00
9 Graphic Press, Leaflets	31.50
13 American Railway Express .....	.95
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. No. 500 pro rata	35.50
F. P. Castalara, Italian leaflets	25.00
American Railway Express .....	.82
James Scott, wages	20.00
American Railway Express	2.30
15 Western Union, Telegram to Seattle	1.30
16 Am. Railway Express .....	.82
17 Western Union, Tel. to Seattle	1.30
Station D., Postage Stamps	10.00
18 Bert Lewis, C. W. I. U. No. 573	4.50
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. No. 500	9.25
Thos. McKinley, S. B. I. U. 325	12.25
19 Am. Railway Express .....	.66
A. S. Embree, M. W. I. U. 800	8.25
E. Holman, H. & R. W. I. U. 1100	8.75
Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U.	3.00
H. L. Varney, M. & M. W. I. U. 300	1.50
C. N. Ogden, R. R. W. I. U. 600	1.50
20 J. Scott, Wages	28.00
Wm. Cunningham, Advanced mileage	200.00
Western Union, Telegraphing above	5.03
P. O. Box rent	4.00
22 Am. Railway Exp.	1.11
23 Union Stationery Co., office supplies	2.95
25 Am. Railway Exp.	1.09
26 Western Union, Seattle	3.02
27 Am. Railw. Exp. ....	.67
Chas. F. Hubbs Co., wrapping paper	1.80
James Scott, wages	28.00
Geo. Ricker, L. W. I. U. 500	51.25
30 A. S. Embree, M. M. W. I. U. 800	3.25
Mat. K. Fox, A. W. I. U. 400	3.75
E. Holman, H. R. W. I. U. 1100	4.50
Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U.	4.75
Geo. H. Ricker, L. W. I. U. 500	2.50
Thos. McKinley, S. B. I. U. 325	1.75
Bert Lewis, C. W. I. U. 573	2.25
Thos. Whitehead, Assm. Stamps.	190.00
Total expenditures	\$ 766.73
Total Receipts	\$2,094.01
Expenditures	766.73
Balance	\$1,327.28
On hand Sept. 1	736.81
On hand Oct. 1st	\$2,064.09

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

Financial Statement for the Month of Sept., 1919

Receipts:

646 initiations	\$1,292.00
5,385 due stamps	2,692.50
General defense stamps	35.50
Relief stamps	74.00
Organization stamps	30.00
Six hour stamps	77.00
Buttons, pins and brooches	25.00
Card cases	22.00
Literature, duplicate cards, etc.	449.06
Credits on branch sects. and del. accts.	2,834.29
Contributions to general defense	1,056.08
Contributions to strike fund	1,015.68
Contributions to bail fund	100.00
Contributions to press fund	15.00
Personal deposits	24.60
Total	\$9,742.71

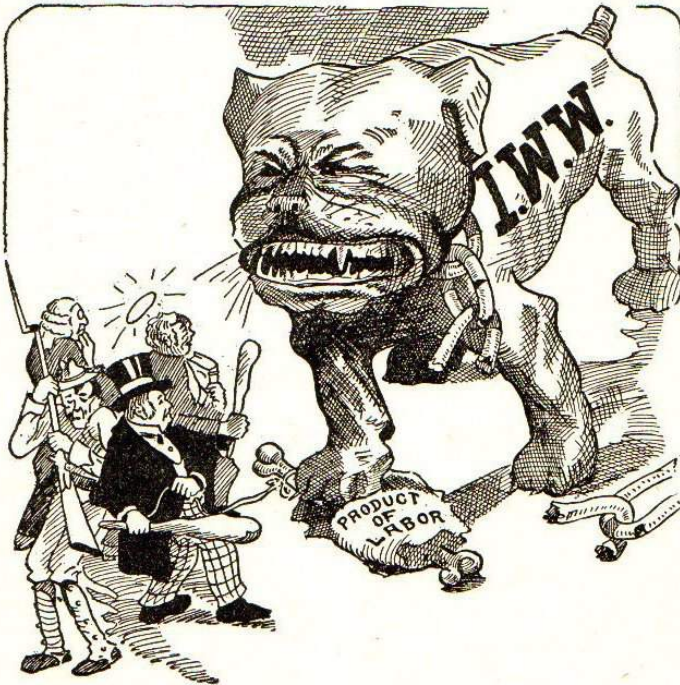
Expenditures:

