

The **One Big Union** *Monthly*



First of May Demonstration in Minneapolis of 10,000 Workers Following the Sign
"ONE BIG UNION."



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.

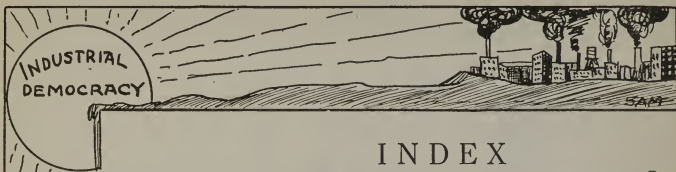
These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one 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 every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

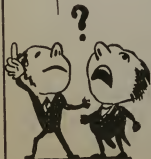
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

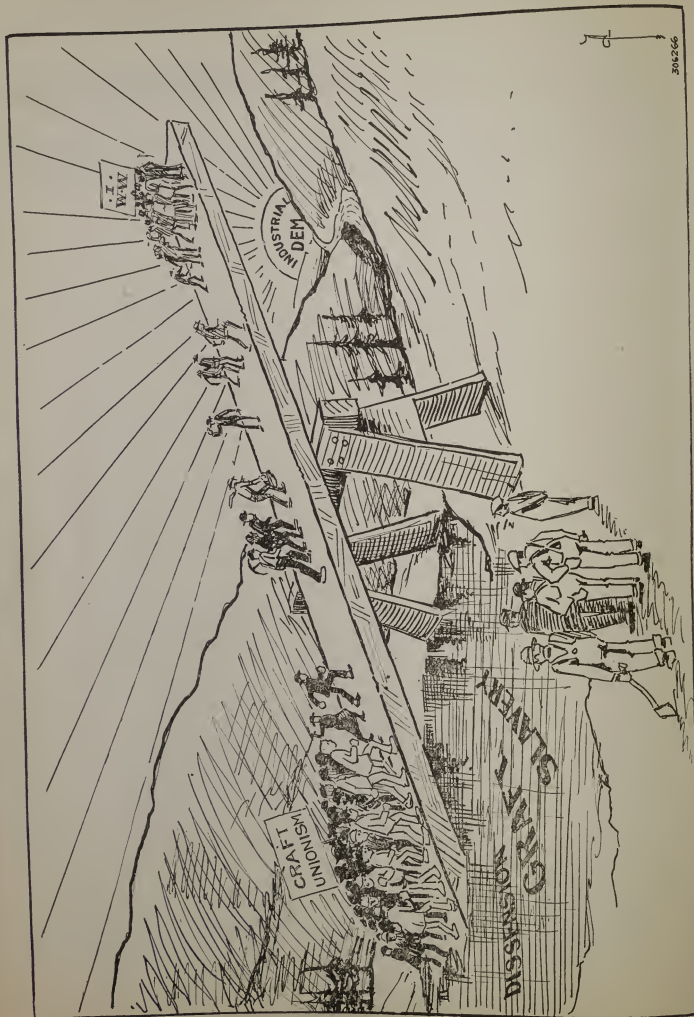




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IT IS GOING TO TIP SOON

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

The 12th Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

By GORDON CASCADEN

"Business, not talk."

If the Twelfth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World were to hang out a motto to show what it is really doing it would be that quoted.

Fireworks are absent from its deliberations. Delegates differ, 'tis true. They aren't afraid to express those differences, but when they have expressed themselves they go ahead and vote. This does not mean that discussion is cut off without opportunity for debate. Every delegate has his or her chance. Then when all who would have had their say, those who want to clear up their previous speeches or to bring out new matter have opportunity to do so.

The speeches are short and to the point. They are made by men and women who realize that they represent militant wage workers who are in the front line trenches of the fight for industrial democracy.

Numerically speaking the convention is not large. It is representative, however, men and women from practically every industry and from every section of the country attending. They come right from the job and not from "soft," "easy" organizers' positions.

Various important matters are under discussion, the various committees having many resolutions to consider. While certain decisions have been reached, the ultimate result of the convention's delibera-

tions cannot be described at the time of writing this short summary.

The dues question, however, has been settled—so far as the convention can settle it. The membership at large will vote on a referendum to increase the dues from 50 cents to \$1 a month. Several of the largest organizations had instructed their delegates to introduce resolutions favoring dollar dues. The vote in favor was large, those voting against it all favoring an increase, however.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the General Defense Committee submitted his report, which summarized the activities and also the persecution of the organization from Sept. 1, 1917, until April 1, 1920. It tells a story of persecution unexampled in the industrial history of the world.

Yet this convention, realizing the torture of those who uphold the principles of the movement, refused to let a red herring across the trail swing it from its common sense. A communication came in which criticised the Executive Board for passing, some time ago, a resolution setting out clearly the organization's position in opposition to the advocacy of violence by the Industrial Workers of the World. The convention unanimously decided to reaffirm the position of the General Executive Board in this respect.

(On pages 49-55 will be found some extracts from the minutes of the convention, obtained at the close of the convention at the moment of going to press.—Editor.)



RESCUING THE FLAG FROM THE PROFITEERS
I. W. W. Secretary C. E. Lundberg of Minneapolis, a World War Veteran, carrying
the Stars and Stripes at the head of May Day parade.

First of May in Minneapolis

By E. W. LATCHEM

On May 1st, 1919, when the workers of Minneapolis attempted to celebrate International Labor Day, their parade was broken up several times by the police and other willing tools of the money interests, but they always succeeded in reforming and managed to continue their parade until their destination had been reached. All speaking was stopped by the police, but that did not seem to dampen the spirit of the workers, as will be seen from what happened on May 1st, 1920.

Only about two thousand participated in 1919, but as a result of police opposition all unions in Minneapolis took part in one gigantic parade on May 1st, 1920, with the result that close to 10,000 workers were participants in the largest and most enthusiastic May Day celebration that Minneapolis ever had. Not a word was said in regard to this by most of the local news perverters. Only one paper had the decency to mention the affair, in spite of the fact that it was one of the most important events of the day.

The parade was headed by the World War Veterans in uniform; next came a large thirty-foot banner inscribed "One Big Union." Other banners were: "The Kaiser in a Palace in Holland; Debs in Jail in the United States; Is This Justice?" "Political Prisoners Have Been Released in Japan,

France, Great Britain and Germany; Why Not Here?" "We Fought for Democracy 'Over There' and Now Have to Fight for a Living Wage When We Get Back."

Most of the paraders marched by industries and left their craft banners at home as evidence of the uselessness of that form of organization. The only exceptions were the Printers, Bricklayers and Wood Workers and Cabinet Makers.

A donkey carried a placard inscribed: "I and all my relatives work in an open shop," which created quite a hit except among those who were put in the "donkey class."

Some of those in charge attempted to turn the speaking into a "campaign rally" to boost some local aspirants for different political offices and relegate all other speakers to the rear and have the crowd tired out before any genuine working class speakers could get the platform, and they succeeded to a certain extent; but when W. F. Dunne, editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin, managed to get the floor he lost no time in explaining how the Workers' International Labor Day had been desecrated by those who had no other desire except to get into office, no matter how, and that those who would stoop to misuse Labor's holiday would need watching.

This parade was handled by the Craft Unions and may be taken as evidence of the state of mind of members of those unions, who are beginning to see the need of a union that will fit in with the needs of present-day society.

The following editorial from the Minneapolis Labor Review, official organ of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly and Building Trades Council, fits well together with the parades, and the two of them together are additional signs that

changed to make the Federation function most effectively. The annual convention of the Federation will be held in Montreal in June. There is among the rank and file of organized labor an almost universal demand for industrial unionism. It is bound to come, and it ought to come from the next convention. Business is organized into great industries. To emancipate itself labor must be organized industrially instead of by crafts.

Your International will have delegates at this convention. Has your organization sent



FIRST OF MAY DEMONSTRATION IN MINNEAPOLIS

"I and all my relatives work in the open shop."

the I. W. W. has not worked and suffered in vain for the last fifteen years:

"THE CHANGE MUST COME"

The American Federation of Labor is the organization which has brought to the workers of America the benefits which they now have. If it had done nothing else than to have obtained the eight-hour day it must be admitted that this is a long stride ahead from the times workers toiled from sun-up to sun-down.

But changing industrial conditions and changes in the organization of industry make it imperative that the form of organization be

them a resolution requesting that they stand for industrial unionism? Have you written the International a personal letter? You should do both. Make it so plain to the next Federation convention that the delegates cannot fail to understand the concerted demand for a change in the form of organization. Make it so unanimous that they can not truthfully say that they did not take the action because the rank and file did not want it.

And meanwhile, don't neglect to explain to the worker near you who may not understand, just why industrial unionism is NECESSARY, AND WHY HE SHOULD ADVOCATE IT.



MINNEAPOLIS BRICKLAYERS IN FIRST OF MAY PARADE
They are proud of the city they have built.

NOTICE

The convention has decided to increase the size of The One Big Union Monthly by using print paper of a different kind. Also to add a three-colored cover, making it 68 pages in all. The change will be made as soon as the desired print paper is secured, possibly with the next issue.

At the same time the price will be raised to 25 cents per copy; \$2.50 per year; 15 cents per copy wholesale.

With the increased size and the attractive cover added the increase in price we were compelled to make in order to cover the cost should hardly be noticeable. Double your efforts to spread our magazine.



"JUSTICE IS DEAD"
Sign carried in First of May demonstration in Minneapolis.

The Picket Line of Blood

Another Red Chapter of Labor History from Butte Mont.

By RALPH CHAPLIN

"The Richest hill in the world" has once more been stained with the blood of workers. Its arrogant industrial autocrats of Butte have again taken refuge in murder to shield themselves from the organized power of the union miners. The lynching of Frank Little has been paralleled by the massacre on Anaconda road. Butte—naked, barren, black—the city of gun-men and widows, of "sweat-holes" and cemeteries, stands out before the world today a blot on what we call civilization. Machine guns and searchlights command the city from the heights. Armed soldiers guard the approaches to the mines and gun-men loiter at every corner, or whiz up and down the streets at all hours of the day and night. There is one place on Anaconda road where everything in sight has been riddled with bullets. The blood of the dead and wounded has hardly dried in the dust. Miners have been told in unmistakable language that their constitutional

right to picket means nothing and that the will of the copper trust is mightier than the law of the land. Bloody Butte! It is an ignoble title—ignobly won. But it is a fitting title.

The overlords of Butte will not permit their right to exploit to be challenged. Drunk with unbridled power and the countless millions profited during the war, with lying phrases of "law and order" on their lips, the blood of workingmen dripping from their hands and the gold of the government bursting their coffers they face the nation unrepentant and unashamed—reaction militant, capitalism at its worst. The copper trust can murder its slaves in broad daylight on any occasion and under any pretext. There is no law to call a halt. In the confines of this greed ruled city the gun-man has replaced the Constitution. Butte is a law unto herself.

This huge mining camp is typical of the present stage of capitalism. The parasites of big business,

furious with the realization of their approaching doom, are striking at the working class more blindly, more ferociously and more frequently than ever before. Even their most savage anti-labor laws are proving themselves inadequate to darken the rising sun of solidarity.

The gunman and lynch-mob are more and more replacing the law as measures of labor repression. The old maxim "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" is finding daily confirmation.

Holy grove, Ludlow, Calumet, Everett and Bisbee still stand as greswome monuments to the White Terror in America. Butte has been added to the list for a second time. Armistice Day in Centralia is only a few month past yet we can no longer refer to it as "yesterday" but the day before. Yesterday was the massacre on Anaconda road. Nobody knows where the blow will fall tomorrow. Things are moving rapidly these days.

THE STRIKE

On Monday the 19th of April the strike broke out. The miners and muckers, smarting under the high cost of living, the black-list and speed-up systems left the mines in a body and refused to return to work. They assembled in their union hall and drew up demands for a six-hour day, \$7.00 wage and the abolition of the speed-up, black-list and "bonus" systems. Two men were demanded on all machines and workings. The class-war prisoners were not forgotten. The first move was to picket the mines which was done quite successfully. Very few miners had started for work and practically all of these returned home when the situation was explained to them. The strikers also appealed to the several craft unions employed on the hill to show their solidarity by striking against their common enemy. Hardly a man worked either in the mines or above ground during the first day of the strike. The mine operators were wildly indignant.

The following morning (Tuesday) pickets were met by considerable numbers of company gunmen. These thugs, without more ado, ordered the miners to "beat it down the hill". This command was emphasized by blows, curses and an eloquent display of weapons. The picket line was dispersed. An effort to resume picketing in the afternoon was thwarted in a similar manner. Dozens of men were beaten and slugged unmercifully.

On Wednesday morning the 21st of April, the determined pickets again started out to reestablish their broken line. At Park street and Broadway, which is the approach to the Pennsylvania mine, they were assaulted by gunmen and city police and eight or nine were badly beaten with clubs. At Centerville and on the Anaconda road and various other points it was the same story. At the corner of Wyoming and Granite Streets a man was slugged who was neither a miner nor a picket. The gunmen, drunken with license and power, were out to brutalize every workingman in sight. There was none to stop them and the copper trust papers were commending the sluggers for their brave and patriotic work.

The scattered picket lines were reassembled at

the union hall. The men came trooping in a few at a time, beaten and bloody. Several had been slugged beyond recognition. Scarcely any had escaped manhandling from the inhuman mercenaries of the copper trust. The armed guards who had done the beating were rushing from point to point all morning in high powered cars looking for new victims. The laws of the state of Montana give strikers the right to picket and the miners were determined that this right should not be taken away from them by private gunmen of their employers. The matter was discussed coolly and thoroughly. The strikers decided to change their tactics. Instead of a number of groups attempting to picket a number of mines in the face of overwhelming odds, it was decided to consolidate their forces and picket one point on the county road and to remain there in a body. The Anaconda road where it passes the Never Sweat mine was chosen as the point of most strategic value. A little after four o'clock in the afternoon of April 21 the miners, almost five hundred strong, marching in orderly formation, arrived on the scene in a body. They were unarmed.

THE MASSACE

Almost immediately afterwards big dusty company automobiles loaded with gunmen began to purr up the road. The pickets parted their ranks and silently permitted the sluggers to pass. The gunmen got out of the cars and mobilized a short distance up the road. Sheriff O'Rourke next appeared with a squad of city policemen, plain clothes men and "deputies". These assembled between the miners and the gunmen. Altogether there were between fifty and sixty officers and sluggers.

Sheriff O'Rourke marched his squad down to where the miners were assembled. Some of the pickets had spread from the county road to the railroad tracks. The Sheriff explained to them that the tracks were company property and requested the miners to keep to the county road. The men consented to this and moved down the road below the tracks. The police and "deputies" tried to keep them going by pushing and jostling the crowd and telling the strikers to "keep moving". The pickets remonstrated with the Sheriff, stating that they had obeyed his orders in getting off company property but that they had a right to stay on the county road. Several even produced road tax receipts to show that they had been paying taxes in this very road. Others reminded the Sheriff that picketing was lawful in the state of Montana. Many of the pickets were Irish and the Sheriff being of the same nationality a great deal of witty dialogue ensued. O'Rourke assured the miners that he was there to protect their rights and would see that they got a square deal. When asked why he had not been there to protect them on the two preceding days he stated that he had been to Helena to take in a fight and was unaware of what had been happening. O'Rourke failed to state whether it was a dog fight or a prize fight he had been attending. Both are illegal in Montana.

The Sheriff and his "deputies" made another effort to get the miners started down the hill. One

picket stepped out of the crowd and told him that the miners were either entitled to picket on the county road or it was his duty to arrest them. O'Rourke replied, "All right, I'll take you." The picket was seized and started for a waiting machine. The crowd, seeing what was happening, demanded that if one was arrested all should be taken to jail with him. Whereupon the sheriff thrust the miner back into the crowd saying "Get back there with you!" Two more cars loaded with gunmen passed through the crowd going upwards. A gate was thrown open in the dull red fence bordering the Never Sweat mine to the right of the road above.

SHOT IN THE BACK

Mr. Alley suddenly raised his hand and shouted in a loud voice. "Go and get the s—s of b—s!" As if awaiting this signal the entire body of sluggers leaped at the miners, clubbing the foremost with билleys, and the butts of rifles and riot guns. Several of the gunmen fired point blank into the ranks of the pickets. Several miners fell to the road. A few tried to crawl out of the way. The remainder of the miners broke ranks and started to run down the hill in every direction. Volley after volley was fired at their retreating forms. Nineteen men were shot in the back with bullets and slugs from rifles



THOMAS MANNING

One of the victims of the hired gunmen of the Butte mine owners.

A number of gunmen appeared headed by Roy Alley, private representative of John D. Ryan in Butte. Roy Alley is a typical Butte mining official. He is at once an attorney and a "gunner". The day the strike started he declared openly:

"The Wobblies have got us tied up again. It wouldn't be so bad if they only quit themselves but they are interfering with our loyal men.

We need some more killings and hangings here, and if there were any red-blooded Americans in the camp it would be done."

Alley is an arrogant cowardly, wizzened-faced creature known to the miners as "Alley Rat". He always makes a point of obtaining with his six-shooter and thugs the things the law will not grant him. This "copper collared" gentleman spoke a few words to O'Rourke. Then he took a start to the extreme right of the company of mercenaries.

and riot guns. In addition to the fire from the gunmen at the railroad tracks a cross fire was opened upon them as they scrambled over gulleys and ditches toward Granite street. Gunmen had been stationed in advance at the Parrott Rustling card office and behind the fence of a nearby mine shaft. No other shots were reported at the inquest excepting those fired by the gunmen from the positions stated. A feeble attempt was made by a copper trust creature, named Templeton, to prove that the shooting commenced from the window of the Simon's boarding house on Anaconda road, but this lie did not survive the inquest. It was nailed by testimony of O'Rourke's own crew.

A number of startling facts were brought out from the testimony of Under Sheriff Whalen at the inquest who was forced to admit that there was no justification or excuse for the shooting down of miners by company gunmen.

"During all the time that you were there, your attention was fixed on the crowd of strikers?" asked Attorney Donovan.

"Yes," replied Whalen.

"Did you at any time see anything that justified anybody in shooting into the crowd of pickets?"

"I did not," replied Whalen.

"In your opinion, as an officer, was there any justification for anyone shooting into the crowd of strikers?"

"Not that I could see."

"Did the Sheriff or any of his regular deputies or any member of the city police force authorize or order anyone to fire into the crowd of strikers?"

"As far as I know, no."

It was also brought out from Whalen's testimony that no effort was made by the sheriff's office to ascertain who fired the shots or what kind of weapons were used.

SUCH IS BUTTE

Fifteen men were laid low by the treacherous volleys—each of them shot in the back. The strikers paused only long enough to pick up their wounded and help carry them to the union hall. Seven men were seriously injured from gunshots: Tom Manning, James Sullivan, James McCarthy, Peter Marovich and Fellow Workers Lavus, Falt and De Long. Young Sullivan as he was picked up shot through the spine, whispered this message to his fellow workers: "Tell the boys to fight to the bitter end; tell all the workers to keep off the Hill." About a dozen others were able to be about after the bullets and slugs had been extracted and their wounds dressed. The wounded men were stretched out on the floor at the union hall. The room resembled a field hospital in France. Tom Manning had died before reaching the hall. He was a strong, clean, intelligent young miner who was working hard to save enough money to bring his wife and baby from British ruled Ireland to "free" America. His funeral was the biggest and most impressive held in Butte since the burial of Frank Little. Little was lynched by the same bunch of corporation cut-throats that murdered Manning. Both are lying in their humble graves in the "Flats". Their assailants are still at large—unreprimanded and unpunished—still looking for new victims. Such is Butte.

Realizing that their efforts at peaceful picketing had been made impossible by the brute force of the copper trust, the miners again changed their tactics. Picket lines had been broken up but the blood of miners remained red on the dust of Anaconda Road. Here was the new picket line—silent, accusing, eloquent. "They may prevent us from remaining on the hill but our fellow workers whose blood has been spilled . . . are maintaining a stronger picket line!" So read the proclamation issued from strike headquarters the day following the massacre. And the miners did not return to work but came out in increasing numbers. The latest word from Butte is that the Workingmen's Union has struck in a body completely tying up the street car service of the city.