General headquarters, charter fee.....	\$ 10.00
Literature, bulletins, etc.	513.21
Wages to dels. and branch sectys.....	1,755.58

Mileage	477.26
Charges on branch sectys. and del. accts.	2,699.29
Main office salaries	528.75
Rent, light and heat	203.73
Stationery and fixtures	158.04
Postage, express and wires	408.37
General defense account	826.23
Idaho strike account	588.52
Tonopah strike account	100.00
Bail fund forwarded	50.00
Allowance on craft union cards.....	120.00
Allowance to other industrial unions.....	179.00
Personal deposit account	239.94
Total	\$8,857.92

Recapitulation:

Total receipts for September, 1919.....	\$ 9,742.71
Cash balance September 1, 1919.....	669.04
Grand total	\$10,411.75
Total expenditures for September.....	8,857.92
Cash balance September 30, 1919.....	\$ 1,553.83



California District Defense Committee

Bulletin, Oct 3, 1919.

Box 845, Stockton, Calif.

Los Angeles—On Oct. 2 sixteen men, fourteen of them members of the I. W. W., were arrested on a secret indictment returned by the Grand Jury of Los Angeles County, charging them with the crime of criminal syndicalism. According to the

police these men were attempting to set up a Soviet republic in southern California, but the Chief of Police George Home states that it is the beginning of a campaign to drive all branches of the radicals out of Los Angeles, including the I. W. W. In other words, the exploiter of labor has probably passed the word that it is his opinion that an attack

should be made upon the radical labor movement with the intention of paving the way for a general attack upon all labor with the object in view of subjecting labor to whatever terms they demand of it. Bail has been set in each case in the sum of \$5,000. Attorneys Cleary and Ryckman are looking out for the interests of the prisoners.

Sacramento—John Craig and Charles Hutchinson were arrested in their rooms on the 2nd by the city police. They are being held for investigation. This probably means that the police are busy trying to establish some phoney grounds for a charge of criminal syndicalism. Attorney Lawlor is handling the case.

Oakland—On their appearance in Judge Smith's court on Sept. 26, two of the Fellow Workers J. Cairns and Mrs. Cairns, were dismissed. The other four charged with the same crime, criminal syndicalism, were held for trial at a later date.

James McHugo goes to trial Oct. 14.

San Francisco—The cases of E. Levin, J. P. Malley, and Thomas McDermott are set for jury trial on Nov. the 18.

Fresno—Judge Graham is still holding up the decision in the case of Thomas Hooker. It takes a judge a long time to make up his mind.

Stockton—The Stockton indictment is still hanging in the air, through the district attorney is making the assertion that a new indictment will be returned.

Oakland—A monster mass meeting will be held in Oakland on Oct. the 8 in the Civic Auditorium as a protest against the Criminal Syndicalism Law. This meeting will be conducted under the auspices of the Metal Trades Council of Alameda County. E. C. Hurley, who opposed the law at the last legislature, and Wm. Cleary, who is opposing the law in the courts, will be the principal speakers.

SUMMARY

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Financial Statement for September, 1919.

Receipts:	
Defense lists	\$ 249.05
Defense stamps	237.00
Donations for defense	34.45
Donations for jail comforts .....	.50
Northwest Defense Committee, Seattle	1,000.00
General Defense Committee, Chicago	500.00
Finish Workers' Club, Seattle	300.00
Collection, I. L. A. Hall, Seattle	132.51
Refunded by General Defense (A. L. Fox bond)	300.00
Loans from Calif. Dist. I. U. No. 573 and No. 400	200.00
Receipts	<u>\$2,953.51</u>

Expenditures:	
J. G. Lawlor, attorney, paid in full to October 1	\$1,000.00
H. McKee, attorney, paid in full, Hooker case	50.00
Expenses, legal work	14.23
Postage, telegrams, telephones	7.85
Mileage	27.02
Stationery	9.45
Wages	108.00
C. F. Bentley, northwest trip, advanced	150.00
Payment balance due A. F. Fox bond	150.00
Refund loan from Calif. Dist. I. U. No. 573 and No. 400	200.00
Subs papers class war prisoners	5.05
Sub Butte Bulletin office	2.00
Rent, office	13.50
Light, office	1.00
Towel supply, office	1.25
Expenditures	<u>\$1,739.35</u>

Total receipts	\$2,953.51
Balance for'd from August	87.38
Grand total	<u>\$3,040.89</u>
Total expenditures	<u>1,739.35</u>
Cash on hand October 1	\$1,301.54
R. V. Lewis, Secy.-Treas.	