THE PICKET LINE OF BLOOD

But the strikers, in spite of their deep bitterness, did not intend to carry on a long drawn out strike. If their demands, or a considerable portion of them, were not granted in due time they intended to "carry the strike to the job." So they returned to work with this intention. This is what the I. W. W. loggers did on the West coast in 1917. It won for the loggers then and it will win for the miners now.

The year after the Speculator mine disaster, when the lives of two hundred of their fellow workers were sacrificed to the god of profits, the miners went down into the "sweat holes" and dug up eighteen million dollars in dividends for the parasitical stockholders. The miners claim the massacre has opened up their eyes and that they will never be foolish to "fall" for the speed up system again. "Slow down" is the new slogan. Only the scab will step across the "picket line of blood" to hit the pace that kills and break his fool back to enrich a greedy gang of murderous mine owners. And if the Butte miners adhere to their resolution their pocketbooks will be just as full and the cemeteries in the "Flats" not nearly so much so—in the long run.

A Coroner's inquest was held over the body of Thomas Manning. Its purpose obviously was not to fix the responsibility for his death but merely to exonerate the gunmen and the sheriff of a possible charge of murder.

Imagine what kind of a verdict can come out of an inquest where the jurors are hand-picked "copper-collared" gentlemen and in which the Coroner himself was afraid to officiate; where one of the corporation lawyers defending the gunmen is a convicted jury briber and the witnesses who testify are miners who know the moment they take the stand they are being spotted for the black-ball or worse. Imagine an "inquest" held in a court-room literally filled with the very thugs who committed the crime—all seated—while the friends of the deceased remain standing because the chairs for their accommodation were purposely removed beforehand! One of the attorneys for the "defense," D. Gay Stivers, was recognized as one of the armed assassins on the hill.

The verdict of the Coroner's inquest was all that had been expected of it. Read it over:

"In the matter of the inquest held at the courthouse and St. James' hospital, Silver Bow county, Montana, from April 29 to May 13, 1920, before John Doran, acting coroner for said county, we, the undersigned jurors, find the following verdict: . . . "That Thomas Manning died April 24, 1920, at St. James' hospital, Butte, Silver Bow county, Montana, from the effects of a wound caused by a .32-caliber bullet fired from a pistol in the hands of some person to this jury unknown. We find that there is no testimony tending to show where Thomas Manning was when shot."

(Signed)

GEORGE HAGERMAN, Foreman.
MARK EZEKIEL,
THOMAS DRISCOLL,
M. E. DOUGHERTY,
THOMAS FLETCHER,
R. J. DWYER."

The legal process of our courts, when dominated by property interests instead of traditional American justice, are as rotten as the capitalist system itself. They offend high heaven with the stench of their corruption.

BUTTE AND CENTRALIA

Butte is in reality the aftermath of Centralia. To one familiar with both cases there is a remarkable similarity. At Centralia the loggers, justified by all the laws of man and nature in defending themselves from a lynch mob, were nevertheless convicted of murder by an intimidated jury. Furthermore, in the reaction that followed, union halls were closed and thousands of union loggers thrown in jail. Unquestionably the copper trust sought to operate on similar lines in this instance. The lives of a few of their gun-thugs meant nothing to them. Troops were called into the district three days before the massacre. The assassins were stationed with riot guns and rifles at three different points on Anaconda road. The stage was all set for a second Centralia. The only thing missing was a convenient shot from the ranks of the pickets. Everything had been done to provoke them into violence beforehand. As it was the copper trust made a weak effort to prove that the miners fired the first shot. The lives of a few of its degenerate mercenaries would have been a cheap price for the copper trust to pay for the orgy of repression and union smashing that would inevitably have followed. But the scheme failed.

As it turned out it was fortunate that the five hundred pickets were unarmed. Had a single shot been fired in self defense or a single gunman killed, there is no doubt the halls of the union miners would have been raided and closed. The capitalist papers would have carried screaming headlines about "I. W. W. outlaws in Butte shooting unoffending mineguards in the back." Union officers would have been arrested and tried for murder and thousands of miners persecuted and hunted to earth, as was done to the loggers of the West coast after Centralia. Stool pigeons and provocateurs are trying to incite premature and hopeless acts of violence in all parts of the United States today. Patience, iron discipline are more important right now than any small deed of angry reprisal.

As a miner remarked to the writer a few days ago in Butte, "Let them have their inning now. We refuse to stop fighting the copper trust in order to battle with its hired thugs. We have our industrial power. They cannot take this away from us, and we intend to use it where it will hurt the most. Things won't always remain this way. Labor's day is dawning, and as for the 'killers'—they'll keep."

Butte bids fair to be a thorn in the side of American plutocracy for some time to come.

BLOODY BUTTE

The Butte Building Trades Council has sent out thousands of the following significant handbills, printed in black and red. All union men—I. W. W.

and others—will do well to read the message and take warning:

STAY AWAY FROM BLOODY BUTTE

The Workers (on April 21, 1920), numbering fifteen, were shot down in cold blood by the hired assassins of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

In the guise of deputy sheriffs, and in the company of their employers, these men performed their dastardly deeds.

The constituted authorities of the city and county—the sheriff, his regular deputies and uniformed police—not only stood passively by watching the slaughter of the innocent workers, but several of them actually participated in the shooting.

The Workers, peaceably and quietly picketing avenues of approach to the places of employment, and strictly within the law, were mowed down by the incarnate fiends hired for this purpose.

Workers alone being shot, no arrests have been made.

Today tears of the orphans and widows are falling where lately flowed the blood of their loved ones.

Workers, keep away from Bloody Butte, lest you be their next victim.

All Unions of the Building Trades, who have been locked out since February 2, 1920, are standing firm against all odds.

Bankruptcy is stalking the merchants of Butte.

The Workers are withdrawing their funds from the banks of the city.

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL,
Butte, Montana.

AN APPEAL

The victims of the Anaconda Road—the men who were wounded and shot down by the hired murderers of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. and Sheriff O'Rourke and his squad of regular deputies and uniformed police on bloody Wednesday, April 21st,—have been given every care and attention that medical skill and hospital service affords. Young Sullivan is still in a room at St. James' hospital, attended night and day by trained nurses and given every care that that institution can give. Several of the wounded who have been discharged from the hospitals are still under the care of the surgeons.

The charge for hospital services and surgeons' bills will run the expense considerably over a thousand dollars, to say nothing of the funeral expenses of Fellow Worker Manning. Butte Branch of the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800 has been taking care of the bills for these expenses as they are presented from time to time, but the strain on the treasury will be more than the branch can stand.

Besides the hospital and funeral expenses, there is the added expense for taking care of the strike sufferers, at whose homes the wolves of want and hunger have already come prowling. Thousands of the breadwinners of Butte families are on strike and many of them are in actual need now and on the relief list. These workers and their wives and children must not be allowed to starve. It is the hope that the companies will soon be forced to accede to all or a part of the demands of the strikers, but the need for relief exists now and will exist for some time after the strike has been called off.

We are taking this means of appealing to all class-conscious workers to contribute to the hospital and relief funds for this strike. Look up a delegate or member who has the relief lists issued by Butte district and give what you can. If there is no list in your camp or community send in and get a list and circulate it or send in your contributions to Nick Radivooff, Secretary of Butte District, 318 North Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.

Report of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. to the Twelfth Annual Convention, May 10th, 1920, Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Workers—Greetings:

Your General Executive Board in rendering our report to this Twelfth Annual Convention cannot do otherwise than begin by recognizing that this convention is but another milestone on the road to industrial freedom. Many things have happened that have proved to be temporary obstacles in our path the last year. One chief obstacle to the General Office has been the lack of finance at various intervals, due largely to the general draw on the members and also on the workers who contribute funds to the defense of our fellow workers and others who are arrested for their principles of solidarity.

At the first meeting of the General Executive Board, convening on August 14th, 1919, and remaining in conference daily until August 30th, 1919, we found that the total cash in the treasury of both defense and the General Office was on August 1st, 1919, only \$7,728.16 (seven thousand, seven hundred twenty-eight dollars and sixteen cents).

From that time on, the General Office funds have been fluctuating, sinking as low as \$92.06 (ninety-two dollars and six cents). At the end of November, 1919, a condition existed which did not allow of replenishing the stock of the organization.

Indebtedness of Industrial Unions

This condition can and must be changed immediately. First, is the indebtedness of the industrial unions, which show enormous figures of over \$1,000,000. However, the assets of the industrial unions will probably reduce these figures to some extent, but not below the point of their "Credit being bad." If some means were devised to make prompt payments this would alleviate some of the financial stress of your General Headquarters. Another reason for the lack of funds is that the fifty-cent due stamp, with its fifteen cents per capita, has become too small to meet the financial requirements, even if the payments were promptly made. Your General Executive Board therefore recommends that this Convention take up the vital problems of ways and means to raise the necessary finance to meet an increase of between 200 and 300 per cent for supplies, etc.

Industrial Union Financial Statements

We are of the belief that in order that the General Executive Board and the rank and file of the Industrial Unions may know the exact status of the various unions, in order to take intelligent action throughout the organization, that it is absolutely necessary that a report of the assets and liabilities of the Industrial Unions should be printed in their monthly financial statement at least every three months; we therefore make this a recommendation.

Our desire to have a basis for commencing on a solid foundation can be best judged by the passage of the following resolution, with the added rider, at the G. E. B. meeting held in August, 1919. The resolution was not lived up to:

Moved by King, seconded by H. Bradley, that October 1 shall be set as date to check up all supplies on hand, in all Industrial Unions. Supplies on hand this date and supplies and stamps actually sold previously but not remitted for will be taken as a basis to start new accounts. Carried. (Note—We set this date ahead instead of back, like the Convention, because it is almost impossible to go back and get a check, where it would be easier to work ahead.)

Publishing Costs

Your G. E. B. thinks it advisable to mention here that much of our literature and supplies are today being sold at an actual loss of from one cent to four cents. In one case we mention the new due book, which was figured out at 12 1-2 cents each, but finally cost between 18 and 20 cents, without overhead expense of handling it. Prices will have to be changed to make a balance on these items.

Literature

Your G. E. B., while not making any specific statement of the abolishing of certain pieces of literature, realizes how urgent it is for modern, up-to-date pamphlets on industrial unionism. We believe that if each industrial union had a booklet or pamphlet dealing with specific conditions existing in each industry, which shows clearly every phase, evolutionary and economic, together with the human element, and the necessity of changing the system by organizing industrially within the shop, etc., that we would have literature of a more educational value than some of the old theoretical literature. It was intended to get out "Industrial Union Handbooks," but, again finances prevented us from doing so. We did, however, get out revised editions of some of our older pamphlets and a few new ones, together with several pamphlets in various languages and also many leaflets. We must impress on you the necessity for new literature.

New papers were published in the following languages: Bohemian, Roumanian and Croatian. Unfortunately, we had to suspend publication of the Croatian paper for lack of an editor, and the Spanish paper, Swedish paper and Polish paper were suspended for lack of finances. We have fourteen publications at present, nine of which are published in Chicago, four in New York, and one in Seattle. The Board also has given permission (at the request of the "Jewish Unity Conference," made up of I. W. W. members from various cities) to publish a Jewish paper in New York. The reasons are that there are more Jewish people in New York and because the Jewish paper has been a financial loss in Chicago. Your G. E. B. is also of the opinion that Industrial Union Bulletins are a drawback to the regular publications, and we therefore recommend the following, with the note of explanation:

Moved by King, seconded by Miller, that editors of papers shall be instructed to put the following plan before the membership: That Industrial Union Bulletins shall be published in the various papers instead of each Industrial Union issuing a separate bulletin. Carried unanimously. (Note—The issuance of large printed bulletins by separate Industrial Unions tends to keep down the circulation of the Organization papers and takes quite a lot of money that could be used for other purposes. For instance, if the Industrial Worker acts as the official bulletin of the Industrial Unions in the Northwest, Solidarity for Industrial Unions in the Middle States and the Fellow Worker for those Industrial Unions in the East, we will avoid the publication of news items which tend to lower the circulation of the papers and will cut down the expense of the Organization as a whole. We must carry on our work as efficiently as any business firm if we wish to survive. Many leaflets have been printed in various languages at the request of those speaking the language. We find the demand has not been so great after the matter has been

gotten out; so, we recommend that those ordering such supplies should be held responsible for its distribution and the financial indebtedness caused by their apathy in circulating such literature.

In our endeavor to divide the items of literature and supplies into what we termed "direct charges" and "consignment charges" your board made a rule which should be adhered to rigidly, that all literature, buttons, pins, card cases, pennants, charters and seals, office supplies and delegates' supplies should be paid for on delivery, and therefore be classed as "direct charges." This does not include due books and due stamps, which should be paid for monthly, as they are sold. There can be no excuse for withholding charges on the goods sold during the month, which is against any Industrial Union.

Charters

During the year many charters have been issued. Five Industrial Unions have come into being, namely: the Tobacco Workers No. 1150, the Shoe Workers No. 1250, the General Distribution Workers I. U. No. 1300, the Glass Workers I. U. No. 1400, the Foodstuff Workers I. U. No. 1500, together with the issuance of 115 branch charters to the following industries: 12 to the Construction Workers, 36 to the Metal and Machinery Workers, 12 to the Coal Miners, 3 to the Rubber Workers, 6 to the Foodstuff Workers, 2 to the Shoe Workers, 4 to the Railroad Workers, 5 to the Marine Transport Workers, 3 to the Lumber Workers, 1 to the Fishermen, 12 to the Textile Workers, 2 to the Printing and Publishing Workers, 1 to the Furniture Workers, 1 to the Tobacco Workers, 3 to the Bakery Workers, 1 to the Shipbuilders, 1 to the Glass Workers, 1 to the General Recruiting Union, 7 to the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, 2 to Metal Mine Workers.

Resignation of G. E. B. Member

During the year three of our G. E. B. members resigned: Fellow Workers Jackson, Nelson and James King. Fellow Workers John Grady and August Walquist having received the next highest number of votes were called in to fill the vacancies. Grady, being under indictment in Washington, has been unable to function, and the balance of the vacancies will be filled as soon as possible.

During the first meeting of the G. E. B. they decided on two questions of international importance: The decision to send Fellow Worker George Hardy to England, and the affiliation with the Third International.

Fellow Worker George Hardy spent upwards of five months in England and Wales and Scotland and did a great deal to create an atmosphere of good will toward the I. W. W. Hundreds of resolutions of protest were sent to the president of the United States and the Department of Justice, almost half a million pieces of literature dealing with the persecution of the I. W. W. were paid for by the Trade Union movement of Great Britain. Fellow Worker Hardy was a delegate to the Shop Stewards' Conference, which resulted in their conference deciding to become linked up with the I. W. W., the official communication having been received by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., which was signed by George Peet, the National Secretary and the London Organizer, Dave Ramsey, of the Shop Stewards' and Workers Committee movement of Great Britain. Much more was accomplished that was reported in our papers, etc., including raising the question on the floor of the House of Commons. Fellow Worker Hardy was also instructed to attend the International Transport Workers' Conference at Christiania, but was prevented from doing so by the British passport office. Other delegates were present in the place of Hardy.

The Board believed in so far as the Third Inter-

national was the only Workers' International that had ever come into existence throughout history that disagreed with the meek and mild parliamentary programs, that we should show our approval of it as opposed to the opportunism of the Second International, and particularly so because we were convinced that our Russian Fellow Workers in Russia are only maintaining the political character of the first Soviet Government to hold and gain power temporarily during the transitory period from capitalism to industrial communism.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the bitter persecution of our Organization still continues. We know that most of the delegates present have been victims of the wrath of trustified capital. There are, however, many things we cannot leave out, while many very important matters pertaining to this organized persecution (by the various governing bodies, and particularly the state governments, which are using the "Criminal Syndicalist" law) will not be mentioned, as it has become so enormous as to render it impossible to embody it in our report.

Your G. E. B. feels it imperative to report in a general way the fact that the Wichita, Kas., case was lost, with the result of our Fellow Workers being sent to prison at Leavenworth after being held in jail for over two years. Then there was the Krieger case in Tulsa, Okla., with a hung jury and a retrial about to take place, and just as the Organization was making headway in the Northwest the conspiracy of the Lumber Trust, which led a mob of American Legionaries in an attack on the hall in Centralia, Wash., that resulted in the death of four of the attackers and one of our valiant Fellow Workers, Wesley Everest, resulting in the indictment, trial and conviction of seven Fellow Workers at Montesano, Wash., who were sentenced to from twenty-five to forty years in prison. Thirty-six of our Fellow Workers were sentenced in Tacoma, Wash., to from a fine of \$250 to as high as fourteen years imprisonment, with several hundred now in jails in the states in the Northwest. In one case, that of Sand Point, Idaho, we had better luck, having secured an acquittal for seventeen Fellow Workers, only one being convicted, whose sentence was comparatively light. Also an acquittal of three Fellow Workers in Bellingham, Wash., and several hung juries in the Northwest. Many other cases are being tried all over the country.

Butte Strike

The Butte strike, now in progress, has been accompanied by disaster for our Fellow Workers looking to better their conditions, etc., and demanding the release of the political and industrial prisoners. Sheriff O'Rourke and the A. C. M. gunmen fired into 300 striking miners, resulting in the death of Fellow Worker Manning and probable death of three other Fellow Workers. We urge all the workers to stand behind the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800 in this fight for principle and their demand to open the jail and prison doors.

Your G. E. B. wishes to warn the Convention against such actions as were taken by Harold Lord Varney (the decamped "emotional" aspirant to become a "Great Labor Leader"), who without permission of the Organization Committee of No. 300, while he was functioning as their Secretary-Treasurer, took it upon himself to move the office of No. 300 to New York City. To some extent this caused disruption in the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, which has been overcome to a great extent and normal conditions established.

Industrial District Council

Your Board also decided to leave in abeyance the starting of Industrial District Councils, which were decided on in the last annual convention. This was done because no intimation was given as to

their function or how they were to be made up. The Board does, however, feel that these councils have a function when defined and put into operation and could serve as instruments to bring into existence district solidarity, also a stability of action inside the I. W. W. if adopted generally, with full approval of rank and file as to decisions arrived at.

Appointment of Secretary-Treasurer of General Defense Committee

Some criticism was given the Board when they appointed Fellow Worker Haywood to the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the General Defense Committee. We wish to state the condition was such in the Defense Office that it was essential that some one with a knowledge of publicity and handling finance should take office immediately. We could not wait to select. We recognized that it was also necessary to have good speakers on the road, so, summing up, between the demand that Haywood go on the road and our urgent necessity for an efficient Secretary-Treasurer for the Defense, we chose the latter. However, we are glad to report that immediately a marked improvement was apparent, as you will notice in Fellow Worker Haywood's financial report. It was our intention to replace Haywood as soon as we had secured some one to fill the position, but, as you know, the events following made a successful tour of the country uncertain.

Outlook for the I. W. W.

We have had many things happen in the past year that your Board had cognizance of. The many strikes that became national questions, such as the coal miners' strike, the steel strike, the New York Harbor strike, resulting in a break-down of solidarity, there was a marvelous spirit of solidarity shown by many groups. In the New York Harbor strike the M. T. W. I. U. No. 8 was on the job, and with the assistance of G. E. B. Member George Speed, who did good work, M. T. W. gained hundreds of members. The steel strike showed the futility of trying to organize hybrid industrial unions under the camouflage of the A. F. of L. The railroad strike proved the workers are tired of long drawn out negotiations that do not get the results the workers are seeking, and particularly so when, as shown in the recent rail strike, with the Brotherhood officials always on the defensive, while the workers are feeling the desire for action. This is a sign of the breaking down of the craft unions, with their inefficient tactics and methods. The Textile strike in New Bedford is an unauthorized strike, but it is a symptom of the never-ending struggle of Labor and a desire of the workers to do something for themselves.

The above is also a criterion of our own slowness and in some cases obvious apathy to our responsibilities. Your Board has watched this condition during the year and has been unable to move. We feel that if the Industrial Unions had paid their indebtedness we could have met with better results during the year. There is no reason for many thousands of dollars lying in an Industrial Union treasury when they owe General Headquarters many thousands of dollars. If our finances were kept circulating we could attend to many things which would bring results; therefore, we again remind you of the obvious duties of the Industrial Unions, in making prompt payments of their per capita and supplies.