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

Financial Statement for September

TOTAL RECEIPTS

427 initiations (14 A. F. of L. cards)	\$ 824.50
2,034 dues stamps	1,017.00
Assessment stamps, No. 300	38.00
General Org. Stamps	1.50
Class War Relief stamps	2.50
Cleveland relief	27.25
General defense	57.00
Buttons	5.00
Literature and dup. cards	87.65
Donations	89.30
Subs. and bundle orders	78.25
Hall rent, ref.	23.00
Branch and delegate ref.	7.60
Charter fees	35.50
Dance tickets	4.10
Picnic tickets	3.50
Cr. Branch Sec'y's and Del.	388.08
Total	<u>\$2,869.73</u>

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Charter fees	\$ 80.00
Subscriptions	129.24

Wages	897.64
Mileage	174.92
On account supplies	11.25
Donations	26.00
Main office, wages	158.00
Held on hand by Branch Sec'y's	292.64
Rent, light and heat	204.44
Stationery and fixts.	42.82
Postage and exp.	67.63
Printing	158.75
Loan to Swedish Hall	10.00
Ticket for R. R. U.	3.75
Miscellaneous	7.75
Total	<u>\$2,332.06</u>

RECAPITULATION

Total cash receipts	\$2,689.73
Total cash expenditures	2,332.06
Balance	\$ 357.67
Bro't for'd from Sept. 1, 1919	458.91
Total cash on hand October 1	<u>\$ 816.58</u>

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

Receipts Mains Office, September.

Personal deposits	\$ 100.00
1,958 initiations (1 A. F. of L.)	3,916.00
9,990 due stamps	4,995.00
Organization stamps	575.00
Relief stamps	904.00
Gen. Defense stamps	1,895.00
A. W. I. U. stamps	660.00
General Defense donations	1,362.26
Buttons, pins, etc.	185.60
Lit. card cases, dup. cards, etc.	754.40
O. B. U. sub. ....	.75
Moneys paid on acct. supplies	51.50
Moneys paid on acct. by dels.	1,948.94
Freedom certificate	10.00
Donations to German paper	10.50
Donations to press .....	.25
Mimeograph work	12.00
Check returned—J. Doyle.	100.00
E. Holman—joint office expenses Aug.	28.00
C. N. Ogden—joint office expenses Aug.	28.00
Bert Lewis—joint office expenses Aug.	40.00
Criminal Syndicalism St. Cal. Dis.	36.00
Postage stamps .....	.19
Dues and initiations for other unions:	
G. R. U.	7.00
No. 470	3.00
No. 1,100	33.00
No. 325	9.00
No. 300	35.00
No. 500	109.00
No. 600	14.00
No. 600	51.00
No. 800	88.00
No. 573	376.00
No. 100	2.50
Total receipts	\$18,336.39

Disbursements Main Office, September.

Personal deposits	\$ 377.10
General Headquarters per capita	4,000.00
General Headquarters on acct. supplies	5,648.00
Literature	328.52
Commission on literature and papers	48.90
Dels. wages and commission	1,965.09
Mileage	269.93
Moneys held on acct. Dels. and Secy.	3,564.11
General Defense and Relief	608.56
Main office, salaries	545.50
Rent, light, heat, etc.	267.78
Stationery and fixtures	104.12
Postage, express, wires	142.41
On acct. supplies for other unions	275.00
2 A. F. of L. cards	4.00
D. N. Simpson, trunk and rope	11.40
Stamps allowed for jails	8.50
Criminal syndicalism st., Calif. dist.	36.00
On acct. Arizona strike	50.00
On acct Rubber Workers' strike	100.00
Fr. Wollmer, overcharge on report	9.35
J. Gavel, trip with supplies	14.00
C. E. Smith, Organization Committee	8.00
J. Cronin, organization work	6.00
Duplicate report, J. Elliott—Del. 620F	3.50
Office supplies	52.21
Total disbursements	\$18,447.98

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts	\$18,336.39
Cash on hand, Set. 1, 1919	12,211.35
Grand total	\$30,547.74
Total disbursements	18,447.98
Cash on hand, Oct. 1, 1919	\$12,099.76

MATT K. FOX, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

Financial Statement for Month of September, 1919.