The many O. B. U.'s that are being attempted in many industries are going to prove temporary obstacles to real revolutionary Industrial Unionism if we do not cover the fields open to us. Many attempts in the metal industry are being made to form an Amalgamated Metal Workers, and there seems to be no desire to form such a union by the

workers. The same holds true of the railroad workers, but in the railroad shops a few have joined the O. B. U. and in some cases, thinking they were joining the I. W. W. We can meet this situation by perfecting our plans and organization to give the workers a tangible plan of unionism. If we do this, the O. B. U.'s will prove short-lived institutions where they are in operation, and the ones in embryo will never develop enough to be known in the field of unionism.

The International Situation

Looking abroad, your G. E. B. thinks the international field has never looked better for a realization of a World International of the Industrial Workers of the World. From all parts of the globe come greetings and affirmances of a desire to adhere to the principles for which we stand. In most cases the organizations take other names, such as the British movement, who call themselves Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees; the Syndicalist movement of various countries, and the Maritime Workers of South America, who have endorsed the I. W. W. Also an I. W. W. administration has been formed in Chile and Germany. We are glad that the Shop Stewards' National Conference, held at London, January 10th, this year, voted to become linked up with the I. W. W. It shows the prestige the I. W. W. has gained. These actions, and many other things, including the Australian move toward Industrial Unionism, are directly due to the influence of the I. W. W. propaganda. We might also add the O. B. U. of Canada came into existence because of the demands in British Columbia and the Western Provinces for an Industrial Union.

The coming year ought to be one of progress and one which will see the release from prisons of all the thousands of our fellow workers and of class war prisoners. This can only come about with security for the future by the co-operation of all the units of our administration. We leave the General Defense Secretary to give you a detailed statement of the numbers of our valiant fellow workers who have gone within the prison walls, and hope that a bounteous year is ahead for the realization of our aims—the abolition of the capitalist system and economic slavery, and the establishment of the Industrial Commune. With best wishes,

Yours for the I. W. W.,

GEORGE SPEED, Chairman,
CHARLES MILLER,
GEORGE D. BRADLEY,
AUGUST WALQUIST,
HENRY BRADLEY,
Gen. Executive Board.

SPANISH PAPER REAPPEARS

Our Spanish language organ has reappeared after forced suspension for some months. It is intended to publish it once a month until such time as it can be made a bi-weekly, if not a weekly, with due co-operation of all concerned.

Prospects are good for better support than ever before, and from all Spanish speaking sections.

All bundle agents are urged to send in their orders at once, and all fellow workers or friends who can send us addresses of Spanish speaking workers should do so. We have a larger list than ever, but we want more names and addresses, and contributions will be acceptable to our fund for sending out sample copies.

Address SOLIDARIDAD, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

More About Communism

By T. R. SPEAKMAN

The advent of the Third International, together with two parties of political communism in the United States, has provoked much discussion and controversy as to revolutionary methods. The significance of a rival in the traditional domain of I. W. W. theory should not be lost.

When the two parties (they are in fact one party, with merely a difference of official personnel) broke away from the Socialist Party of America their manifest object was the repudiation of the reformist and purely parliamentary tendencies of the parent body. The I. W. W. pointed out in a flash that there was nothing to repudiate save political action (here used in the sense in which it has always been used by the followers of the "syndicalist revolt," as meaning the capture of the class state). Perceiving the result of political methods in the stagnation of the movement of which they had been a part, there was only one course left for disillusioned Socialists, to align themselves with us, with the I. W. W., theoretically the product of a previous similar reaction from the same school of political socialism! The "break" was not fundamental and complete; the "Communists" were still obsessed with a political ideology, the product of their sojourn in the bourgeois Socialist party.

Despairing of capturing the state by parliamentary, ballot-box methods, the Communists resolved to capture it by "mass action," culminating in "the dictatorship of the proletariat," and, ultimately, in the industrial republic. But the spectre of the I. W. W. haunted their constitutional convention; they gave us a noncommittal endorsement and vehemently proclaimed the merits of **revolutionary industrial unionism** as a means of waging the everyday struggle and as the foundation of the structure of the industrial state of the future; but for purposes of revolution, of the transition from capitalism to communism, never!

Such a sweeping dismissal of the I. W. W. program of building the new society within the shell of the old, of industrial unionism as a "vehicle" of revolution, can only mean that we, in the eyes of the communists, were reformists. The question naturally arises as to what extent this opinion could have been consistently held in the face of the ability of the I. W. W. to demonstrate the soundness of its position and program. Communism must have encountered a real or fancied I. W. W. impotency to substantiate its belief that we were merely a labor union that made a lot of noise, that I. W. W. revolutionary attributes were due to our personnel and not "inherent" in the organization.

The "communists" are not altogether to blame for the opinions they hold. The I. W. W. has assimilated—and dispersed—many heterogeneous elements, rebels and non-rebels. It has done little, if anything, toward actually building "the new society within the shell of the old." Various "con-

ditions," of course, are responsible for this, but man may make his own conditions to the extent of his capabilities and out of the available material, within the limits imposed by forces beyond his control. The I. W. W. can "build," and under the conditions of capitalism, to the extent that it devotes itself and its energy to that purpose and **adapts the structure of the organization to the needs, not of wage slavery, but of the revolutionary transition.** The simply agitational and theoretical propaganda of the past is incompatible with this purpose, and the vengeance it has inspired has caused us to resort to justification and "defense."

"Communism" has also suffered at the hands of the law. "Communism" has no revolutionary and political "program"; its function is agitational propaganda, the negative phase of the revolution. When the national headquarters of the Communist Labor Party were closed by the authorities, there was no effort made to open them up again. "Communism" has taken to itself the function of agitational propaganda; signs are not wanting that it will relinquish its "program," and devote itself entirely to its present methods. In this respect and for this purpose, there is a place for the methods of "communism" in the American labor movement.

"Communism" does not contemplate being forced with the eternal necessity of million-dollar defense funds. This was the phase of the I. W. W. which prevented its being hailed by the Communists as a revolutionary body, the means, the vehicle, and the consummation of the aspirations of the proletariat of the United States. It is utopian to imagine that there is, or can be, free speech and legal guarantees under capitalism, which gobbles up "protests" with unimaginable relish, and with a working class which is impervious to "persecution" unless it feels itself persecuted. This feeling capitalism has prevented by providing itself with innumerable excuses and pretexts for its depredations. To deny it these excuses and pretexts by constructive propaganda, and to confound it with the methods now used by "communism," is the solution the working class will ultimately find for the problems of "defense." The opposition then encountered would present the issue so clearly and squarely that "persecution" would readily bring forth responsive protest and action on the part of the working class. It is a rather flat and empty glory to suffer for the inconsequential sin of carrying a card.

"Communist" objections to the I. W. W. program are ably summarized in an article entitled "Trades Unionism, Industrial Unionism and Workers' Committees," appearing in *The Voice of Labor*, clandestine organ of the C. L. P., for April 20th:

"Unionism, trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist parties to develop

the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois state.

"The concept that industrial unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organized in industrial unions under capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working class, being the impulse of laborism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism, while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under capitalism must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of parliamentary socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

"The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of soviets.

"After the conquest of political power, and under the protection of the soviet dictatorship, industrial unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a communist basis, and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organized producers."

(In this connection the Editor wishes to call attention to the chart and article by George Hardy in this number, illustrating the I. W. W. plan of acquiring gradual control of the industries and absorbing the functions of the capitalist state by means of industrial unions and councils. These I. W. W. councils are the bodies which would make superfluous the "soviets" planned by the communists, thereby also making unnecessary the whole adventurous, nerve-racking program of "revolutionary" mass action, with attendant bloodshed and suffering.)

A political ("communist" definition) strike can be nothing more than a strike for social, as distinguished from purely economic ends. The general strike, if directed at the release of prisoners, the socialization of industry, or as a protest against governmental tyranny, would be called a political strike by the "communists."

The I. W. W. does not expect to organize all, or a majority of the workers under the conditions of capitalism. It would be a queer twist of mind that could conceive of capitalism as not having developed stratas of ignominy, incapable of organization now or ever. The I. W. W., to be true to itself, must organize with its functions so centralized as to prevent its spirit being smothered by a mere parliamentary majority, such as accompanies a rapid or sudden increase in numbers. New members, or any members, cannot be "educated" unless they are moved to educate themselves.

The "aristocracy of labor" have rejected revolutionary ideas. The "impulse" of "laborism," their present expression, is due for a rapid shattering in the face of the loss of skill by technical development and the pressure exerted on all classes of workers, including craftsmen, since the war.

The I. W. W. has put its faith, and will continue to do so, in its capacity for developing a minority with the idealism and ability to direct the movement in revolutionary channels.

The "impact of revolution" is the collapse of capitalism, not a mechanical collapse, but a collapse carrying with it the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The workers must qualify themselves to manage industry. The "communists" evidently intend to monopolize this function themselves, or leave it until the morning after the revolution, when they will emulate the Russian Bolsheviks by paying fabulous sums for bourgeois executives. The proletariat will be able to enlist the support of these bourgeois technicians when the new order is well established, but until that time it will have to depend on the talent from its own ranks. The success of this phase of revolution depends also on the development of a minority qualified to assume the initiative, and can be accomplished thru intensive education and centralization of function.

"Growing into the new society" involves a conception of social evolution, of evolution in general. We are not fatalists; evolution and adaptation may be inevitable—otherwise the universe has labored in vain, so far as man is concerned—but they are not mechanical or regular in the commonly accepted sense of "growth." Evolution is conscious, dynamic and cumulative to the extent of our capacity to make it so, to the extent that the evolution of the past is embodied in us. Theory, to be effective and worthy of the name, must be developed from practice and proven in further practice. The revolutionary climax of growth is analogous to "birth" in the organic sense.

The parallel between industrial and political growth does not exist. The awakening class-con-

sciousness of the workers finds coherent expression in the industrial struggle. Every victory imparts a taste of power of more potential revolutionary value than the desperation sought by exponents of the philosophy of misery. Parliamentarianism, on the contrary, does not merge itself in the life of the working class. Reforms, even industrial reforms, carrying with them a momentary reduction of surplus value, are absorbed by capitalism and turned to its own advantage. Increased efficiency resulting from improvement in the workers' physical and mental condition, is made the basis for increased exploitation by means of the introduction of new machinery and methods for which the loss incurred by the capitalist in yielding the concession furnishes the incentive. Reforms are incapable of concrete realization; their only value lies in the extent to which they can be made the means to the conquest of power and the establishment of working class control. No political reforms have this value (not even prohibition, a gift of the gods which we unscrupulously accept, without forgetting that it is subject to revocation).

The problem of the revolutionary conquest of power, when shorn of its emotionalism, reduces itself to a process of organization, allowing for the development and utilization of spontaneity. Nor is this in contradiction with the principle of centralized organization, anarchism to the contrary notwithstanding. Freedom of the units and cohesion of the whole are complementary, not antagonistic, unless freedom is conceived as a final truth, independent of time, space and condition. The conquest of power is fundamentally the "conquest" of self (or lack of self) by the working class, a development taking its departure from the conditions produced by the collapse of capitalism, deriving its momentum from the capacity and consciousness of the workers and culminating in the workers taking the reins of their destiny in their own hands. All of this is embodied in the fundamental tenets of the I. W. W.

Soviets, political and transitory in character, industrial in constituency and representation, and functioning geographically and politically, are not a genuine improvement on the transitional and administrative structure proposed by the I. W. W. Industrial unions are "political" (in the communist sense), they are industrial in constituency and representation, and they function geographically, or can function by means of local and district councils, already provided for in the I. W. W. program. (See chart on pages 32-33.—Ed.) As for the rest, "communism" admits that the I. W. W. structure and program is feasible when it has had its day of glory!

Much of the contention between "communism" and the I. W. W. emanates from the interpretation of the terms "political action" and "political power." These terms, in a strictly scientific sense, did once mean what "communism" says.

"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." "Communism," and, if reports are credible, the U. S. Department of Justice, sought to interpose a program and official thesis dealing with the overthrow, the "active moment of revolution," when the struggle will be for the extended construction and exercise of power by adaptive industrial union machinery, or "soviets," if "communism" insists on the importation of phraseology. "Communism" has not died; it has retired, and from its present position and by its present methods, forgetting its fictitious dual "program," can exercise functions which a revolutionary industrial union cannot undertake, and still maintain a rallying place for the working class preparing for the realization of its historic mission.

Hear - Me, War !

By Covington Ami.

Shed your glamour and your tinsel, put aside your braid and plume,
The strutting stride of dress parade, the manners you assume;
Give orders that the bands shall cease, your chargers all dismount,
And in the face of youth for once your naked ego flout!

The fanfaronade and flags cut out, the incense and the priest,
The praise of perjured statesmen . . . and . . . show the maggots at their feast!
The dead boys on the battlefield, their bodies gnawed by dogs,
Their eyes torn out by buzzards and their hearts by starving dogs!

Appeal for once to reason, fiend, once only if you dare,
And let the soldiers in the trenches see the men who sent them there!
Yea! let the blinded boys behold the Lobbies and the Rings
That profit by the miseries that war to Mankind brings!

Quit prating of "democracy," quit making Christ your tool;
Let us hear no more of "kultur," "order," "law," or "golden rule";
Be man enough to tell the truth, O Mars! if you be brave,—
The truth that means you following slain millions to the grave!

The truth, and nothing but the truth, in truth's plain language tell,—
Of ruin, dearth and slaughter boast, deeds darker far than hell,—
You dare not, O dare not! lest to life's alluring call
The Soul of Man awakens and your bondsmen on you fall!

The Capitalist's



*Is in his pocketbook
And he uses the*



Over you so he can wear



*By organizing right we
can give him a*



*With which to earn an
honest living.*

The Labor Movement in Spain

"EL SINDICATO UNICO"—THE SPANISH O. B. U.

By GENARO PAZOS

While I was preparing this article on "The Labor Movement in Spain," some other fellow worker appeared ahead of me with parts of what I was intending to add in this article. I was very glad to see in *Solidarity*, issue of April 3, an article entitled "Liberating Class War Prisoners—How they Do It in Spain," which is very important indeed. This was part of my work which I was reproducing from "La Voz del Obrero" (The Voice of the Worker), a bi-monthly paper published by the Local Syndicate of La Coruna. Also I notice that Delegate R-17 edifies the readers of *Solidarity* with the revolt in the Ninth Regiment of Artillery, and the Congress of the National Confederation of Labor, held in Madrid from December 10 to 17, 1919.

Many other cases are very interesting, but those two are the most important ones, first, because they show the demoralization in the ranks of soldiers, and, second, because they indicate the remarkable activities of Labor in Spain. I am informed that in many places the soldiers refused to obey orders from their officers when on duty, and when the army of Spain gets ready to revolt against their officials (and the facts below and above show it) then the revolution in Spain will soon take effect. It will be so, because the workers are ready to come out at any time, and when workers and soldiers, all members of the same family, act together, then—good-night, Autocracy!

Here are two facts to affirm my words: In La Linea, a town near Gibraltar, the bakers were on strike. A committee of soldiers appeared before the local federation, saying, "We were ordered to talk with you first; shall we go or not?" The reply was something similar—"Boys, you know our situation and conditions. You are soldiers in military uniform. Analyzing our conditions and your own situation, act according to your own judgment." That was a reasonable answer, and the soldiers gave a no less reasonable reply: "All right, we won't go and break the strike." They refused to obey orders that were not on their own rules.

In some of the Castilian provinces, I believe it was, stickerettes were stuck up on posts inside the barracks. They were anti-militaristic, of course. The general saw it, and called the entire regiment to the yard. There he made a speech, and when he was through, he commanded: "Those who brought those stickerettes in, step forward!" And how amazed he was when the entire number, as one man, stepped to the front. In other words, every one was in accord with that campaign against militarism. All these things are growing more and more every day, and the blow will come soon, no doubt.

In Barcelona the bricklayers refused to work on the building of a jail, and although it is over a year

the work is undone and there is no hope that it will be built.

Another act which is not less important is this: The captains and mates had a union, winning their demands through the transport workers' solidarity. When the longshoremen were locked out in many ports by the bosses, those deck officials showed their solidarity also. A ship arrived in Malaga, and the yellow syndicate was trying to discharge the ship; a "Red" committee went on board to explain the situation to the captain. Rapidly the order was sent to the consignee asking that the cargo should not be taken out of the hold except by men carrying Confederation membership cards. As the consignee was opposed to this, the captain wired the company owners, and the reply was that if the consignee continued refusing to take "Reds" then its consignee commission could be taken away by the captain. Many ships went from one port to another, returning to the port of departure without being unloaded, in order to force the owners and consignees to employ workers from the Syndicate and not non-union men.

These are facts which show the solidarity among the manual workers and technical officials.

As I said at the beginning, my intention was to make a condensed statement of the labor movement in Spain from the start; that is, ever since the first symptoms of organized labor appeared in Spain to this period. But, as Delegate R-17 intends to give information about the National Confederation Congress (which I recommend to every reader interested in labor developments) and also the facts of Zaragoza, I will limit myself to relate, with dates, the real facts of the revolutionary labor movement in that little parcel of land in the European continent, called "Spain."

But before I go any further I congratulate R-17 on his first article—not because we look for "tips," but for the simple reason that in North America the labor movement in Spain is either unknown or those who can get facts aren't willing to publish them. I recalled this because magazines and papers called "liberal" and "radical" never show any inclination to present the true facts of revolutionary attempts inside that country. Even during the miserable action of the Manufacturers' Association, with the so-called "lock-out" trying to force the workers to submission through hunger, they never succeeded in breaking the revolutionary spirit of class-conscious workers; but, even then, I said, nothing was printed. And allow me to say this: that the "lock-out in Spain, especially in Barcelona, was the last weapon used by the capitalist class to destroy the "Sindicato Unico," as the bosses state in a circular published in *El Sol* (The Sun), January 18, 1919, where they openly state that their aim was to destroy this union, which was a new form of organization adopted first at the Congress

of the Regional Confederation of Catalonia, held in Barcelona from June 28 to July 1, 1918.

A couple of words about this "Syndicato Unico." It is similar to the Industrial Workers of the World, with its industrial unions, but with more local autonomy in general. As a matter of fact, as I will point out later, the doctrine of Spanish labor is not centralization to the point of control by one single body which commands all. That is, in my estimation, the only difference between the I. W. W. in America and the Syndicalists in Spain, under the new form of organization. Which is right or wrong time will show. In tactics they are the same.

Now to give an idea of the working class movement in Spain, and in order to obviate any idea that this revolt of today is merely a spontaneous uprising, it would be advisable to go as far back as before the International. By doing so we can analyze the feelings, teachings and so on of the leading movement, either economic or social.

I will start with the following question:

Does there really exist an economic movement in Spain, or does there not? If it does exist, is it of any importance? I quote a paragraph or two from a series of articles which appeared in the columns of an Italian revolutionary paper in Italy in regard to the revolutionary movement in Spain, written by an Austrian comrade, I believe. He said this: "In Spain the two revolutionary poles, Barcelona and Jerez, are situated northeast and southwest on the Peninsula, as in Europe the two revolutionary poles, Russia and Spain, are at the northeast and southwest of the continent. They are not nations of intellectual culture or compulsory education, but it is true that from these two illiterate countries will spread the flash which will cause the explosion which announces the social revolution.

And what characterizes Spain the most is that, although it may have contributed least to the labor movement in a theoretical and literary way, from a practical point of view it is the best leader of the movement. It is generally agreed that the Spanish workers were the first to put the general strike into practice, as well as other forms of direct action within the economic struggle.

The labor movement in Spain first appeared in 1840, when the symptoms of revolutionary syndicalism began in industrial centers of the country. The right of association was denied and the syndicates (unions) declared illegal. They were driven underground. In 1847 the first revolutionary Socialist paper appeared in Madrid but was suppressed very soon. The teachings were the Proudhon theory. About this period the first strike was called by the secret organizations in Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia under the banner of "Union or Death." This fight was for the right of assembly, the right to organize, like a few years ago in Seattle, when the free speech fight was on. The "legal" rights were granted but the persecutions went on. It was only a scheme to put the organizers in jail, because as long as they were

forced to work secretly the authorities couldn't find a single trace of the movement.

In November, 1847, acts of revolution started in Valencia and Saragoza. The workers at the latter city took control of it, expropriating food and other important necessities of life from the warehouses and ships anchored on the Ebro river. The soldiers were in sympathy with the workers, "infected" with socialistic propaganda. Almost in every Castilian city, mills, warehouses and factories were attacked with a view to "expropriation."

The communistic idea was spreading all over Andalusia, with the theoretical expression of "commune Republic." With this very idea, in June, 1863, over 5,000 men fought under the slogan, "Long live Communism," but were defeated by government forces, who killed twenty revolutionists and deported more than two hundred.

Beside this economic movement, another revolutionary idea appeared. It was the "Federal Republic," with Francisco Pi y Margall at its head. The economic and federal ideas of Proudhon greatly influenced Pi y Margall. To the federalist propaganda the Spanish proletariat owes its opposition to the centralization idea, politically as well as economically.

For the first time in 1868 came to Spain Giuseppe Fanelli, intimate friend of Bakunin. He organized the International in Madrid with Anselmo Lorenzo as one of the first members of that group. In 1873 the opponents to the new organization calculated the number of members to be 60,000. In 1870 the First International Congress (Spanish section) was held in Barcelona, and there the program was "out of politics," thus making the movement a purely economic affair.

The first paper, La Federacion (The Federation), defending the International principles, came out in 1869 with F. Pellicer as editor; in 1870 came another paper, La Solidaridad (Solidarity), and in 1871 the third one, La Emancipacion (Emancipation), with Pablo Iglesias and Anselmo Lorenzo, both anarchists of the Bakunin school at the time. The first issue came out with this motto: "In religious matters we are atheists, in politics anarchists, and in economics we are collectivists."

Owing to this propaganda, and seeing that he was losing ground, Marx, in 1871, sent his son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, to see if he could stop the influence of the Bakunin idea. He attended the general meeting in Madrid, January 7, and, getting in touch with the La Emancipacion editors, succeeded in capturing Pablo Iglesias' sympathy. Pablo Iglesias and others were excluded from the Madrid Federation because they were opposed to the International (Spanish section) principles.

At the annual congress, in Zaragoza, April, 1872, those excluded were admitted again but were expelled for good later, on account of insisting on carrying on propaganda against Bakunin's principles. Lafargue, Iglesias and seven others organized a new branch of the International, the Madrid Federation, and, with a membership of nine, was

recognized by Marx, Engels and the General Council in London, when the old branch with 60,000 was declared false. In the same year (1872) The Hague International Congress was held, approving Marx's proposition to exclude Bakunin, Guillaume and others and recognize the new Madrid International Federation. At the same congress the participation in politics was adopted.

The Third International Congress (Spanish section) took place in Cordova, December, 1872, voting against the decision of The Hague Congress and in favor of the Saint-Simon Congress, which was against political action. The Marx followers were using their best efforts, but in vain. They were disappearing, while the Bakunin side was growing, with its seven radical papers in the field.

In 1874, when the Republic was overthrown, after only a few months' existence, to make Alfonso XII the king of Spain, the persecutions forced the International to work secretly. But in spite of it papers were coming out here and there.

Four years later (1878) Pablo Iglesias organized in Madrid the first Social-Democratic group, keeping it secret till 1881. Iglesias himself affirmed a little later in a review, "Our Time" (Nuestro Tiempo), that "the working class movement from 1869 to 1885 was conducted by the anarchist element exclusively."

In 1881 the reaction wasn't so severe as before, and the movement came out openly, beginning the publication of The Social Review with 20,000 in circulation, which was very strange in a country where the majority didn't know how to read. It looks different today, for, according to a statement by New York Congressman Siegel a few weeks ago in regard to Spanish immigrants, they are now found O. K. in their literary test.

From that time on the Federation was inspired with the modern Syndicalism principles. A year later, September, 1882, the second congress of the Regional Federation was held with 250 delegates, representing eight unions, 218 local federations and 663 sections, with 70,000 members.

Right here I wish to call attention to the fact that up to that time the anarchists were "collectivists" and the socialists "communists," but from that date on, the anarchists became communists and the socialists collectivists (showing the hairfine distinction between these two expressions). In May, 1888, two organizations were formed: "Federation of Resistance against Capital," under the control of Syndicalists and others, and the "Workers' General Union," handled by the Socialist-Democrats.

From 1878 to 1881 only a socialist group was in existence and it was secret; in 1881 there were four, and in 1885 five groups in different parts of the country. The first socialist weekly paper appeared in 1886, El Socialista, with Iglesias editor.

At the elections the Socialists polled 5,000 votes in 1891 and 25,400 in 1901. Barcelona only gave 400 votes for Socialist candidates. According to Iglesias' figures the "General Union" was 3,500 strong in 1889 and 42,700 in 1902.

In 1888 a strike took place in Rio Tinto, where more than 12,000 miners took part. Over fifty-seven strikers were killed and 200 wounded. The first of May, 1890, every toiler stopped work for two days and the authorities didn't make a move. March, 1891, a Federation Congress was held and decided to call a general strike for the eight-hour day. The very same day Pablo Iglesias and other Social Democrats paid a visit to Premier Sagasta to tell him that they had nothing in common with the strikers, and that they were heart and soul against the revolutionists.

From 1886 to 1888 there was published in Barcelona "Acracia," a revolutionary paper, with Anselmo Lorenzo as editor; later on the "Productor", also a review, "Social Science," "Ideal Libre" (Free Ideal), "La Protesta" and "El Corsario," in La Coruna.

In the spring of 1900 a congress was held in Madrid with 200 delegates representing 52,000 members. The Regional Federation was there organized with all the Syndicates in it. Their principles were the revolutionary general strike and "solidarity strike." Before this time, 1898, the "White Review" (anarchist) was published in Madrid with a daily supplement for information about the every-day struggle, and in 1903 a daily paper, "Land and Liberty," was established. In 1901 Anselmo Lorenzo published another paper, "The General Strike." During this period strikes went on in Sevilla, Gijon, La Coruna, etc., etc., where the authorities were using their weapons against the workers.

In La Coruna, May, 1901, the civil guards, without cause, discharged their guns against a group of strikers, killing one and wounding a few others. Next day over six thousand workers attending the burial of the victim declared a protest general strike. When the workers returned from the cemetery martial law was proclaimed, and at the very same minute the guards opened fire without warning or mercy on the workers, leaving eight dead and fifty wounded. Nevertheless, somehow, the workers on strike won out, returning to work victorious, with revengeful feelings against the Socialists for their cowardly denouncing of the rebel workers, while not a word was said against the action of the guards.

In February, 1902, the Metal and Machinery workers of Barcelona went on strike for the nine-hour day, and a general strike in sympathy was declared, including 80,000 toilers. Not a single vehicle was moved, and Barcelona was in the workers' hands. A congressman said at the time: "If this movement spreads to every province of the country the government wouldn't have enough machine guns to settle this revolution."

The general strike idea has been propagated in Spain since the first International group was formed, and every new organization formed has adopted the same method. More than any pamphlet or theoretical program, the general strike idea was in the workers' mind since the important movement in

Barcelona, and from that time on the activities were for general strikes. As usual, the Socialists were against such strike. A committee from the Socialist party went to the military governor to assure him that Socialists have nothing to do with those "outlaw" "revolutionists." They went further, saying that if such strike takes place they would go to the guards' side in order to establish order. This was in 1902, and eight years later, some of them were the worst enemies of the workers during the tragical week of July, 1909, in Barcelona.

The strike over, Barcelona was kept for a year with the constitutional guarantees suspended and the military tribunal functioned often. Despite all restrictions, in 1903 a revolutionary daily paper came out, called "Land and Liberty." There were three scientific and philosophical reviews and twenty weeklies published in a country of 18,000,000 inhabitants, with half of the population illiterate. P. Zancada published a book, "El Obrero Espanol" (The Spanish Worker), in which he stated that nearly 40,000 workers were either revolutionists or sympathizers. The most important centers of propaganda were Catalonia, Andalucia, La Coruna and Cartagena.

Another barbaric move was made by the Spanish government when Alphonse XIII was crowned. Premier Antonio Maure, one of the worst reactionaries in the country, was looking for "honors" and he found them in Alcala del Valle when the agricultural workers were on strike. Using the same old tactics, the guards shot down two peaceful workers merely to find some excuse to kill the movement. The people got so excited that they jumped on the civil guards and disarmed them, thus taking revenge for the victims. Soldiers were sent and more than a hundred young boys, women and old men were arrested and tortured. The methods of Montjuich Castle were put in practice with more vigor than ever. Oh, if the walls could speak. A woman in a state of pregnancy was beaten till she had a miscarriage. Others were condemned to hard labor for life.

A campaign protesting against such atrocities started in many countries of Europe. In Cete, France, March 12, 1904, the harbor workers refused to work on board Spanish ships until the Alcala prisoners were taken out of jail. The business men were forced to send a petition to the government asking to set the prisoners free, as otherwise Spanish commerce would suffer a great loss.

Then, after many minor troubles here and there, came the tragical week called in Spain "la semana sangrienta" (the bloody week), in July, 1909, when the Calatonian workers rebelled, protesting against the sending of more troops to Morocco, Africa. With the Spanish-American war vividly in mind, they were not willing to allow the departure from Barcelona of any more cannon food.

A revolution started in which all the radical and liberal elements took part. During a week the city was in the hands of the workers. Skirmishes were going on between the workers and soldiers without

advantage to either side. It might have taken a different phase if the Republicans and Socialists had not deserted the rebel ranks, leaving the revolutionists at the mercy of the military forces then reconcentrated from everywhere in the country. This was the cause of failure, besides the fact that the other cities did not second the movement. In Alcira and Carcagante the commune was declared, being defeated, of course, after Barcelona capitulated.

This tragical week lives in the mind of every worker in Spain. October 13, 1909, is never forgotten—the day when Francisco Ferrer, Baro and three other comrades, one 18 years of age, were shot inside the historic walls of Montjuich castle, with many others tortured and exiled.

Year after year ever since wonderful movements were developing, consolidating more and more the workers in their efforts. General strikes were declared against the high cost of living. A special congress was called by the National Confederation and the General Union. A general strike took effect for twenty-four hours, and it would have been longer were it not for the parliamentary Socialists who were and are handling the General Union.

Many more columns could be used to give in detail the economic and social struggle in Spain. There never was peace. There were always causes that forced them to act.

Of late years the labor papers have been frequently suppressed, but the workers often managed to get out their papers in spite of it. Thus "La Voz del Obrero" of La Coruna, organ of the local Syndicalists, was still published in July, 1919, four months after it had been prohibited. The workers have a way of keeping in touch with one another that the powers cannot break down.

On June 28, 29, 30 and July 1, 1918, the Regional Confederation of Catalonia held its congress in Barcelona. Despite the situation in Catalonia the Congress was a success. After three consecutive sessions and hard discussion the "Sindicato Unico" was adopted. This adoption and its putting in practice brought on eight weeks of "lock-out" by the owners' federation against the newly adopted form of organization, as stated above. This congress was opened with the following declaration: "Taking into consideration the work done by our fellow workers of other countries, we want to prepare a superior form of organization to signalize the advent to power of the workers' commonwealth, and we wish to do this, if possible, before the fight that will undoubtedly soon take place to dethrone the bourgeoisie from their omnipotence.

At this congress more than four hundred delegates were present, representing every phase of work and every corner of the country, even a delegate from the Confederacao Geral do Trabalho of Portugal was present, representing 100,000 members. The number of members represented at the above congress was near to one million. Three months after it the membership reached over the million mark.

Lots of facts are reaching us now, either in capitalist sheets or in the mail from fellow workers, which are very interesting for the workers on this side of the water.

One thing that we are sure of is this, that the rebel spirit is with the workers there; they were, and are growing up under persecution, but despite all they never break down.

News that recently reached us indicates that the workers are determined to stick to their principles. The Sindicato Unico is declared illegal, but, as the Syndicalists said in a document that I have at hand, they will go ahead even if they are forced to work

secretly. The Catalonia governor and other authorities were in accord to prevent the delegates from collecting any dues, but no matter what they (the authorities) will try to do, the spirit will exist.

The Sindicato Unico may be said to be the Spanish I. W. W., inasmuch as its program is to unite the workers irrespective of crafts, to enable them to take over production and distribution. From one of their resolutions we quote:

"We are going toward what the money-mad bourgeoisie calls 'Utopia.' We are going toward the liberation of human beings, economically, politically and morally."

Prison Horizons

By MORTIMER DOWNING

Beck'ning, beyond these cup like walls
Glow bright horizons, where love calls
Bravely; but for the self-pent mind,
To generous ideals blind,
All space is but a sepulcher.

Wide as man's hope extends this cell;
Jails rot bodies; free minds dwell
Where'er sense eagerly gleans seed,
Whence fecund thought may blightly breed
Unending generation's joys.

In dungeons rulers hatch Despair,
But Hope invades such fetid air
And hushes to a gentle rest
This monstrous nurseling of the nest
Prepared by Hate for Lucifer.

We brought the light! And shall we fear?
Why shall we cower at the leer
Of Wealth's high priest? Why cringe to fate
Invited? We challenged Greed to sate
Its lusts upon us! We rejoice.

Mind-lighted, wide horizons spread,
While verging worldward Labor's tread
Stalks on in pace with new found facts,
Till workers shout, "Our Might enacts,
Their products shall producers own."

These portents through the prison shine,—
They blaze! tho Law and Rage combine
To dim their splendor and to hide
From captives' eyes the kindly pride,
Socrates, Christ as traitors died.

The Last Laugh on Landis

By John E. Nordquist

News Item—"Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis last night took the measure of the Reds, Socialists, I. W. W. and others of their ilk in a talk before 400 newspaper men and women. For forty minutes he kept them in a continuous roar of laughter at the expense of the Reds."

Forty minutes of laughter,
Forty minutes of fun,
As they listened to law's greatest grafter,
Who'd end every red with a gun.
You lickspittle editors grinning
With K. Mountain Landis "the great,"
Don't you know that we reds are winning
As we laugh at your scorn and hate?

Ye cringing editor carrion
Who bow to the rich and grand,
Ye refuse to hear the clarion
And side with the just of the land.
What have you done for the nation,
Or to the proud profiteer?
Have you CALLED FOR HIS DEPORTATION?
Have you stilled his scornful sneer?

Laugh till your white lips redden!
Sneer your face out of gear!
Threaten with bullets leaden!
For the end of your laugh is near!
Judge "KILL MEN LANDIS" and his crew
Can't stop the REVOLUTION;
They'll jail, deport and shoot a few,
Still we laugh at their confusion.

== NOTICE ==

You wish you could do something to help put an end to capitalism. You wish you knew how. Well, let us tell you. The only way to permanently put an end to capitalism is to educate the workers in the building of a new society. You can help in doing that. Get subscribers for the I. W. W. publications. Take home a bundle regularly to sell. Take home a supply of our literature for distribution.

The Working Class Movement in Mexico

By JOSE REFUGIO RODRIGUEZ
Secretary of the Mexican I. W. W.
(Translated from the Spanish)

While our eternal enemies, the exploiting classes, are utilizing every possible means to deceive and betray the workers of Mexico more shamelessly than ever, a little but growing group of Industrial Workers, banded together under the Mexican Administration of the I. W. W., is carrying on its almost unnoticed work that is bringing results.

It would only tire you, my fellow workers of the north, were I to relate in detail many of the things we are doing, for they consist of little details that mean much to those immediately concerned but are boring to others. Suffice it to say that we organized last fall a provisional executive committee, which was to take charge of the work of unifying the labor movement of Mexico in a Mexican Administration of the I. W. W. Where existing unions could be induced to alter their constitutions and rules so as to conform with the fundamental principles of industrial unionism, we agreed to try to secure such alterations and to have these unions unite with us. Where existing unions insisted on listening to the treacherous appeals of Gompers, Morones and their ilk, we were to organize other unions along industrial lines. Slowly but patiently and earnestly, we have been proceeding in this manner, and in most cases we have found few Mexican workers who would defend Gompersism. The work of unification continues to be far from as fast as we wish, for the Mexican is apathetic to his own interests and it takes persevering work and much revolutionary fire to stir him into activity. However, we add a union every now and then, and gradually we see a few more working class organizations brought into our movement of unification.

We have, of course, adopted the I. W. W. preamble and most of the rules that are in force in the I. W. W. of the United States, making only such incidental modifications as local conditions required. We constantly seek to instruct the Mexican workers in the importance of the "strike on the job" and of general strikes. We endeavor to impress upon them that while we are always anxious to strike for more wages and shorter hours, whenever an opportunity appears, we regard such strikes as mere practice preparatory to the final, supreme struggle in which we shall meet our enemies on the battle field of the general strike. If more wages are obtained, well; if shorter hours are gained, well also; but in neither case do we expect any great betterment in the condition of the unhappy, wretched toilers who produce today the riches that others may enjoy and utilize. We know that only in the final, permanent defeat of the vile, abominable system of capitalism, will we find lasting, enduring peace, freedom and happiness.

Unfortunately for our propaganda and work, the presidential election is due to come in the month

of July, and in these moments there is spread throughout the country the usual treacherous, deceitful dissemination of lies and smooth stories designed to persuade the workers to vote for one candidate or another. True to the principles of industrial unionism, we have repudiated unconditionally all candidates and warned all workers to keep aloof from all elections. We also warned them to have no part in the revolution initiated in the state of Sonora by followers of Obregon, for we see no difference between the various candidates and we know that all of them—Obregon, Bonillas and Gonzales—have been seeking the support of the American and Mexican financial interests. It appears today that Wall street is financing the Sonora revolution and is, therefore, using Obregon as an instrument; but there is little difference between any of the candidates. We refuse to work or fight or sacrifice for any of them. We will utilize our energies in organizing industrial unions and in no other way.

In a recent issue of your esteemed magazine, you made a query as to the work of Villa, Zapata, etc. This query can be answered briefly and effectively. Villa is no more and no less than a despicable murderer who once served in the American army and there learned completely the science of killing his fellow human beings. He has always been an instrument in the blood-stained hands of the capitalists and financiers of Wall street. His history is well known on the frontier and can be corroborated with little effort. He has, it is true, made various promises to the workers of Mexico at various times, but none of those promises have the slightest basis of truth. Like the politicians who now want the votes of the Mexican workers, he has shamelessly lied to these workers to induce them to fight in his army of butchery and treason.

One of my brothers was a close friend of Zapata and helped draft the "Plan of Ayala," which attracted attention thruout the world and was printed in English, Spanish, German, French and probably other languages. I know something of Zapata, therefore, from the most reliable sources. He was an honest man. He was an able man, considering that he had no education and that his ideas of communism and freedom came from the depths of an humble but unpurchasable heart. Yet the tales published in foreign periodicals about the wonders of "Zapataland" make us laugh and also make us shed bitter tears. We laugh because the tales were ridiculous and untrue. We shed bitter tears because we wish they were true. Probably Zapata's lack of experience with men outside of his own little realm, and, probably, also, his lack of education, would have doomed his experiment to failure, in any event. But as a matter of stern reality, he never had an opportunity. His "Zapataland" only existed over a few

hectares of land in the days of its greatest success. It was very crude, undeveloped, unorganized, and could not, therefore, last long. In the great land over which Lenin is the guiding figure and where Industrial democracy has come to remain forever, there is much of science, order, skill, wisdom and shrewdness, to match that of the capitalist empires without. But there was none of this in "Zapataland"—only honest intentions, high ideals, bad organization, big blunders and inevitable failure. We honor Zapata and we shall always remember "Zapataland" with reverence. But we know it was far different from what the radical world generally believes.

As for Carranza, he was at best only a Liberal. He would probably have nationalized the petroleum and other industries if left alone by Wall Street. This would have displeased Wall street but done little good for the workers of Mexico, who could have been little better off than now. Generals and politicians would have been the beneficiaries. But even the good intentions that Carranza did have—exaggerated as they were—were thwarted by threats of intervention. He would not have done much at best, I assure you, but he could not even accomplish the little that he desired. In the last few months he has made various concessions to Wall street in an endeavor to save his government from destruction, but his concessions have been pitifully useless. It was far too late and Wall street had already decided to support Obregon and to organize a new revolution.

In none of these men are we members of the Mexican I. W. W. interested. I only refer to them to reply to the query in the One Big Union Monthly for information about them. Our sole, only and permanent interest is in the organization of industrial unions in every part of this slavery cursed land of sunshine and shadow.