RECEIPTS

Initiations	\$216.00
Due Stamps	360.50
Defense Stamps	9.50
Organization Stamps	2.00
Buttons	1.00
Literature	11.30
Credit Account of Cash Balance	102.76
Donations, Defense	69.00
Donations, Organization	29.58
.....	\$801.64

EXPENDITURES

General Defense Fund	\$ 94.50
General Headquarter Per Capita	100.00
General Headquarter, Supplies	100.00
Subscriptions	6.50
Literature	33.80
Printing	35.50
Wages and Com., Branch Sec., Organizers and Delegates	52.65

Attorney Fee	5.00
Mileage	21.80
On Hand of Branches and Delegates	50.13
Rent, Light, Heat	71.15
Stationery and Fixtures	17.65
Postages, Express and Wires	40.95
Main Office, Salaries	112.00
Business, other Unions, Allowance	111.20
Total	\$852.98

SUMMARY

Total Receipts from Sept. 1-30	\$801.64
Brought Forward from August 31st	196.13
.....	\$997.07
Total Expenditures from Sept. 1-30	852.98
Cash on Hand Sept. 30	144.09
.....	\$997.07

Yours for One Big Union,

ERNEST HOLMEN,
Sec'y-Treas. No. 1100.

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

Financial Statement for September, 1919

SUMMARY

Initiations	\$1,711.50
Dues	2,993.00
Org. Assessments	470.00
C. W. P. Ass'ts	623.00
Gen. Def. Ass'ts	891.00
Buttons and Pins	94.05
Literature	424.27
Magazines and papers	240.75
Credit cash bal. Br. Sec. and Del.	1,983.24
Card cases	98.00
Cal. Def. Lists	75.55
Gen. Def. Donations	20.00
Gen. Def. Lists	18.50
Relief donations	7.50
R. R. Magazine Ass'ts	5.00
Paper subs.	4.50
Duplicate cards	21.00
Criminal Synd. Ass'ts	120.00
Geo. Roeschlaue Day Wage Don.	6.00
Chairs Sold by Milwaukee Branch	10.00
Refund by P. O. Money ord. lost in June ..	32.00
Refund Print bill, Yakima	8.50
Pennants .....	.75
Class War Shields	38.50
Donation Industrial Worker	2.00
Hall collections and donat.	102.20
Payment for lost supplies	18.00
Charter for Newark	10.00
Charter for Minneapolis	10.00
Business for other unions:	
I. U. No. 8, Initiations	28.00
Dues	37.00
I. U. No. 46, Initiations	2.00
Dues	1.00
I. U. No. 300, Initiations	40.00
Dues	32.00
I. U. No. 325, Initiations	32.00
Dues	34.50
I. U. No. 400, Initiations	38.00
Dues	111.50
I. U. No. 448, Initiations	2.00
Dues	7.50
I. U. No. 480, Initiations	4.00
Dues	1.50
I. U. No. 500, Initiations	132.00
Dues	271.00
I. U. No. 600, Initiations	70.00
Dues	65.00
I. U. No. 800, Initiations	56.00
Dues	96.50
I. U. No. 1000, Initiations	4.00
Dues	3.00
I. U. No. 1100, Initiations	50.00
Dues	34.00
I. U. No. 1200, Initiations	6.00
Dues .....	.50
I. U. No. 1300, Initiations	2.00
Dues .....	.50
G. R. U., Initiations	18.00
G. R. U., Dues	33.00

EXPENDITURES

To Headquarters, per Capita	\$ 687.30
To Headquarters, supplies	109.80
Organization Ass'ts	258.00
Gen. Def. Ass'ts	681.50
C. W. P. Ass'ts	516.00
Literature	323.65
Wages Br. Sec'y's, Del's, G. O. C. & T. Del.	2,899.09
Mileage	387.84
Acct. Supplies other I. U.	227.25
Charge Cash Bal. Br. Sec., Dels. and G. O. C.	2,080.31

Magazine and papers	148.16
Printing Bills	297.85
Rent, Light, Heat, etc.	427.60
Stationery and fixt.	261.67
Postage, wires and express	223.88
Cal. Def. Lists	75.55
Donat. remitted by Seattle District	1.00
Main office, wages	329.00
Don. to the Ind. Worker	152.50
Don. to Idaho Miners	25.00
Criminal Synd. Ass'ts	120.00
Don. to Rubber Strikers	10.00
Advance to Seattle Leaflet Comm.	100.00
Subs. to the papers	4.50
Pro Rata expenses, Yakima	34.55
Pro Rata expenses, Omaha	30.65
New York Def. Com. Class Badges	54.00
Jail Stamps	7.50
Etching for Def. Cal. Dist.	5.20
General strike victims Asst's	1.00
Refund dupl. card .....	.50
To Chicago Br. 1 by Br. 2, button .....	.25
Smoker tickets, Detroit	1.50
Bank Exchange, Sept.	1.25

Total expenditures\$10,483.85

RECAPITULATION

Cash on hand, SEPT. 1	\$2,607.74
Total receipts for Sept.	11,256.31

Grand total\$13,864.05
Expenditures Sept.10,483.85

Cash on hand, Oct. 1, 1919.....3,380.20

FAVOR DISCONTINUING OF BULLETIN.

At a meeting of the District Organization Committee of C. W. I. U. No. 573, Seattle District, held in Seattle on Oct. 5th and 6th, the following motion was passed:

"M. & S. that we recommend that bulletins of all Industrial Unions be discontinued and that all news of Industrial Unions be published in the I. W. W. papers, and that the G. E. B. get out a referendum to cover this subject. Carried."

"M. & S. that we instruct Secretary to send a copy of motion pertaining to bulletins to all Industrial Unions and that same be published in all I. W. W. publications. Carried."

Notice to subscribers of Klassen Kampf!

On account of the Lusk Committee Raid of our Headquarters at 27 E. 4th St. of June 21, 1919, we have been unable to trace all our subscribers and Bundle Order Subscriber's addresses. We would appreciate it, if all who have subscribed and been receiving bundle orders of the Klassen Kampf to send all addresses to Klassen Kampf 115 East 10th St., New York.

Frank Edwards, No. 573, credential number 362 in 1918, please communicate immediately with Fred Mann King County, Stockade, Kirkland, Wash. R. F. O. 2—Box 44.

Anybody knowing John McGlynn, kindly tell him, that Frank Conboy is looking for him on important business. Presley Hotel, 665 Weller St., Seattle, Wash. Will be in Yakima Valley in fall.

Financial Statement of Shipbuilders' Industrial Union No. 325

From Sept. 1 to Oct. 1, 1919

Cash receipts for Sept.	\$1,189.50
On hand Sept. 1, 1919	41.60
Total cash receipts	\$1,211.17
Total Cash expenditures	1,189.50
Cash an hand, Oct. 1, 1919	\$ 21.67

TOTAL RECEIPTS

172 Initiations (7 craft cards).....	\$ 330.00
1282 Due stamps	641.00
76 Gen. Def. Stamps	76.00
44 C. W. P. relief stamps	44.00
60 Gen. Organ. stamps	60.00
181 Crim. Synd. stamps	181.00
7 duplicate cards	1.75
Buttons	132.00
Literature	3.50
Donation for defense	11.00
G. R. U. Pro-rata expenses	59.02
Total	\$1,539.27

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Headquarters for supplies	\$ 308.15
Subscriptions	23.25
On acct. cash balance	15.75
Donation striking miners Id.	25.00
Delegates commission	81.25
Sec. wages to Sept. 27th	96.00
Clerks wages to Sept. 27.	96.00
Br. Sec. Wages to Sept. 27.	112.00
Seattle Br. hall expense	20.25
Seattle Br. hall expense, Sept.	50.00
Seattle Br. meeting halls	35.00
Office rent and light	31.00
Stationery and fixtures	44.75
Postage and express	30.95
Equity Printing Co.	151.50
Sticker and Leaflet Comm.	70.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 8	3.75
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300	8.75
A. W. I. U. No. 400	1.25
L. W. I. U. No. 500	17.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573	3.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800	64.85
T. W. I. U. No. 1000	1.25
H. & R. W. I. U. No. 1100	6.25
General Recruiting Union	4.25
Calif. Defense Committee	181.00
Northwest Dist. Def.	76.00
Total	\$1,559.20

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts	\$1,539.27
Cash on Hand Sept. 1	41.60
Total gross receipts	\$1,580.87
Total gross expenditures	1,559.20
Cash an hand Oct. 1	\$ 21.67

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Every member who can read and write and understands why he himself has joined the I. W. W., should take out credentials and become a job delegate.