Permit me also, fellow workers, to say a word about the recent controversy that has raged in the columns of your magazine in regard to Mexican conditions. None of us know much about Irwin Granich. He says that he was a participant in the class struggle in Mexico, but if so, he participated so modestly and harmlessly that none of us knew it. I have seen him in a few meetings of the Mexican Socialists but nowhere else. I have nothing to say for him or against him personally, nor have most of us, for not many of us even know there had been such a person in Mexico until we saw his articles in a few American publications. I must say, however, with all emphasis and sincerity, that his attacks on Linn A. E. Gale were both shamelessly unjust and abominably ridiculous. Friends of Luis N. Morones, the Mexican agent of Samuel Gompers, have persistently tried to slander Gale, who has been merciless in his attacks on the Gompers machine, and the charges of Granich are but the repetition of these lies. We all know that they are false. Gale has made enemies unnecessarily by his fighting disposition and his bitterness toward his enemies, but they are not the kind of people that

Industrial Workers would want for friends. His enemies are a credit to him and are a proof of his fearlessness. The Mexican radical movement owes much to Gale, and intelligent, sincere Mexican radicals resent attempts to blacken his reputation.

It is true, absolutely true, that Gale tried to induce the Carranza government to take revolutionary action and to ally itself with Soviet Russia. In this effort, he entered into intimate relations with certain persons in the government. But when he found that nothing revolutionary could be accomplished, and that the Carranza government only was willing to protect political fugitives here, but would go no further, he made no more efforts along that line. We were familiar with his efforts at the time and had no criticism to make. Being Mexican and knowing the Mexican politicians, we did not expect he would be successful, but we approved of the effort, believing that if it had been successful it would have been of great value to the revolutionary movement of the world.

But it is not with personalities that we are concerned. Our interest is in the powerful movement to which we have pledged ourselves and all that we now possess or may ever possess.

We are with you, fellow workers of the North, until the consummation of the dream that we cherish and the ideal that we support—until One Big Union covers Mexico from Sonora to Yucatan and industrial solidarity has stricken from our limbs each and every link of the chain of servitude that holds us in agony.

Soft Stuff

By Raymond Corder

Say, ol' scout,
Honest to Jesus,
Doesn't somethin' lumpy an' wistful
Rise up outa your chest
When you hear a baby laughin'
An' cooin' at its mother's breast?
Doesn't kinda yearny feelin's
Bother you for a while
Till you ditch 'em all as soft-stuff
With a half ashamed smile?

"FAKE BOLSHEVISM OR THE ASS IN THE LION'S SKIN."

After questioning the right of the Department of Justice to interfere with the workings of the Department of Labor, Ralston (counsel for Asst. Sec'y. of Labor, Louis F. Post, in impeachment proceedings before the House Rules Committee) said: "I shall offer proof of the fact that agents of the Department of Justice have been instructed, and have been instrumental in forming branches of the Communist party, and of inducing innocent men to join and take part in their work, in order that raids and arrests may be made by the department."

Australian I. W. W. Activities

The following letter from Fellow Worker Mick Sawtell of Adelaide, South Australia, gives a brief and interesting review of Australian labor conditions at the present time, and brings a cheering message about the twelve Australian I. W. W. men who have now spent several years in prisons. Here the letter follows:

Adelaide, South Australia, March 14, 1920.

Editor O. B. U. Monthly:

Dear Fellow Worker—Thru the kind co-operation of Mrs. S—the issues of your paper have come to hand. The contents and news gleaned about the American I. W. W. in the paper staggered us here—to know that the I. W. W. still had seventeen papers and was organizing in spite of terrible persecution, and with two thousand fellow workers in jail was a revelation to us in this part of Australia.

Since and during the latter part of the war it has been very hard to get any news from overseas. The I. W. W. officially does not exist now in Australia. The jailing of the twelve and declaring the organization illegal was a great set-back for us. Between eighty and ninety did six months for being members of the I. W. W., and as far as I know not one fellow worker denied the organization. All the members who were not Australian born were deported out of Australia. However, the spirit still lives, and we now function under the name of International Industrial Workers. I send you copies of our two papers, "Industrial Solidarity," of Melbourne, and "Industrial Solidarity," Adelaide edition.

The great trouble in Australia is the scarcity of nonpolitical industrial union speakers.

We exist only for propaganda purposes. There are two other organizations endeavoring to function and appealing for membership as revolutionary industrial unions, but both are political. There are the W. I. I. C. (The Detroit I. W. W.) and the O. B. U. (Trades Hall). Altho officially these organizations stand for political action, the rank and file have little or no time for political action.

The old I. W. W., before it went out of existence, permeated the working class of Australia well with the right philosophy. Just at present there is an election on in New South Wales, and the release of the twelve I. W. W. men is one of the big issues of the election. The old conservative labor politicians are standing for a new and "fair" trial, but the new aspirants in the big industrial centers, sensing the workers' discontent, are advocating an unconditional release. The twelve have now done three years of their jail term, and the agitation for their release still continues, and whether the Labor party is returned or not, the twelve have a good chance of release, as the slaves are becoming determined that the twelve must be released. The Labor party would do nothing for the twelve unless the workers in the industries pushed the issue. The Labor party becomes more worthless and corrupt every day.

The workers of this country should have nearly learned their lesson regarding the utter futility of political parties. The price of all commodities is going up and up every day. The price of slaves is the only one that is stationary. Labor power, humanity, is very cheap at present here. Thousands of returned heroes are out of work, and when they paraded their woes before the government the war ministers referred to and looked upon the soldiers

as nuisances. The soldiers are fast becoming disillusioned. There is plenty of unintelligent discontent everywhere.

The Broken Hill miners, the most militant trade union in Australia, has been out on strike now for nearly twelve months, and altho the strikers are suffering terrible privations their spirit of solidarity is not broken.

As the economic pressure becomes greater we expect to develop the right working class psychology to act in co-operation with our fellow workers in other countries, for the overthrow of capitalism. Glad to hear from you at any time.

Greetings to all fellow workers in America from fellow workers in Australia. Yours,
MICK SAWTELL.

76 Pirie, Adelaide, S. Australia.

I. W. W. in Australian Prisons

By M. S.

(In "Industrial Solidarity" of Adelaide, Australia.)

When the history of the Labor movement of Australia is written, one of the darkest pages will be the long and continued incarceration of the twelve I. W. W. men.

It is a standing disgrace to the working class of Australia that these men are still in gaol. The men have been in gaol over three years now, and the agitation for their release has almost died out. This speaks volumes for the cowardice and apathy of the workers. The case of our fellow workers has now gained international fame, and yet despite the widespread interest and knowledge of the cases, the men are still in gaol.

The "frame-up" against the men was cunningly and well stage-managed. Simultaneously in West-Australia and New South-Wales, just on the eve of the first conscription referenda, members of the I. W. W. were arrested on a charge of "Seditious Conspiracy", whilst the public mind, especially that class from whom juries are drawn, was inflamed against the arrested men, and the organization in general, as destroyers of property, etc.

After the first trial the twelve men, whose names are famous, received sentences of from five to eighteen years.

After a subsequent appeal trial, and later on a Royal Commission, which has proved beyond doubt that the Crown witnesses committed perjury, and that the whole of the case was a diabolical frame-up, the twelve are still rotting in gaol.

Now that the men have been found to be innocent of the charges laid against them, how is it, the average man will ask, that the twelve have not been released? Because, so far, the working class of Australia have not demanded our fellow workers release.

Governments don't mind Royal Commissions. No matter what evidence comes out, the judge, a member of the capitalist class, will give the verdict or finding his way.

Lawyers don't mind Royal Commissions, as it means big business to them.

However, we see in Royal Commissions a criminal waste of time, and a reactionary influence on the working class, debating whether the twelve are "Guilty or not guilty," according to the master's law.

Of course, intelligent workers who are revolting against capitalism are always "Guilty of Conspiracy," or by whatever other name the masters care to call that attitude of mind that does not and can not agree to wage slavery.

The question that confronts us today is: How are we to effect the release of the twelve?

The answer is plain. There is only one way to abolish any injustice against the working class, and that is by industrial action. Some of our political friends accuse us of sacrificing the men for the sake of a fetish or dogma, for, they argue, help us to put the Labor Party in and then they will release the twelve.

First of all there is no certainty that the Labor Party would release the twelve, unless there was sufficient industrial agitation to make the release a popular and burning question.

Again, political parties that are anxious to be returned to power cannot afford to lose votes by advocating unpopular causes.

To make the release popular again we have to fall back on to the workers' only line of defence, namely industrial agitation and action.

The release of the twelve, then, viewed from every angle, can only be achieved when there is widespread discontent amongst the workers.

This widespread and deep-seated discontent may come as the result of an industrial crisis, or it may come, and it will be accelerated, by our industrial union propaganda.

To this task the industrial unionists of Australia have set themselves; it is the only way to hope for a demand for the release of the twelve. In the meantime, on with our agitation inside the workshops of Australia; and let us hope the twelve will bear their cruel servitude with fortitude and without loss to their physique and to their mental and nervous energy.

The Judge

By Covington Ami

Behold the Judge, my son; impartial, fair,
Unerring as the compass and the square
Are all his judgments. Just to rich and poor,
Alike to all who pass the courthouse door,
Is he. His august eyes mark not your rags,
Nor yet your foe's plethoric money bags.
Equal, before that blackrobed figure there,
The ward-boss, rebel, tramp, and billionaire.
Justice alone he sees, in justice deals,
Beyond her service naught to him appeals.
Benignant, calm, austere, the law his rod,
Legality his one and only god,
Above ambition, power, place and pelf,
He giveth judgment. (He says so Himself.)

Join the Red Wobblies

By John E. Nordquist

Air: "Brighten the corner where you are."

Don't expect the tyrant bosses to be kind to you,
Do not wait for them to set you free;
Heed the message of the workers, to yourself be true,
Join the red wobblies—join today.

CHORUS

JOIN THE RED WOBBLIES—JOIN TODAY!
Join the red wobblies—join today;
If you are a worker then we need you in the fray;
JOIN THE RED WOBBLIES—JOIN TODAY!

All you toilers who are slaving for the greedy plutes,
Here's the message that we give to you:
Only thru the ONE BIG UNION plutes will shoot
the chutes,
Join the red wobblies—join today.

Now's the time to soak the bosses while they're full
of fear;
While we've got the critters on the run.
If you want to scare the runners, pitch in with
a cheer,
Join the red wobblies—join today.

Do not waste your time in weeping—organize today,
If you want to see true freedom's dawn.
If you want to own the earth and drive all grief
away,
Join the red wobblies—join today.

Only a Gradin' Stiff

By John E. Nordquist

I'm only a gradin' stiff out on th' dump—
By everybody considered a chump;
Only a gradin' stiff—lowdowndest beast,
Who's worked the hardest and paid the least.

I'm only a gradin' stiff skinnin' th' mules,
Handlin' th' wheelers, fresnoes an' tools;
I'm buildin' th' grade fer th' shinin' rails—
When I finish th' job, its me fer their jails.

I'm only a gradin' stiff levelin' things,
'Round me the' pick an' th' dynamite rings.
I live in rag houses—cheerless and cold—
On tainted food an' bread full o' mold.

I'm only a gradin' stiff, but even at that,
I'm learnin' my lesson an' comin' out flat.
Th' rest o' th' gang are with me I know,
Tho they're bidin' th' time an' layin' low.

Every last skinner an' muckstick man
Lined up in The Wobblies with delegate Dan,
An' we're goin' on strike to boost our pay:
Yes I'm a gradin' stiff but no longer a jay!

Shop Organization the Base of the I. W. W.

By GEORGE HARDY

British Shop-Stewards

Much discussion is going on in the ranks of labor, as to what is the best form of organization to give power to the workers in industry. This is an indication of discontent with the American Federation of Labor, and all other craft forms of unionism, which in reality is not unionism at all. The primary cause for discussion can be attributed to the advent of the Shopsteward Movement in Great Britain, which was brought about during the war, because the officials of the great trade unions pledged labor's support to the Government, and who afterwards were prevented from participation in strikes, by the Defense of the Realms Act and the Munitions Act, thereby forcing into existence the unofficial movement, due to the abnormal conditions prevailing.

There has been a desperate attempt to make this shopstewards' system fit American conditions by all and sundry. Especially is this true of some of the bourgeois and semi-bourgeois minded people, who claim to be revolutionary; while on the other hand, the members of the Shopstewards' Movement in Great Britain state frankly, they would be in the I. W. W. if resident in U. S. However, the Shopsteward Movement does fit British conditions, because of tradition etc.

Reason for Continuity

The above position of the British militants is absolutely correct, because the "Industrial Workers of the World" is thoroly in harmony with capitalist development and the labor conditions prevailing in America. There are less than ten per cent of the workers organized in this country, as against fifty per cent in the British Isles; with considerably weaker unions existing amongst the American workers, than those of the British workers. The I. W. W. has stood the battle for fifteen years—this alone proves its continuity inevitable and in conformity to Economic Evolution. The I. W. W. admits of changes necessary to prevent the organization from becoming obsolete, as the craft unions have. This is because its constitution is an elastic one—it has changed many times.

Necessary to Change

Today again we are confronted with the necessity of changing our form and tactics, due largely to the fact, that rapid changes are taking place in the economic world, and the apparent blood-thirsty tactics of the masters of industry. Therefore I submit the following program for consideration—not as "my" program—but as a program evolved out of the accumulated knowledge of the past; gathered by reading and discussion with my fellow workers, and an analysis of the position of the proletariat to the economic necessity of abolishing the system of private ownership, together with the avaricious, trustified masters—the capitalist class.

During the last two years many plans have been

submitted. Some members are willing to stay by the "Old Ship" (the I. W. W.) without applying modern machinery to run it. Others want to change its name. To the thinking portion of the members both plans are equally disastrous—you cannot fool the ruling class! What is necessary now is new machinery to run it. We must abolish that part which has served its purpose, and install the most up-to-date equipment the modern mind can conceive of, or we will be operating at a loss of prestige—a loss of membership—the crew will become too small to run the big ship, and we will land in some future storm on the rocks. This is financially evident today. We can, however, insure the future by installing new, modern, efficient and up-to-date machinery of administration, to discharge the rotting cargo—capitalism. Let us do it today.

Efficiency calls first for an organization with its basis on the job, with rank and file control from the bottom up to the highest office; second, that administrative councils be created to admit of joint action from the job to the whole of the organization; third, that a regional council should exist to execute business that interests the whole working class community; fourth, that a defense council shall be maintained for the purpose of caring for members who have temporarily ceased to be industrial workers, because of their incarceration by the capitalist class; fifth, that at all times the prerogative shall be in the hands of the members on the job; sixth, instead of District Offices for each industrial union, supply stations should be opened jointly.

The above can only be gained by having a Union formed along the lines indicated in the chart. I do not, however, claim its application should be hard and rigid; but, I do claim the principle with slight variations can be applied to all industries which we seek to organize.

Job Branches and Committees

The job branches as set out are the base of all action, whether, legislative or administrative—the executive power lies always with the workers at that base. The workers first organize the job—a mine, mill, camp or factory—immediately they have seven members they constitute themselves a Job Branch; hold meetings; elect a job committee, one of whom may be elected delegate for that job. This would move the avenue of communication from the delegate to the job. When a delegate leaves a job, immediately one is elected in his place, and supplies given him which were left behind by the retiring delegate. It will be seen here, the supplies become the property of the job committee, instead of the delegate. It will also be noticed, there will always be a delegate on the job, and one who expresses the wishes of the group so organized, for they elected him. They have the power to remove him if not satisfactory. With this system in operation there can never be more than one delegate on one job,

and all jobs organized will have a delegate.

The job committee is the administrative committee, and attends to all matters arising on the job between meetings; such as grievances that may arise; differences prevailing amongst the members etc., and have power to call special meetings by a majority vote of the members of the committee. The meetings then take up the matters on the agenda and decide what action shall be taken.

Organized in this way the territorial divisions, prevalent in the craft unions disappear, for all workers meet together who work together; thus, as the workers gain power, so they are gaining control, and will form the basis of the future **administration of industry** under the Co-operative Commonwealth—Industrial Communism.

There are many workers who work in separate factories and jobs, who will be found to be working for the same master in a given piece of territory or a large city. We also know, that modern industrial capitalists are all organized industrially and territorially, so we must look on them as a class—the exploiting class—with the above divisions for efficiency amongst themselves; so, we must, therefore, unite our forces on the jobs to be able to meet them in open combat.

Central Branch Council

The **Central Branch Council** is fitted for meeting the opposition, and taking the aggression against the **locally organized industrial groups of capitalists**. The central branch council is made up of delegates from the job branches, who will meet as often as the job branches represented on the council decides, consistent with urgency, distance and expense, etc. They could meet oftener in highly centralized communities than where distance is an obstacle. A council ought to be formed as soon as seven job branches have been organized. If the job branches were large in membership, one could be formed with a less number. Representation could be had on a pro-rata basis, say, one delegate for every one hundred or any part thereof.

The Central Branch Councils' function is legislative. It is to enable the workers to come in contact with each other through their duly elected representatives, who would **receive instructions** from their job branches, and deliberate, with their fellow workers in relation to the issues under discussion. Here we find that one delegate would bring up a question never thought of by some of the other delegates, so without instruction they would use their best judgment and vote accordingly. The decisions would be ratified by the members of the job branch. We must also concede that large bodies of men become unwieldy and cannot make the best decisions. They can also be played upon by eloquent popular orators. The central branch council would deal with facts alone, and members would act of men become unwieldy and cannot make the best from the council by the rank and file.

Industrial District Council

Several central branch councils could exist in an

industrial district like some of the large mining districts, lumber districts, coastal districts of marine transport workers and agricultural districts, etc. This would necessitate an **Industrial District Council** being organized, to co-ordinate all the activities of a district within a given industry. The industrial district council would be made up of delegates from the central branch council, with a delegate for every 500 members affiliated or less. Again we must bear in mind the job branches would **ratify the election** of any delegate to the district council which would meet as often as conditions demanded, say every six months, and consistent with finance, urgency, etc.

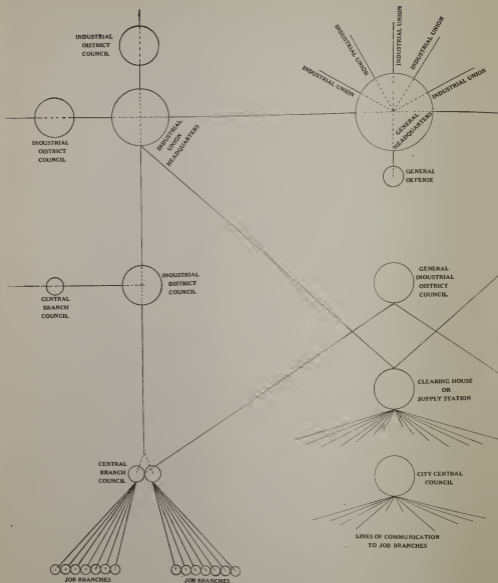
This is absolutely necessary for drawing up uniform demands in a district where natural industrial divisions exist, such as in the logging industry where different machinery is used to get out the logs. These districts should not exist with territorial divisions where these natural divisions exist—the uniform methods of industry in the district would demand common council with each other—besides unity of action compels the workers to adopt modern ways of accomplishing Solidarity. Instead of striking separately, the workers would carry their grievances—if not settled locally—to the industrial district council. This would produce efficiency and a stability which would give **ECONOMIC POWER** to the **WORKERS' ONE BIG UNION**.

Today we know that our interests are identical, that is, if we are workers. We also believe, that an organization which still maintains that the workers have interests in common with their employers—the parasites—is serving the masters' interests, as opposed to the workers' interests. Yes, the above is generally true. The workers almost without exception nowadays, admit they are fleeced daily by the profiteer, which means, they are subconscious of the **wolves in sheep's clothing**—the Industrial Kings of the World, who rob us daily at the point of production.

General Industrial District Council

In so far as the workers have interests in common, they must organize into a **General Industrial District Council**. This would be done as soon as two or more industrial district councils existed in a district. It would not be necessary for this body to meet very often; say, once a year, if nothing of a critical nature came up appertaining to the interest of the whole district. Representatives or delegates from the central branch councils would meet, and comprise the general industrial district council, on the same pro-rata basis as the central branch council—thus we create **co-hesion** within a district—**District Solidarity**.