Many of the members seem to think that the I. W. W.'s activity is confined to the I. W. W. halls,

which is a mistaken idea, as the I. W. W. functions on the job much better. And the time is now ripe to make it function in the shipyards, for with the agitation that has been carried on in the shipyards the past few months, we have stirred up some new ideas in the minds of the slaves about capital and labor.

The industrial union idea is growing among the skilled workers as well as the unskilled. These workers are finding that it is impossible to express these ideas within the A. F. of L. and they are looking for an industrial form of organization. So there is an eruption due which will mean a tremendous growth of the I. W. W. This is one opportunity that we cannot take any chances on missing.

So if you want to see the industry you are working in organized it is up to you to do the organizing right on the job where you have the raw material to work on. Even the rankest scissor will agree that the A. F. of L. is a joke as a labor organization. When he does admit it, you should hammer your ideas of unionism home and also be in a position to line him up on the job. If a few more members take out credentials in the shipyards, it will not be long before we will be able to function on the job or off the job at all times.

RESOLUTIONS FROM MINNEAPOLIS

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.

Minneapolis, Minn., Sept. 22, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

At a general membership meeting Sunday, Sept. 20, 1919, the following resolution was passed:

Moved and seconded that this body go on record to demand that the G. E. B. submit referendum to the general membership calling for nominations and election of the General Defense Committee and that copies of this resolution be sent to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. and to the I. W. W. press. By a raise of hands the motion was carried.

Francis Smith, 448,665, Chairman,
Samuel Cole, Del. 30-F, Rec. Secy.

This resolution was also passed at the same meeting as above:

Moved and seconded that this body elect a committee of three to tabulate ballots of the general referendum when vote closes; that General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. publish the tabulation from Minneapolis branch, and to ask that all branches tabulate their vote and that their results be published in the bulletins and I. W. W. papers also.

By a raise of hands the motion was carried.

Francis F. Smith, 442,005, Chairman,
Samuel Cole, Del. 90-F, Rec. Secy.

Trusting that you will see that the above resolutions are given publicity through the industrial union bulletins and organization papers, I am,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

(Signed) Robt. Russell, Cor. Secy. Org. Com.

Industrial Workers of the World --- General Office

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1919

RECEIPTS		
Due stamps (per capita).....		\$6,436.30
Assessments stamps:		
Gen. org.	\$825.00	
C. W. relief	1,151.00	
Gen. def.	3,157.50	
Organization supplies	5,133.50	
Literature	3,983.10	
Office rent from unions	98.22	
Receipts from publications	100.00	
Contributions:		
Organization fund	5,818.08	
Gen. def. fund		
Relief fund	12,437.57	
Don. for Winnipeg rel.		
Deposits:		
Recruiting union	\$1,019.52	
Industrial unions	98.75	
Workers' Hall	294.17	
Personal acts.	512.45	
D. Kuokka, check to replace two not properly signed	251.50	
Check from Geo. Speed for No. 470	5,450.00	
Loans on bail	246.00	
Parcel post, express and postage	11.94	
Office supplies, 1 ribbon .....	.50	
Literature fund	47.67	
Press fund .....	.50	
Reimbursement for check dishonored	2.46	
		\$42,626.21