There will not be any permanent offices attached to the above councils, as they are purely creative or legislative. They must be so because they come from the job, and only workers who work on the job either by hand or brain are entitled to legislate or create machinery to govern their affairs. They know best! This does not mean that if some specialized work needs to be done, they must place a



Job Branches are in camps, mines or shops etc., heading into the Central Branch Councils; several Central Branch Councils lead into the Industrial Union, with a national headquarters; all Industrial Unions make up the Industrial Union. Where various Industrial Unions are operating in a District a General District Council is formed to unite the work that comes under its' jurisdiction. Supply Stations are for distributing supplies to jobs, etc., where several

worker from the job to do it. No, they will hire the most efficient man to do the work.

Executives of Councils

The above councils, central branch, district and general, will all have their executives, who will attend to all matters as they arise during the intervals between conferences or meetings, and call into session—with permission of the job branches—emergency conferences, if a critical condition arises which demands immediate and important action that only a conference can settle. The office force of the clearing house or supply station, will be under the jurisdiction of the executive of the general industrial district council, who will go over books from time to time and see that efficiency is maintained, and render a report to the job branches.

Supply Stations

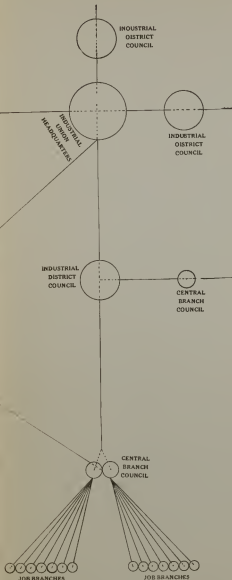
In districts which are a long way from the headquarters of the industrial unions, and where two or more industrial unions are operating, supply stations should be opened where delegates elected on the jobs can obtain supplies. All that would be necessary for the maintenance of this supply house would be a supply book and delegates credentials etc., with a **Report Sheet** for the daily supplies sent out and money received, which should be sent to the industrial union headquarters every day. Of course a duplicate of the work done would be kept on file for comparison, should a mistake arise. In this fashion, there would be no need for Index Cards, etc., together with the unnecessary work caused by duplicating the work at this office. The up-keep of this office would be maintained by those using it on a proportionate basis.

Form Union on Job

We are inevitably, always forced back to the ground work of organization, which always leads to the job. So we find, to form an industrial union is, not to open an office, but to go to the job and form a job branch—this is the foundation. It becomes unnecessary to open an office to do organization work for a particular industry, since there is in existence a general headquarters of all the industrial unions already organized. The job branch once formed could get its supplies from general headquarters temporarily, where a set of books could be kept under the jurisdiction of the G. E. B. When several small industrial unions exist, one bookkeeper and stenographer could be hired at headquarters to do the work, until they grow large enough to warrant the existence of separate offices with machinery. Then industrial charters should be issued. We come now to the Industrial Union.

Industrial Union

After 5,000 members have been attained, Industrial Union Headquarters could be opened. Remember, by the time a union reached a membership of 5,000, there would be in existence many central branch and district councils, therefore, not only would the work warrant the opening of a headquarters, but would be necessary to bring the workers together for common action nationally. The Indus-



al councils make the Industrial District Council; and, several
 One Big Union of all the workers—General Headquarters.
 te the whole body of workers in a District, with City Central
 legal department with a fluctuating importance according to
 ert unions exist a long way from Headquarters.

trial Union would then do business direct with the general office, distributing supplies to supply stations and job branches, and receiving the finance and paying its debts. A solid front would be forming like an army division, but under no circumstances should that division go to battle before enough recruits have made its strength almost impregnable. Never let the enemy choose the battle ground, especially while we are still weak.

Bureau of Industry

The General Headquarters of the Industrial Workers, organized into their respective industrial unions, now becomes the center of the whole working class as far as their economic interests are concerned. It is a central active bureau of industry. Each year a conference is held and officials elected. The most important executive of all is brought into being thru a ballot of the membership—the General Executive Board.

Under the jurisdiction of the G. E. B. comes the General Office, with all its subsidiaries, such as the publishing house, etc. They also supervise all unorganized fields where no industrial union exists to take care of it. They assist weak industrial unions, which come under their care because of not having attained a membership large enough to get a charter. This does not mean the G. E. B. would be the dictators to a newly formed union, but would work in conjunction with the rank and file in districts where job branches exist. Under no circumstances would the G. E. B., or the Industrial Union executives, operate contrary to the wishes of the membership of a district, providing they were not violating the principles laid down in the general constitution. Always the job branches, through their central branch councils, would decide who would be the organizer. The general office would finance this organizer until the district had sufficient funds in general headquarters to pay their own way.

Regional Council

To organize industrially is not enough for a revolutionary industrial organization to accomplish. There are other interests, which are communal in character. It is the working class community that will benefit by class-consciousness; not only the industrial part, but the mothers of the rising generation—the **producers of the producers—producers par excellence**. Therefore, on regional or territorial lines, we must form a city central council.

The City Central Council is therefore made up of delegates from the job branches, augmented by allowing membership to the wives of the fellow workers, providing they agree with the principles of the organization. This ought to be done, as a mother and companion's interests are bound up with the conditions of her husband's, and vice versa.

Social Center

This city central council would carry on propaganda meetings and finance itself thereby. This would relieve the industrial units from direct participation, which would only be connected by their

delegate on the City Central Council. This would allow the industrial units to put in all their energies organizing the workers on the jobs. The council will also be the **Social Center**, where all the units in the industrial arena can find an outlet for their talents; a study could be maintained with a scientific labor library, economic classes and industrial history classes held, concerts and dances, giving an outlet for the musicians and singers; social dramas would be staged for those with artistic tendencies, and a multitude of things done in this direction.

The greatest inspiration of sincerity would be injected into the members of the City Central Council by the recognition that they are participating in a social council, which may be the council that will care for the community interests when capitalism is abolished. A beginning can be made into this work by organizing a system of food stations, also milk stations for the babies and the sick, to be brought into existence during real strikes. They would also during strikes set up a vigilance council to see that no acts of violence or vandalism were committed, and if any such acts were committed, to be in a position to place the responsibility. This may be the nucleus of a functioning body for the future—a **Protective Council**.

General Defense Council

Attached to the general office is the General Defense Council, which could be made up of the G. E. B. members, and those actively engaged in the responsible positions within accessible distance to the meeting place. A secretary-treasurer would be appointed through the committee. The office is a transitional one, for, as soon as we gain **power in industry** the masters of bread who now are so urgent in their demands for blood and prison bars would then have to meet our representatives and would be forced to look at a condition unfavorable to themselves—the **withdrawal of our Labor Power**—which would solve the defense question.

There are several important items that come under the control of this transient office, and as long as we are forced into the capitalist courts—their battle ground—we must have funds to defend our members who choose to take legal defense. The raising of these funds, therefore, comes under control of the defense council. Under the direct charge of this council comes the hiring of all the legal talent necessary for adequate defense. It will be the duty of the council to observe closely all cases that are brought to their attention, and to decide whether the victim's case is an organization matter. None but those arrested for doing organization work, or for being a member of the Union should receive defense. We should, however, always keep in mind the tactics pursued by the masters and not allow their camouflage to deter defense of a sincere fellow worker.

Defense Publicity and Relief

Publicity is a part of the general defense councils' work. They should, through the secretary, get out publicity matter, nationally and internationally, and show the world how capitalism—the **white terror**—

operates to our detriment. Also, the speakers for the defense are controlled by the council, who will devote their attention to the injustices of the capitalist class—imprisoning or killing our members.

Another important item is the caring for the wives and families of those in the dungeons. The assistance of those needing relief should be in proportion to their obligations and necessity for relief; sickness, number in a family and any reasonable obligation; but, in no case, should a self-sustaining person receive assistance. We must, however, avoid driving our dependents to the brink of injurious poverty. We should look upon the sons and daughters of our imprisoned comrades, at least, as an intelligent farmer looks upon his pure-bred stock—perpetuation of the class-conscious—which will assume some responsibility in the future.

Industrial Departments

The Industrial Departments have been omitted from this chart because of the desire to avoid confusion by extra complications. All that is necessary is to show that which is absolutely necessary today. The industrial departments may be a factor in the future, as there are many related industries which could not run on any anarchical scheme. For example, the tanneries and shoe factories, iron ore mining and the steel mills, and a number of other industries would be found closely related, if we had time and space to go into them. However, this is a matter for the future, as related to our immediate needs for organizing with efficient machinery under capitalism. As we develop our union, probably a need will arise for departments. This need is not here now; so let us deal with the immediate.

A Real International

With a program such as this being put into a tangible form of unionism in every country, we are reorganizing society to carry on production in a **Free Society**. The Workers' International is in the embryo stage. At the present time messages are received daily from all parts of the globe of a shifting of the industrial scenery. The masters of gold have left the world the ruins of that of which they have always been the beneficiaries; they refuse in all cases to give assistance unless they may still continue to exploit. Their war did this—their greed for gold. The hope of the world's workers lies in their ability to organize this prostrate world.

Great hope and sincerity is shown now, for there are the great revolutionary syndicalist movements in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Spain, France, Portugal and other small countries; there are the revolutionary unions in Germany with civil war reigning; also, the workers of Austria and Hungary, making desperate plans to recuperate since the allied white terror has been introduced; the workers of the South American countries have endorsed the I. W. W. and become a part of the I. W. W. in Chile; the One Big Union movement to our north in Canada, and in Australia, due chiefly to the influence of the I. W. W. propaganda; and, the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees move-

ment of Great Britain has voted in conference nationally to link up with the I. W. W. Our Russian fellows have sent out a call. Shall we answer and form an Industrial International?—International Solidarity of Labor—yes, a thousand times yes!!!

A Social Institution

This edifice of human affairs is a revolutionary one, because its very structure, outlined by the chart, leads through all the avenues of industry. For taking care of the industrial and communal life, when capitalism shall have ceased to exist. It is rank and file; that will give them a lever to their own emancipation, and, by so doing, insure the future by the avoidance of chaos. Every member of the revolutionary union; every unit of the **Army of Labor**, so organized, will become a steadying factor in the transitory period; it embodies the forces necessary in the creation of food, clothing and shelter—the maintenance of life itself as well as giving an outlet to all esthetic qualities. There is the nucleus of protection, which, if extended nationally, can become the guardian of the workers occupied in peaceful production, which will be absolutely necessary, for, Lo and Behold the brutal outlook of today!

Constitutional or Capitalist Right?

An attempt has been made by trustified capital to outlaw any organization that challenges its power to own and control industry. This is all done in spite of the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States, that all one hundred per centers should learn and adhere to. Article One of the first Amendment clearly states that no law should be made "Abridging the Freedom of Speech, or the Press, or of the right of the People Peaceably to Assemble." The fourth Amendment protects persons in their homes and renders inviolate the invasion of homes by any who may take it into their heads to invade—they must state specifically in a warrant the "persons or things to be seized"—this the so-called "law enforcers" hardly ever do. That great freedom-loving statesman, Abraham Lincoln, speaking of the people of America on March 4th, 1861, said, "Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amendment, or their **revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.**" This is a part of the Declaration of Independence.

Violence and Chaos?

We propose to make the changes according to the above well-defined principles—by peacefully organizing the workers and the jobs. We have a legal right to do this. Judge Landis said in the great Chicago trial we had a right to revolution, "providing we could put it over." Whether the change will be by violence is a matter entirely in the hands of the capitalist class. They are committing violence on every hand! We want no violence and no chaos! The Constitution provides for these changes, and facilities to bring it about, if the Constitution is inviolate. We do not bother about Con-

gress, for it expresses the economic interests of those in control. It will make laws to prevent our representatives getting there; so we must organize to control economically and choose our own institution of political expression—this will be done.

The Russian Conquerors

The inspiring devotion of our Russian fellow workers to their revolution has given an example to the world's workers. The greatest statesman of the day—Lloyd George, says, "You cannot crush Bolshevism by the sword." This is an admission of defeat by the physical force advocates amongst the international gang of thieves. The same is admitted by Italian statesmen, with an added rider by the British premier that, "the Bolshevik Army is the largest and best disciplined army in Europe." All

this with practically no organization on the industrial field when the collapse came—when the workers found the ruins of capitalism's great war at their feet. The Russian Proletariat was forced into the building of the new society with chaos reigning on every hand. Yet they have succeeded marvelously. We must learn a lesson from them. If they have succeeded against a world of vengeance in spite of the apathy of the labor movement of the world, how much quicker could they have succeeded with a scientific industrial structure and a trained industrial army? Let us learn our lessons from the past and never repeat a failure.

NOTE—In this article a statement is made that the writer does not want to claim he alone is responsible for this work. Therefore, he names Roy Brown, with whom he was cell-mates while incarcerated in Leavenworth Penitentiary, as one whom he accredits with having a great deal of knowledge along the lines indicated in this article.

A. F. of L. and I. W. W. — The Difference

By GEORGE SPEED.

The form, methods and tactics of the A. F. of L. differ vastly from that of the I. W. W.

The former is run, you might say without any stretch of the imagination, absolutely by officialdom, the latter by the membership.

The one is simply a dues-paying machine. The participation of the membership in the union's affairs is only perfunctory, and is permitted only so as to give a semblance of democracy. Officials endorse strikes of these unions, or turn them down, as they see fit. As an instance let us mention the pressmen's and the longshoremen's strikes in New York, where the officials of both unions acted as industrial policemen for their respective employers. Major Berry of the Typographical union had advertisements for both union and non-unionmen to take the place of striking pressmen. Such acts of treachery would not be tolerated in the I. W. W. for 24 hours. The pressmen put up a hard and gallant struggle but were defeated by their own paid officials.

When a union allows itself to be used in such a manner it is as much to blame as their officials, or rather more. By their indifference and lack of interest they are shifting the responsibility for the policy of the union on their officials. Carrying a card and holding a job is their whole concern. They say 'Let George do it.' George does it, to their undoing, as many of the members of the A. F. of L. are finding out to their sorrow.

They placed their officials on a pedestal, generous to a fault in giving them a salary, a salary that is very much beyond what they could earn in their respective callings. The official knows what the grind and the muck of the factory is, and he has no intention of going back on the job, so he builds up a machine to secure himself and his kind. Feeling secure in his position he swells up with self-importance, and his happiest moments are when he can shake hands with the boss and contract his union out for a two or three year contract.

These contracts are null and void. Either party to them can violate them with impunity. Having power, no contract is needed to enforce the de-

mands. If you are without power your helpless officials will insist that you live up to the contract. The contract deadens the activity of the members and is harmful in many ways. It causes unions in the same industry to scab upon one another, preventing the solidarity that is so necessary for labor.

The I. W. W. organizes workers in their respective industries. When industries are fully organized industrial departments are formed. These departments united together form the One Big Union of Workers. The officials are only the recording clerks of these respective unions. All power is with the membership. Each industrial union determines itself the advisability of striking, and no official can deny it the right, and will receive the hearty support of its industry, as well as of all industries if necessary, making an injury to one the concern of all, and creating that spirit of solidarity so much required on the part of the working class. The I. W. W. impresses its membership with the necessity on their part of studying, of thinking, of weighing all propositions affecting the interests of the working class, and of feeling that the responsibility for the success of the organization rests on them; to make of them union men and not merely card men; to fit them to control and run industry when capitalism shall have passed away.

This is the mission of the I. W. W. among you workers.

Which will you have? An organization such as the A. F. of L. which accepts capitalism as a finality, or the I. W. W. whose mission is to establish an industrial democracy, in which all workers shall receive the full social value of their service to society.

The labor problem is up for solution. It is the problem of the hour. Its solution is imperative. Upon it depends the life of civilization. Are you with us? If so, join the I. W. W. at once, and don't wait till 'George does it.'

He who will be free must himself strike the blow. Join and be a man.

All power to the working class.

The gruesome story of American terrorism

INSTALLMENT NO. 4.

In three previous installments we have enumerated a total of 1203 cases of I. W. W. members arrested and brought to justice or sentenced of late years. In this number we add 124 new cases, making the total number reported to-date 1327 cases. Keep on sending in missing reports, so as to make the list as complete as possible.

Criminal Syndicalism Cases in California

Oakland: James McHugo, convicted, 1 to 14 years; Louis Cavelli, pending, out on bail; A. N. Austin, C. Trainer, Mrs. A. B. Cairns, James Cairns, dismissed; Axel Nelson, pending, out on bail; Maschel, Staats, Graham, pending, O. R.; Diaz, Rickwell, dismissed.

San Francisco: James P. Malley, convicted, 1 to 14 years; Mrs. A. K. Malley, William Burnes, T. McDermott, pending, out on bail; E. Levine, acquitted.

Eureka: Charles Leese, J. Golden, G. Williams, convicted, 1 to 14 years; J. Glickson, dismissed.

Stockton: C. F. Bentley, Thomas Hooker, R. V. Lewis, convicted, 1 to 14 years; Leo Ellis, on trial. L. H. Brown, case pending, in county jail; G. Roberts, S. Simons, N. L. Savoy, A. Shoemaker, R. H. Brehmer, J. M. Miller, Martin Powell, pending, O. R.; George Macaire, Wm. Cashman, J. Swanson, P. Jacobson, Kelley, F. Tillman, A. Shade, dismissed; G. Shannon, John Murry, J. Micken, C. Newman, G. Fernandes, pending, O. R.

(Total 46 cases.)

California Cases Pending

Cases now pending are as follows: Stockton—The next case in Stockton will come up for trial June 8th and twelve more cases pending.

Sacramento—Case will start May 3d.

Los Angeles—Fourteen more cases pending. William Stein was found guilty.

San Francisco—Two cases still pending. Case of Thomas McDermott dismissed.

Oakland—Fifteen cases pending.

Ukiah—Two more arrests; full particulars not at hand at present writing.

The appeals of the nine Fellow Workers will come up in the near future. If you are going to help defend these cases send your donation to the California District Defense Committee, Room 219 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, Calif. Make all checks and money orders payable to Louis H. Brown. We remain,

CALIFORNIA DIST. DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Per Louis H. Brown, Sec.-Treas.

(Total 46 cases.)



Some of the 90 Conscientious Objectors at Fort Douglas, Utah. Not exactly bad looking fellows—are they?



Some of the I. W. W. men at Fort Douglas, Utah. (Left to right, top: Burmeister, Stangeland, Dempsey, Wilson, Gergatz. Bottom: Cage, Sandberg, La Casale, Maki.)



Some internees at Fort Douglas, Utah. Cooks and helpers at Barracks No. 12.

Partial List of I. W. W. Deportees

Sent from Seattle to Ellis Island for deportation. Left Seattle Feb. 6, 1919; arrived at Ellis Island Feb. 11, 1919.

"THE RED SPECIAL"

Charles Barnett, John Morgan, Tom Rimmer, William Fields, Herbert Jackson, John Sheenan, E. Kerty, R. Maskelunes, John Berg, Alex Kisil, Sol Erlich, Joe Martin, M. Slusky, McGregor Ross, John Lund, C. L. Johnson Hjalmar Holm, Sam Dixon, Wm. Longfors, Olaf Finnestad, Martin De Wal, Edwin Flogus, Axel Hendrickson, John Levis, E. McDonald, Sam Nelson, Arthur Smith, Aug. Bostrom, Frank Mahalik, James Osborne, Magnus Otterholm, Louis Mische, Gust Lipkin, Fritz Holm, Pete Merta, Mrs. Merta, Charles Jackson, Gustav Mocha, Donald McPherson.

(Total 39 cases.)

Released from Ellis Island

March 17—John Berg, Joe Martin, Edwin Flogus, McGregor Ross, C. L. Johnson, Slusky, Arthur Smith, John Levis, Axel Hendrickson. March 23—Gust Lipkin. March 24—Ephraim Kierty. April 11—Sam Nelson. April 21—Sol Erlich. April 22—John Morgan, Charles Jackson, William Longfors, Morgan, Charles Jackson, William Longors, Man-Magnus Otterholm.

Arrived at Ellis Island from Seattle, Portland and other points: March 27—Roy Sisters, Margaret Roy, Janet Roy; John Jacobson, D. McPherson Fraser.

Sailed for Liverpool from Ellis Island, February 27: Tom Rimmer, Herbert Jackson, William Fields, John Sheenan. March 29 — Donald McPherson Fraser.

Sailed for Sweden, April 3—Robert Johnson.

Sailed for Norway March 1—Olaf Finnestad.

Defendants in the Duluth Syndicalist Cases

January 20, 1920, in the city of Duluth, Minn., the following I. W. W. members were arrested: Frank E. Biltonen, John Ahlberg, George Humon, Topias Kekkonen, John Salo; and A. A. Toivonen was arrested at Minneapolis and brought to Duluth. All the defendants were indicted under the state syndicalist law and with the above mentioned individuals the Workers' Socialist Publishing Co., which publishes the newspaper "Industrialist", was indicted. Three different indictments were turned in against the said corporation and Topias Kekkonen. Two indictments were turned in against Frank Biltonen and John Ahlberg and one indictment against George Humon, John Salo and A. A. Toivonen.

On the first indictment, for the article published in the paper under the date August 13th, the corporation and the individuals John Salo, A. A. Toivonen and Topias Kekkonen were on trial, the said trial commencing on March 23 last and closing on March 26th. All the defendants were found guilty as charged in the indictment. At the beginning of the trial the case against George Humon was dismissed on account of no connection with the paper. So far sentences are not imposed upon any of the defendants found guilty.

The two indictments are still pending against the corporation and against John Ahlberg, Frank Biltonen and Topias Kekkonen, and when they will come up to trial has not yet been stated.

All those found guilty are at liberty on two thousand dollars bail and those whose cases are pending are out on bail of one thousand dollars.

FORT DOUGLAS PRISONERS RELEASED

Just in time to be too late for the May issue we had the pleasure of shaking hands with Fellow Worker J. Bauer, who has spent 2½ years in the Fort Douglas, Utah, internment camp, as an alien enemy. He states that all the I. W. W. men are now released from that prison camp after internment for 2½ to 3 years. Some had already been "repatriated." The prisoners are released on a forced parole. Unless they signed the parole papers (which forbids them to join radical organizations), they were deprived of their transportation and subsistence money and other consideration shown "alien enemies." Only low down prigs of the Palmer type could have invented such a parole.

The number of I. W. W. men imprisoned in Fort Douglas were about 70. The names of 48 of these appear in our December issue.



Alfredo Buzzi, internee at Fort Douglas, Utah, snapped while reading the O. B. U. Monthly, while magpie has voluntarily joined him in prison and sits on his knee.

The conscience of a dum-dum bullet

By QUASIMODO VON BELVEDERE

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CHAPTER VI.

Wherein Matys Voices his Doubt that Seeds of Patriotism Planted in a Musty Sub-basement will Ever Germinate.

Since the time I discarded my proletarian habit and returned to society I have been approached by several of my colleagues who attempted to interest me in an enterprise of Americanizing the alien and promoting patriotism among the laboring classes. I ignored the subject because I could not see what difference it made to us whether the workmen understood our constitution or not; in fact, I believed that we can make them serve our interests better if they remain ignorant of the text of our fundamental state papers, as well as our history. There are very few laws in our constitution of which I approve. Moreover, George Washington, and especially Abraham Lincoln, made many utterances which I consider as utterly un-American. Only a few days ago Mr. Morgan sent me two clippings from the Red press, in both of which the constitution was profusely quoted. One of the clippings was an article from the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, published by the I. W. W.'s in Chicago; and the other was an editorial from the "LIBERATOR" a magazine published by some Soviet maniacs in New York. Now, if the constitution is good for them, then it is not good for us. Publications controlled by me never quote any of the red clauses of the constitution. And as to Abe Lincoln, we celebrate him for the only reason that he is dead. I never worried my head over the patriotism of the masses until after my last discussion with Matys, in which he brought my attention to the fact that the wars which we have occasionally to wage upon other nations, cannot be conducted successfully with an army devoid of patriotic sentiments. He also pointed out the sad circumstance that our industrial conquests, achieved by more or less harsh tactics as they are, tend to weaken, or totally extinguish the patriotism of a large number of men. Considering all the above circumstances, it becomes at once obvious that, inasmuch as in our conflicts with labor some of the loftiest patriotic sentiments have to be stunned, pulled to the ground and trampled down, that patriotism must be artificially fostered to replenish the waste. Serious reflection upon the above facts led me to the conclusion that the brand of patriotism which my colleagues advocated, and which they considered beneficial to us, must have been inspired by the exigencies of business which, in its character, may be as foreign to the patriotism of the founders of our Republic as the Christianity of today compared with the character of Christ. I was wondering now how such puerile thoughts could have originated in my sensible head that my fellow capitalists desired to spread among the rabble the

text of the constitution, or the doctrines of Lincoln, or other hot-heads of the past. I recollected that at the "CHICAGO CLEARING HOUSE" session Mr. Julius Rosenwald introduced to me one of the executives of Rotschild & Co., Mr. Ezekiel Veilchenduft as one of the apostles of the practical Americanization movement, and that Mr. Veilchenduft invited me to visit his "Loyalty School" held every workday at the sub-basement of their State Street store. I telephoned to him and inquired for particulars, and when he repeated his invitation, I consented to visit his show. We set the date for the following morning.

The idea occurred to me to take Matys with me; because day from day, I was becoming more dependent upon his opinions. In case the Loyalty curriculum was defective, I knew that he was capable to discern its weak points; and he would indicate them cheerfully. I summoned him and laid the matter before him.

"What do you think of the scheme," I asked him.

"Have little faith in it".

"Why?"

"I presume that, if Mr. Veilchenduft's loyalty seed had any value, he would not plant it in a sub-basement."

"That's a premature criticism."

"It's merely a suspicion. However, I am much interested, and I would like to ask Mr. Veilchenduft a question or two upon this modern subject."

"I am offering you the opportunity."

* * *

At ten o'clock the following morning Matys and myself called upon Mr. Veilchenduft at his office at the store, and I introduced Matys as my friend and a literary man. Mr. Veilchenduft was excessively polite to both of us, he behaved more like a valet than a gentleman. He took us to the elevator and we descended to the basement, where the mechanical service ended; from thence we descended to the sub-basement by a stairway. Before we reached the bottom a musty smell assailed my nostrils; and I was beginning to realize once more that one cannot learn much without incurring discomforts.

The loyalty meeting was held in the shipping room, and was already in progress when we arrived; the assemblage was just saying the Lord's prayer. After the prayer a thinhaired girl with a sickly face sat to the piano, a stern-featured old man seized a fiddle, and the pair set forth to play "My Country" with commendable alacrity; the crowd arose and sang the hymn, their voices were permeated with so much fervor and conviction as if the country really belonged to them. I looked at Matys, but he seemed to pay no attention to the singing, he was studying a wall which was decorated with two Old Glories and the pictures of President Wilson, Abra-

ham Lincoln, J. J. Pershing, Foch and Kitchener of Khartoum; Veilchenduft was singing, his behavior harmonized with the spirit of the crowd so perfectly as to make you think that he was in his own element. After the hymn, the impresario of the loyalty show called upon Mr. Gans to deliver a speech. Mr. Gans was a handsome Jew about forty years of age. He related the history of his own life; how he was born and raised in dire indigence somewhere in Russia. How he emigrated to England and reached Liverpool penniless. His life was a continuous tragedy until some ten years ago, when his fate drifted it into the merciful hands of Rotschild & Co. With Rotschild & Co. he found a steady job; by and by he fell in love and got married. He started at \$9 a week and by now had worked himself up to a position that pays \$20. Having thus arrived at the climax of his story, he bowed to the audience and retired to his seat upon one of the benches.

A short fat Negro was summoned next to give a piano solo. He rattled off a lively Fox Trot, and gave the Sweet Home for an encore. The applause he received showed that the crowd had a great appreciation of music.

Following the Negro, Mr. Neuman, the head of the shipping department, made a speech. He appealed for a general co-operation and increased production; urged the employees to be on time, and scored the dishonorable practice of one employe punching the card for another, who happens to be late. His speech was very sensible.

The Star Spangled Banner followed—and finally the oath of loyalty was taken. I will give here the form of the pledge because I think that every child should know it: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and the Republic for which it stands. One nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all." I also found a beautiful prayer in the hymn-book that was handed to me by the impresario, viz: "O allmighty God, Continue Thy gracious protection to those who have gone from among us to battle for the freedom of mankind" etc. This prayer is of no use now, but it shall come handy again in our future wars.

"All this is very nice," I said to Veilchenduft, "but this foul air is suffocating me; let's get out of here."

Mr. Veilchenduft proposed that we go to his office, to which Matys and myself agreed. However, Matys desired to make a closer acquaintance with Mr. Gans, so he would not go with us immediately but promised to join us later. Mr. Gans was coming our way, which made us linger for a while. As he was passing us Matys approached him courteously, shook hands with him and congratulated him upon his fine speech as we moved to go.

I thought well of the loyalty training, but I did not care to give Mr. Veilchenduft my opinion until I had consulted Matys; so when we arrived at his office I engaged him in a discussion upon the League of Nations. Mr. Veilchenduft's opinions upon the subject were very crude. He soon admitted that international affairs were beyond the

limits of his intellect, that he left their adjustment to greater minds. Nevertheless he professed an explicit faith in the covenant. "The President had at his command the advice of the foremost financiers of the country," he said, "I am satisfied that they saw to it that the covenant embodied substantial benefits for American business."

At this juncture Matys came in and in his presence I thought it safe to touch upon the loyalty propaganda. "What do you think of the whole affair?" I asked him as he took a seat.

"Like all things human, the system is imperfect."

"I appreciate criticism more than flattery," said Mr. Veilchenduft, "what fault do you find with it?"

"The President is appealing to every patriot to increase production, and here you withdraw the workers from industry for nearly an hour every day and have them sing—and what a singing it is; their lungs must be full of mushrooms."

"Oh, the production does not suffer by this," said Veilchenduft, "we make them work an extra hour in the evening."

"Oh, that's different," said Matys, "but, would it not be more patriotic to turn your slaves out into the street for these forty of fifty minutes and give them a chance to breathe some fresh air?"

Mr. Veilchenduft looked upon Matys thoroughly puzzled. "My dear sir," he said, "that's Bolshevism what you are preaching. If you give the slaves too much taste of fresh air they would want to remain in fresh air all the time. This would ruin our business."

The discussion was becoming tedious and I was becoming hungry, so we left Mr. Veilchenduft, and Matys and myself went to the Congress Hotel to lunch. During the course of the meal I asked Matys what kept him at the sub-basement for half an hour after Veilchenduft and myself left him.

"I wanted to see more of the inferno, and particularly the place where Mr. Gans performed his important task. His department consists of a room about 30 ft. long and 15 feet wide; it adjoins a lavatory. A counter runs through the whole room behind which there are two white men and four Negro wenches packing crockery and chinaware. The stench there is much more offensive than at the shipping room, because there the merchandise is being packed in manure. Of course, officially the material is called straw; however, its filthy appearance and its nasty smell readily conveyed to my imagination the idea that several generation of pigs had been bred and nursed in that straw before the farmer decided to part with it for the price offered by Rotschild & Co."

"The conditions cannot be quite as bad as you present them. Mr. Veilchenduft may be capable of neglecting the interest of his employees, but he is too clever to drive away his customers by sending them merchandise packed in unclean material."

"There you are mistaken. These Jews are catering to the most indigent element. 'Bargain' is Mr. Veilchenduft's motto;—give 'em a bargain and they'll come back. If you want to convince your-

self I will buy there a couple of cheap plates, have them delivered, and then I will open the package in your presence."

"No, thank you, I would not want the delivery wagon of Rotschild's stop in front of my house."

"I did not finish my story. The manure is surrounding the packers and there is always several inches of the compost under their feet."

"Who is to blame for that? Suppose you were one of the packers, what would prevent you from shoveling the manure aside and keep it from under your feet?"

"There is no room to shovel it away; the handy man, whose business is to supply the packers with the compost, brings the stuff in basketfuls and dumps it over the counter until it reaches up to their necks."

"When the crew goes home, do you think the straw is left upon the floor until the following day?"

"Of course it is. This is against the rules of the Fire Department, but rich firms do not have to obey the law. The whole place is infested with roaches, which breed in the accumulated filth. Hog cotes are being cleaned once in a while but Rotschild's packing rooms are never cleaned. To work men under such health-killing conditions, and at the same time, preaching to them patriotism is the limit of moral corruption."

"You did not tell me yet what Mr. Gans is doing there."

"Mr. Gans is a checker. He brings in the baskets with the merchandise, re-counts the items and places them on the counter. His task is arduous. It's perhaps his consciousness of the confidence which the firm reposes in him that renders his work easy. However, I detected a flaw in his character; he may yet become a Red."

(To be continued.)

The next instalment will deal with the physician's report about Woodrow Wilson's Brain being loose; and how Herr von Belvedere prevented the report from circulating among the public.

CHAPTER VII

How the doctors looked into President Wilson's head while Secretary Tumulty was asleep; and the appalling disorder they beheld there.

While the philosophical discussion between Matys and myself was peacefully proceeding at the Congress Hotel dining room our attention became attracted by a great tumult in the street. Several newsboys were shrieking at the top of their damaged voices: "PRESIDENT WILSON"—something awful about the president, but I could understand nothing beyond the name. The horrible idea occurred to me that he might have accepted the amendment to the X article of the league of nations; or that Senator Lodge, or perhaps Hiram Johnson, threw a bomb at him. I sent out Matys to find exactly what the commotion was about. Matys was almost breathless with excitement as he returned a few minutes later with a newspaper in his hand. "The president is insane," he stammered, and he

laid before me the paper containing the following headline in a four-inch type:

PRESIDENT'S ILLNESS SERIOUS LESION OF THE BRAIN, DOCTORS SAY

Never in my life did I get in such a rage as this piece of news provoked in me. "What incredible idiots these doctors and the editors are," I said to Matys after I somewhat calmed. "Of course, the president's brain is loose, and always was so. I knew that when he was presidential candidate for the first time; that was the very reason why I reversed by policy and contributed to the Democratic campaign twice as much as I did to the Republican. At the bankers' conference in New York when we then arrived unanimously at the opinion that Wilson's mind was weaker and much more plastic than that of T. R. But what's the object of letting the cat out of the bag at this time?"

Matys gazed at me in astonishment. "Do you really mean to say that you supported Wilson in his presidential aspirations despite your knowledge of the cracked condition of his brain? How did you expect him to carry on the business of the country?"

"We never expect the president to conduct the affairs of the country; we do this ourselves. Did we not have Barney Baruch, Julius Rosenwald, Schwab and Redfield helping him? Even in Paris we had our men, pushing our interests to the front. The president devoted most of his time to gambling. He played solitaire for fabulous sums, and, according to his panegyric biographer, kept an accurate record of his gains and losses. He never kept accurate records of anything else. And yet he became a great president. In popularity he reached a point never attained by a mental weakling before. This attests to the omnipotence of our press."

"Your political machinery is still in good order," said Matys; "you still have the power to elect the president, as well as any other official. I freely concede that you can take any half-wit from an asylum for the feeble-minded and make of him a popular statesman. The process is simple: After you have your man selected you place him in the hands of a skillful politician to teach him several absolutely meaningless phrases. Next, you hire a circus man, who will give him lessons in gesticulations—train him like a monkey. Then you spend a couple of million dollars in having him exhibited throught the whole country and have him to demonstrate his dignified motions and repeat his phrases like a parrot. Then, if you place a sufficient number of your agents at the polls, well supplied with \$1 bills and 'visum repertums' for Scotch whiskey, your victory shall be an easy one (because the American people are intelligent, you know). But what are you going to do with victory? The worker will present to you his claims, irrational more than ever, and he will use his industrial power to enforce them—you can fool them no more. Governmental cabinets have of late become groups of mere puppets. The seat of omnipotence is now in the process of transition from capitalism and its political

fakirs into the hands of labor. The One Big Union idea is the one big menace to your rule, and you haven't done anything as yet to check its phenomenal growth. There is a big job still ahead of you."

Maybe the warning Matys was giving me was good, but I had no time to analyze it or act upon it; my mind was preoccupied with the administration scandal that was being so thoughtlessly advertised in the press. I realized that if we are to retain the business advantages and benefits derived from President Wilson's administration, the news concerning the interior of his head must be promptly suppressed. Hence, I dismissed Matys from my company, went to the hotel lobby and dispatched a code message to a lawyer who represented my interests in the city of New York. I instructed him to see immediately Mr. William Randolph Bristlebane and offer him a sum up to \$200,000 as a recompense for keeping the reports concerning the president's mental state out of his press.

The following morning I went to New York in person. There I called into conference seven of the leading financiers. When I explained the harmful possibilities of exhibiting the mental shortcomings of our chief executive they all agreed to make a liberal contribution to the cause—thus the day was saved.

CHAPTER VIII

How the Coal Diggers Spoiled My Winter's Vacation

The steel slaves, who were on strike for several weeks already, have been almost subdued. Judge Garcia and General Wood assure me that they have the situation well under control, that my bastille was doing effective service and our victory was already in sight. So I intended to go for a couple of months to Palm Beach for a rest. No sooner did I give my orders to Okakura to pack my trunks for the contemplated vacation than the coal miners came out with fantastic demands and threw down their tools. The situation appeared very dark, because the fuel supply at hand was hardly sufficient for a month. Fortunately the law was on our side; President Wilson and Mr. Palmer soon discovered that the war was not over yet. Strike was an act of treason, giving aid and comfort to the Kaiser at his wood pile. That was an admirable idea, sufficient in itself to prove that at least 2 per cent of the cells in the president's brain were still alive. While the government's machinery was set in motion in behalf of our cause—to suppress a criminal strike, a funny incident happened which is worth noting here. Mr. McAdoo made a squeal about my 2000 per cent profit during the war. Of course it is a trifle more than he made on the New York tunnel, it is even more than the government realized on the railroads under his management; but there are no limits to profits a shrewd business man can make. Obviously, McAdoo wants to run for president on the red ticket while Debs is serving his penitentiary term.

Well, we soon succeeded in having the strike called off, but the production of coal was not resumed and the situation was assuming an alarming

aspect. I was becoming nervous because the officials at Washington would not guarantee that the government would succeed in breaking the strike, illegal though it was. The officials of the A. F. of L., while sympathizing with us as usual, shared the consternation of the government and admitted that they lost control of the rank and file of the coal diggers, that they could not get them back to work without offering them substantial inducements. I was willing to grant them a 20 per cent increase, providing the government would allow us to raise the coal about 40 per cent. To this Dr. Garfield objected. Of course, the government would not break its time-honored custom of allowing us anything we wanted, but he feared that the Reds might interpret this as an attempt at profiteering and cause new complications. Therefore, with the popularity of the fourteen points in our minds, we decided to set the wage increase at 14 per cent and postpone for a few weeks the doubling of the price of coal. It was also understood that the president would make generous promises to the men. Promises of the president will make a good impression, and they will not be binding upon us. Under this arrangement Dr. Garfield thought he could easily induce the strikers to resume work.

Although the outlook for resuming the operation of the mines was fair, the demonstration of the coal diggers' power alarmed me. I could not help but realize that our power was slipping away from us. Of what use shall it be to us to control the government, or dictate laws favorable to our interests, if the working class form the habit of disregarding orders of the authorities, defy the laws and ridicule injunction? because, should the miners resume work, as is expected, the credit will be due to the cunning and chicanery of the president, rather than to their respect for the law. The proper thing for the business man and the government to do now is to keep the workers from becoming conscious of their strength.

Before a week elapsed it became apparent that Dr. Garfield's proposal, and, especially the president's generous promises, were sending the miners back to work. I was anxious to know what Matys thought of the situation now, because when the strike broke out he predicted that the miners would win. I summoned him to the library, where we usually held our discussions upon sociological and economic problems.

I was reading the Chicago Daily News when Matys came in. "Are you following the movements of the strike?" I asked him, as he accommodated himself in the chair on the opposite side of the table.

"Not now any more, the strike is lost."

"Lost for whom?"

"The miners, of course," he replied with disgust. These fools return to work with no more tangible an inducement before them than the word of the president, now, when they needed to wait only three or four days more and they would get everything they wanted: six-hour day, five-day week, and

they could dictate almost any wages they pleased."