DISBURSEMENTS		
Office expenses:		
Wages	\$783.50	
Sta. and office supplies	170.40	
Parcel post, exp. and frt.	75.20	
September rent	250.00	
Window cleaning	5.00	
Towel service	1.50	
Safe, dep. bx., rent 1 yr.	6.00	
Light	18.02	
Gas, for print shop, to be refunded	17.72	
Telegrams	7.18	
Repairs on adding mch. and typewriter	4.89	
Lumber and material for shelving	67.44	
Car fares .....	.49	
Exchange on checks	3.19	
Office fixts, filing cases	3.00	
Publications:		\$1,413.48
Wages, pig., mailing, etc.	5,410.16	
Organization supplies	4,614.55	
Literature: Pamphlets and leaflets	1,347.62	
Unions on accounts deposits	89.42	
Personal account	5.00	
Chicago Propaganda Committee:		
On account deposit	343.95	
Advance on account organization to be reported on	750.00	
Dep. on order for buttons and pins	400.00	
Remit. for No. 470 forwarded	688.98	
Drawn for petty cash drawer	25.00	
Adv. to attorneys, not reported on	5,304.73	
Workers' Hall, Joint Sec. Work:		
Rent	\$100.00	
Literature and B. O.'s	88.50	
Light, Aug. and Sept.	33.21	
Inspection of building	2.00	
Labor and lumber for repairs and built'n b'ds.	46.15	
Collections turned over to unions	38.00	
Advance for entertainment, refund. Sept. 16	50.00	
Organization expenses:		\$57.86
Wages	\$373.00	
Mileage	132.55	
Translation of article	3.50	
General defense:		\$509.05
Wages, office and speakers	\$984.50	
Mileage	493.27	
Expense of meeting as per reports	494.57	
Literature	26.80	
Printing and mailing leaflets and pamphlets	1,252.06	
Postage	1,011.50	
Office supplies	0.75	
Telegrams	98.78	

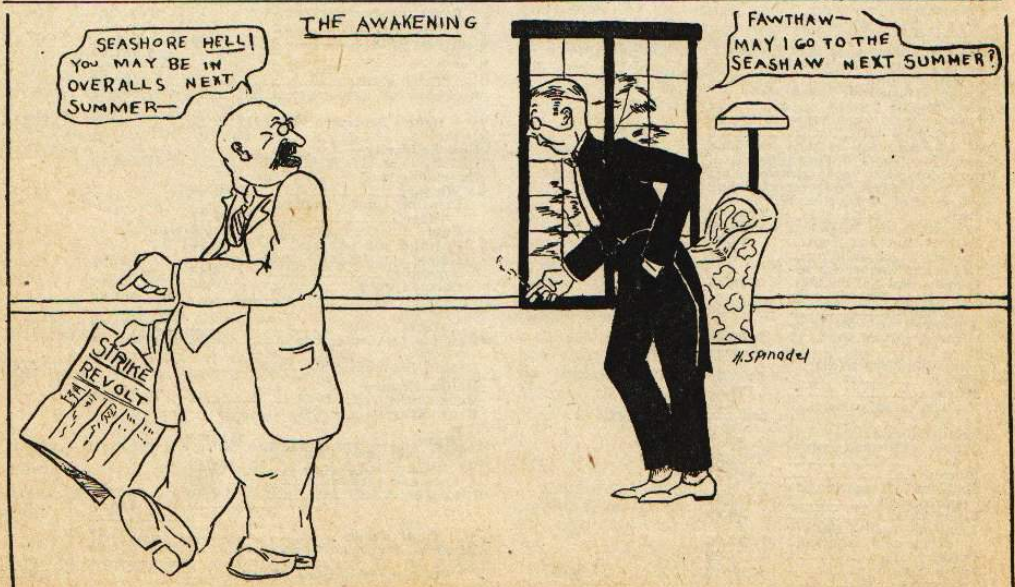
Fenstermacher reporting Geo. Ricker, for defense advanced by No. 500	11.27	
Remittance for California defense	148.88	
Sacramento bill of exceptions	800.00	
Donation for Ellis Island fellow workers for'd.	252.00	
Donation for Winnipeg fellow workers for'd.	10.50	
Counsel fees and exp.	10.00	
	1,821.33	
Relief		7,422.16
Bail funds turned over		1,045.23
Bail funds returned		2,500.00
Check, payment stopped		50.00
Recruiting union:		2.46
Wages	188.00	
Initiations and dues to Industrial unions	714.25	
Supplies	2.90	
Per capita, supplies and literature charged against deposit acct.	672.75	
Reimbursement to defense for Industrialist B. O.'s paid by Duluth defense	180.30	
Literature, B. O.'s	516.15	
		2,224.35
Total disbursements		\$34,504.00

RECAPITULATION		
Cash balance on hand September 1		\$7,386.18
Receipts for September		42,626.21
Total		\$50,012.34
Disbursements for September		34,504.00
Balance on hand September 30		\$15,508.34
Cash in Bank		\$15,358.34
Cash in Safe		150.00

STATEMENT SHOWING CONDITION OF PUBLICATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1919.

One Big Union Monthly—		
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919		\$436.95
Expenditures:		
Wages	\$176.00	
Cuts	6.22	
Printing and mailing 15,000 No. 8	725.30	
Office stationery and supplies	76.77	
Postage, express and telegram	65.61	
Reporting Socialist convention	10.00	
Rebel Worker	1.20	
		1,061.10
Total debits		\$1,498.05
Receipts for September		1,165.62
Deficit September 30, 1919		\$332.53
New Solidarity—		
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919		\$2,609.40
Expenditures:		
Wages	\$208.00	
Printing and mailing paper	643.41	
Cuts	51.06	
Postage and express	142.76	
Office stationery and supplies	6.43	
Cartoon work	10.00	
		1,061.66
Total debits		\$3,671.06
Receipts for September		1,295.73
Deficit, September 30, 1919		2,375.33
Italian Paper—		
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919		\$1,726.91
Expenditures:		
Wages	\$112.00	
Printing and mailing paper	432.47	
Cuts and supplies	2.94	
Leaflets	1.50	
		548.91
Total debits		\$2,275.82
Receipts for September		364.65
Deficit, September 30, 1919		1,921.17

Nya Varlden (Swedish)—				
Deficit Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$1,382.39			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$128.00			
Printing and mailing paper	290.59			
Refund of subs. belong- to the Croatian paper..	13.00			
	481.59			
Total debits	\$1,813.98			
Receipts for September	241.42			
Deficit, September 30, 1919.....		1,572.56		
Spanish Paper—				
Deficit, Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$1,307.86			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$42.00			
Printing and mailing one issue	66.03			
Cartoon work, A. Wallen	8.00			
	116.03			
Total debits	\$1,513.89			
Receipts for September	108.07			
Deficit, September 30, 1919.....		1,405.02		
Hungarian Paper—				
Cr. balance May 1.....	\$81.83			
Cr. on acct., sub. to Dr. Carasso.....	2.00			
Total credit	\$83.83			
Expenditures, May 1 to Aug. 30, previously reported	\$93.46			
Expenditures, September, cartoon	2.77			
	36.23			
Net debit, Sept. 30, 1919.....	\$2.40			
Transfer of A. Newman acct., debit	20.00			
Debit Sept. 30, 1919.....		22.40		
Bulgarian Paper—				
Credit balance, Sept. 1, 1919.....	\$398.42			
Receipts for September.....	246.65			
Total credit	\$645.07			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$112.00			
Printing and mailing paper	251.32			
	363.32			
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919..		281.75		
Jewish Paper—				
Credit balance, Sept. 1.....	\$94.81			
Receipts for September	23.75			
Total credit	\$118.56			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$49.00			
Office supplies and exp..	8.40			
Printing and mailing one issue	77.00		134.40	
				15.84
Deficit Sept. 30				
Russian Paper and Magazine—				
Credit balance Sept. 1.....	\$752.82			
Receipts for September	1,523.99			
Total credit	\$2,276.81			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$212.00			
Printing and mailing paper and magazine.....	569.54			
Printing 6,000 song bks.	294.95			
Cartoon work by A. Wal- len	5.00			
Literature, pamphlets	50.40			
Office supplies	18.65			
Cuts	13.95			
	1,164.49			1,112.32
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919....				
Croatian Paper—				
Credit balance Sept. 1	\$871.20			
Receipts for September	401.50			
Total credits	\$772.70			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$106.34			
Printing and mailing one issue	98.86			
Cuts and cartoon work..	11.94			
Desk	42.50			
Office supplies	20.40			
Commission on subs	14.72			
	294.76			
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919..				477.94
Polish Paper—				
Debit balance Sept. 1.....	\$152.08			
Printing and mailing issue No. 3.....	95.10			
Total debit	\$247.13			
Received on acct. for Sept.....	210.10			
Debit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....				37.08
German Paper—				
Credit balance Sept. 1.....	\$115.47			
Receipts for September	306.00			
Total credits	\$421.47			
Expenditures:				
Wages	\$2.35			
Printing and mailing	239.97			
Office supplies	12.60			
	254.92			
Credit balance Sept. 30, 1919.....				166.54
Lithuanian Paper—				
Debit balance Sept. 30, on acct. of postage and express.....				2.67



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