"But the settlement we are offering them is fair."

Matys said nothing, but laughed; so I read to him the two ensuing paragraphs of an editorial in the Daily News:

"The Crisis and the Issue."

"Chicago now faces a grave condition instead of a mere probability. The coal shortage is acute. Drastic measures of conservation have had to be adopted. More are to follow. Railroad service has been curtailed; so-called non-essential industries—which are essential to those who earn their living in those industries—are deprived of coal. The business day has been reduced to six and a half hours. It is to be made still shorter next week. The daily loss to labor and to those who conduct business enterprises is tremendous.

"Where does the responsibility for all this rest? At the present time it rests with the leaders of the organized miners. The national cabinet and the fuel administration fumbled the issue at first, but the final proposal made by Dr. Garfield and approved on its merits by the entire cabinet was eminently fair, reasonable and sound. It offered the miners full justice, if not immediately, certainly in the near future. It granted them an increase in wages to cover the exact ascertained increase in the cost of living. It provided for a commission to study and remove all other grievances and maladjustments in the industry."

"You are right," he said. "The whole administration agrees with you and Dr. Garfield that your proposal is eminently fair and sound, that it offered the miners full justice, if not immediately, certainly in the near future, and offered them an increase in wages to cover the exact ascertained increase in the cost of living. It provided for a commission (this is very important) to study and remove all other grievances, etc., etc., etc."

"The government offers full justice, but not immediately; of course not—there is now hurry with justice—but, why is it, sir, that if the government takes a notion to do injustice or violence to something or somebody, as, for instance, the I. W. W.'s, why is it, sir, that the brutality is committed immediately?"

"Why is it that you offer the slaves an increase in wages to cover the exact ascertained increase in their cost of living?? Suppose the 80,000 toilers who are slaving for you in your coal mines, steel mills, your steamships and a score of other fields, should organize into one big union and appoint a commission to ascertain the exact amount of profits you need, to pay for your three meals a day, the upkeep of your wardrobe, etc., with an occasional dime for movies, and an occasional two bits for castor oil or epsom salts?"

"That's enough," I cried, interrupting him. "You are an anarchist; it's talk like that that's undermining the discipline of labor and destroying the fabric of the government."

Matys apologized. He admitted that he made an irrational digression from the subject. He also admitted that the offer the government was extending to the miners was generous beyond all precedents—"but," he concluded, "what would you do about it should the miners reject Mr. Garfield's correct figures? You are not dealing with justice; it's power you are confronting. Should you become accosted by a lion in the jungle, you would not stop to argue about justice; more likely you would climb the nearest tree. Superior power recognizes no laws or injunctions of a lesser power. The American proletariat is a lion which is as yet unconscious of its power. But Nicolai Lenin, the archangel of the wage slave, is sounding his mighty trumpet day and night. Well, sir, I predict that, before a year elapses, the American slave will be wide awake—then we shall have a new interpretation of justice, a new code of morality and a new aspect upon the purpose of life."

"The only conclusion I can draw from your talk is that you favor Bolshevism. Your radical proclivities are a puzzle to me, because you are above the proletariat. You wear clean clothes, you work less than six hours per day and less than five days in the week, and perhaps you have a substantial bank account to your credit. Why should you wish to wreck a system which is benevolent to you?"

"Surely, this is an absurd guess you are venturing at my conviction. The fact is that I would do everything in my power to save capitalism if I thought that it could still be saved, because I believe that with your patronage I have the chance to become the president of the United States, or shall you yourself take the job? I would become to you what Kernel House is to President Wilson; I would become the American Rasputin. Unfortunately, the doom of capitalism is sealed. Capital and labor are clinched in a mortal struggle; in my capacity of a philosopher, I foresee the proletariat emerging from the conflict victorious, but there exists no affinity between my prescience and my political sentiments; you may wish your friend to recover and at the same time realize that his case is hopeless; on the other hand, you may wish your rich uncle to die and dream about the adventure you would have with the money that he would leave you, even if all circumstances indicate that his lease upon temporal sojourn has a better standing than yours."

"Do you really believe that the One Big Union dragon shall have its teeth fully developed within a year???"

"Yes, sir, the next summer shall be the hottest in the history of our republic."

I was getting an acute headache, so I dismissed Matys and summoned my physician.

The end of the First Part

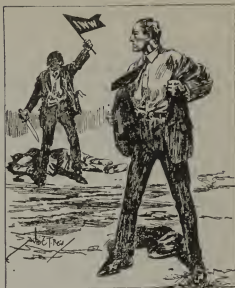
EDITOR'S NOTE—Von Belvedere is at present on a yachting excursion in the southern waters. As soon as his nerves recuperate from the strain of his strike worries he will commence to write the second and the most romantic part of his story.

The Servile Press

By Covington Ami

"When last heard from our old friend Gene Debs, who is to be the Socialist candidate for president, had established campaign headquarters in the Atlanta Penitentiary."—From the New Orleans (L.a.) Daily States, official organ of the "Democratic" party, national, state and city, April 17, 1920.

Disloyal to humanity and traitors to their class,
 They curse the great Altrurians and stone them as
 they pass.
 Too slaved to thrill to liberty, too lost for truth to
 lure.
 To them no soul is sacred and to them no heart is
 pure.
 They earn the wage of helotry—they sell themselves
 for crusts.
 They fight for Mammon's garbage and they pander
 to his lusts;
 Yea! cleaner than these wretches who kill Freedom
 for their bread,
 The ghouls that rob the tombs to sell the bodies of
 the dead.



As the Chicago Evening Post sees the
 I. W. W.—and



As the I. W. W. sees the Chicago Evening Post and all the rest of the
 capitalist press.

A WORKER'S VIEW

By J. H. L., Card No. 700094

I am still young in years, not yet 32. My physical condition is pretty good, regardless of the long, weary hours of toil that my brain and body have endured while being a useful worker in the industries. My usefulness is a great asset to my employers, as they take the products of my labor, for which they pay me the "going wages," which is just enough to bring me back on the job, for the next day's work.

My mentality is a worker's. I see things with the eyes of a worker. I have always been a worker, since I was able to work, and I never want to be anything but a "worker. There are many kinds of workers in present-day society. Some of them are useful, while some are useless. The useless workers could be entirely eliminated and will be, when the workers' regime will have been established and the system of exploitation of men, women and children for the benefit of those who maintain and carry on this exploitation is abolished. How? you ask. As you read on I will tell you how.

Remember, I see things with the eyes of a worker. In my worker's brain I have conceived of and know how the workers' regime will establish itself. The structure of the workers' society is placed on solid foundations, and as the structure is reared within the shell of the present decaying, crumbling, capitalistic system it bears no earmarks of the old regime of robbery and chaos.

The new society that is being built has these fundamental principles upon which it builds: **Real Freedom** for those who work. The full social product of the labor of those who work. No place for parasites! The right to labor (work) shall never be denied anybody. Many hands makes the task easy. The right to choose the industry in which one is best equipped to work and go through the different departments of the chosen industry, just as you become proficient and ready to go a step higher to the next department, and so on until you have gone on through the industry. In the industries as managed today the workers are held on irksome, monotonous tasks until their motions become almost as automatic as the machines which they operate. There ceases to be a co-ordination of hand and brain. Right here is where the workers' industrial progress comes to a stop. Under the workers' management of the industries these evils will be removed. Your inventiveness will be given free play. In other words, you can and will apply the better ways of doing the task. Your ideals will be applied, and not locked up in archives until some one sees a chance to make "a good brick" with them, at the expense of the workers.

The machine process, the Machine Age, will be ushered in. Not a single task will be done by man or horse, where a machine can do the work instead. Right now there are plenty of machines ready to do the work, but the want must be backed up by

that dollar, so it is at the behest of the moneyed class as to how soon the machine should be applied. Then what would they do with the idle workers which the machine displaces? I say the capitalist class are damming up the "river of progress", and at their cost and peril let it be. The river will flow seaward; despite them it will break down their dams and be free.

Yes, we will usher in the machine age. We workers will operate these machines and produce the means of life in abundance, then use them to round out a healthy, happy, a few-minutes-work-a-day life.

Our products will not be sold! No! You couldn't buy a pair of shoes with all the money you could carry in a big sack. We won't sell anything, not even our labor-power, which is all we workers ever have to sell. We use what we produce. We invite you as a fellow worker to come into industry and work; then you, too, will have the right to the full social product of your labor. The aged and the infirm will be well cared for. Yes, come into industry and do your part for a few minutes each day, while some of the workers are on a vacation, seeing the world and meeting their fellow workers in other climes. When they return from their vacation, why, then it's your turn. Oh, yes—the trains, ships, aeroplanes, autos, etc., are all for use. Get on!

Remember these are just a few of the joys that will come from living in an era of workers' management. The new order will give us economic freedom. No longer will we have to place our labor-power (our bodies, our talents) on the altar of Mammon.

We bring about the above described era? how? Why, by organization! What kind of an organization? Just this: a strictly workers' organization, open for membership to all who work—men, women, kiddies, all races, all creeds, all colors of workers. It embraces all of them and will be embraced by all of them. The plan of unionizing these workers is the **industrial plan**. They can't be organized on the craft trade plan because in the main they have no craft or trade. They are unskilled!

The American Federation of Labor has most of the skilled workers lined up in something like 27,000 different local unions, 27,000 divisions! Are they united or divided? There are approximately 40,000,000 workers in the U. S. A. The A. F. of L., after all these years, has a membership around 5,000,000 (?). Why haven't they organized the other 35,000,000 workers? Did you ever try to break into their "job trust"? They have a closed book system when any members are idle. The high initiation fee will usually block you, and if that don't, why, a few catchy questions in examination will fix you.

The A. F. of L. in the main is filled with "aristocrats of labor," who view their fellow workers from

a point of advantage, so they think. Their vision is so limited, their plans so petty, that they can not see that the machine process is putting them on a level with the unskilled worker, the workers who are so much "below" them! Verify the above statements by an honest survey of the machine process, as it daily takes away the skilled worker's job. The unskilled worker, with the improved tool or machine, can do the job that formerly required the skill of the craftsman. Do I have to mention a few of the machines that displace the tradesman, or will you wake up and see the process going on every day in the industries in which you work? The ever-growing power of the capitalist class has put craft unions in the background when it comes to a struggle on the economic field. They are no longer able to cope with the industrial conditions of today and the craft-union members are clamoring for One Big Union. They are ready for industrial organization and will be compelled to break the bonds of craft unionism and come into the union of their class, i. e., the Industrial Workers of the World. And when industrial unionism is numerically strong enough it will take control of industry and carry on production and distribution, doing away with all the crime, poverty and misery that goes hand in hand with the present-day society.

I said before that I have a worker's mentality and see things with the eyes of a worker, and I say once more that I don't want to be anything else but a worker. Will you join me and work for the greatest movement on earth—Industrial Unionism?

Yield Not to the Boss

By Eugene Barnett

Written by one of the Centralia defendants in the Grey's Harbor County Jail, December, 1919

Yield not to the boss, boys, for yielding is a sin;
Each concession that you gain will help another win.
Don't stand for long hours, low wages and disdain;
Join the One Big Union, true freedom attain.

Chorus

Be a fearless rebel, class-conscious, bold and true;
Join the One Big Union; you'll win, boys, if you do.

Don't wait for your freedom until you are dead;
Join the One Big Union and get a card of red.
United we are standing, boys; divided we will fall,
For workers' solidarity means freedom for us all.
(Chorus)

The master class are pirates, boys, who rob us by
the law.
They tell us it's the proper thing, but that is much
too raw.
But let us change the rules, boys, and make them
produce, too,
For with the One Big Union it's an easy thing to do.
(Chorus)

Deportation

By Covington Ami

Eastward bound to the rising sun
To answer Destiny's call
Outlawed by the powers of greed
Because we dared to sow the seed
Of freedom for one and all.

Eastward we're sailing, sailing toward the sun
Tis a bright light, a great light
It shall disperse the shadows of night
Then we'll know our work's well done.

And the puny efforts of plutes and kings
Can't stay the power of light
And in that land across the sea
For freedom we'll unite.

For the sun will rise and rise in the east
In spite of predatory man or beast
And none will fast while others feast
When the world comes out of the night.

Why do you tremble, Master?
Is it because you fear the light?
Are you not secure in your plunder
When you mumble "Might is right."

Bring the brandy and soda, James
He needs a good stiff drink
He may be a useful worker
When his slaves begin to think.

Cries from the Web of Wage Slavery

By D. S. DIETZ

To hades with a system that thwarts our plan,
To live as men ought to dwell,
And drives us to hie from pillar to post,
Our labor seeking to sell.

The art and skill and the love in our ranks—
None can deny it the Rebs—
To the human fold and ourselves, 'tis lost,
Where the human spider webs.

Two million men with a spirit of pride,
All bachelors sadly adrift—
Refuse to burden a wife with the shame
Of a toiler's niggardly shift.

Two million children are caught in the snare
To enhance the spider's play;
And teachers are told to teach that it's right
To do as the spiders say.

And spiders will spend a million or more
To keep a spider from jail
And treble the sum to jail the wage-men
Who seek the unfettered trail.

Get More Technical Knowledge

By R. BRUNER

"I do not care to have you think later that I have taken advantage of you, so I'll tell you my terms now, Mr. Pitcairn. I charge \$1.00 an hour for this type of work" I said to the miner.

"He blinked a little but accepted the terms. At that time he typified all that is foolish, if not detestable in a working man—from a lack of class consciousness to the greatest of all, that of truckling and singing the praises of his 'bosses.'

"Therefore I half hoped my price would be too high and I tolerated him only because Old Man Finance was about to turn his back upon me completely. Lessons began.

"Here was a man of about thirty years aspiring to be a mine foreman in a state requiring an examination involving mathematical knowledge in some cases as high as trigonometry and a rather comprehensive knowledge of geology and chemistry. The man claimed four years' high school training, yet he had forgotten the way to operate with decimal fractions. Add to that the amazing fact that he had allowed himself scarcely two months for the preparation and you will have a brief resumé of a situation that can best be designated as 'nervy.' I admired his nerve but was staggered at the part I was to play in it.

"He really progressed so that I felt my discouragement had been partially unwarranted, and one night during lessons (on time he was paying for) when marsh gas and stink-damp were under discussion he almost stunned me by saying: 'We could get better conditions if we were ORGANIZED! The company won't even timber right unless we make 'em. We have no organization in this camp.'

"I believe I gave him an extra half hour free that night, but it was worth it to hear what I'd been classing as a 'scissor' utter the statement. It showed me that there was a growing sense of a need of class solidarity—even in this scab camp, and among aspirants to the job of 'mine foreman.'"

* * * * *

The above quotation is taken from a letter I recently received from a cousin of mine in Utah (with his permission). It seems significant of that need emphasized by the first precept of the I. W. W., **EDUCATION.**

A criticism tendered us by the deceased H. L. V. was to the effect that we were merely a propaganda league and tho all true rebels must share the common contempt his suicide has called down upon himself, at the same time we probably read his "thirty pieces of silver" article more closely and more analytically and more introspectively than any other group of people, and while we bitterly deny his allegations as the pratings of a scared youth, we declare anew that our first great precept does not stop at propaganda work (tho it is of vast importance!) but includes a thoro study of the technique of all industry. If the understanding of

your industry involves a knowledge of mathematical formulas, as does mining, then there is a point of departure for following the precept, "Education." If a study of physics is needed, as it is in scientific agriculture—then study physics. If a knowledge of any scientific principles have a relation to your industry, grasp at an understanding of those principles—for, "tho no man knoweth the hour," it surely is approaching rapidly, when an industrially democratic world must call upon every reliable man or woman with sufficient technical knowledge to be responsible for industries controlled by workers.

Unfortunately, at present, too many of the people who possess this scientific skill are with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. Some, a few, would come over rapidly if the turn were obviously made by others, by us more lowly of the proletariat who do not know the technique so thoroly—but many more of these—of our class—who draw soul-subsidizing salaries, would hold back stubbornly while we who are ready and waiting, shouting ever, "It can't come too soon to suit me," would be forced to see our boasted industrial era of democracy halted by our own ignorance of technique. We may paraphrase a statement of the Crucified Wobly by saying, "The wages of Ignorance is Chaos," and as long as ignorance exists we are sure to have a wages system, with the wages paid in chaos and delay.

Similarly to the way many red rebels refuse to read capitalist papers, we eschew as "non-revolutionary" the appropriation of the sort of knowledge needed by heads of our industries. What matter, if under our present system we haven't a ghost of a chance, and could never consent to acquiring some of the qualifications needed? Get the knowledge, which differs from the despised remaining qualifications. Technical skill is the very pulse of industry; you have what your specialized portion of your industry requires; get more, so that when our historic mission is achieved we will have the required number of pilots to steer us thru the sea of transition. To refer again to the comparison between the man who sneers at the necessity of knowing "why his boss is his boss" and the rebel, who refuses to read the capitalist press, it must be stated that the editors of our own papers have in their editorial rooms and on their desks piles of your despised papers of capitalism and they recognize in them the pulse beat of the enemy. They are diagnosing and simplifying what they find there and presenting it to you. How can you fight your enemy successfully unless you know his position? and how can you conquer and revolutionize industry unless you thoroly know its technique? Education! apply it. Learn your industry with a view to being one of those captains who will be able to correlate its various achievements when capitalism shall have collapsed.

The 12th Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

A Few Extracts From the Minutes

The Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. W. W. adjourned just as we were about to go to press. The following are some extracts from the minutes, selected while the forms were held open.

May 10, 1920

Convention called to order at 10 a. m. by General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Whitehead, who, after a few brief remarks, called for nominations for a temporary chairman. Fellow Workers James Rowan and Tom Doyle were nominated. F. W. Rowan elected temporary chairman.

Nominations for temporary recording secretary. F. W. G. Hardy elected.

Number of delegates present: G. R. U., one delegate, 15 votes; M. T. W. I. U. No. 8, five delegates, 17 3-5 votes each, total 88; M. M. W. I. U. No. 300, three, 10 2-3 votes each, total 32; S. B. W. I. U. No. 325, one, 8 votes; A. W. I. U. No. 400, five, 15 2-5 votes each, total 77; L. W. I. U. No. 500, six, 40 1-2 votes each, total 243; C. W. I. U. No. 573, five, 15 3-5 votes each, total 78; R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, one, 13 votes; M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, three, 37 1-2 votes each, total 112; T. W. I. U. No. 1000, one, 27 votes; H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100, two, 6 1-2 votes each, total 13; P. & P. W. I. U. No. 1200, one, 2 votes; F. S. W. I. U. No. 1500, one, 1 vote. Total number delegates, 35; total votes 694.

The rules committee recommended the election of the following committees: Resolutions committee, ways and means committee, grievance committee, constitution committee, education and literature committee. Carried.

Fellow Worker George Hardy was elected permanent chairman and Fellow Worker R. Brown permanent recording secretary.

Second Day—May 11

Moved and seconded that stenographer's report be taken and placed on file and that a condensed report be made from the stenographer's report and published.

The following telegram was ordered sent to the class war prisoners:

Delegates assembled at the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World extend their hearty greetings to all class war prisoners now suffering in the jails and penitentiaries, and resolve to do all in our power to the end that all will be released.

The report of the General Executive Board (see pages 14-16 of this issue) was then read, accepted, and recommendations referred to the various committees.

Moved and seconded that Gordon Cascaden be seated as the press agent of the convention and that no delegates' names be published. Carried.

Moved and seconded that a referendum committee be elected. Carried.

Third Day—May 12th

The general secretary-treasurer rendered his report, as follows:

Report of General Secretary-Treasurer

It is vitally important that practical problems confronting your organization should occupy your foremost attention, both at this, or any convention of the I. W. W.

Past conventions have been chiefly occupied in tinkering with the constitution, to the neglect of those problems, the solving of which alone is the best guide in constructing a constitution suitable for a revolutionary industrial organization.

Finances

The funds of the organization are to it as the blood to the body and must freely circulate or disastrous results must inevitably follow. No hoarding of funds in order to show a large bank balance, while obligations to other parts of the organization are neglected, should be tolerated.

Our motto, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is applicable in a case of this kind, as well as in the usual sense we generally apply it.

The question of increasing the dues will come before you for consideration and should be considered from all angles. A remarkable exchange relation between commodities has taken place during the last few years, in which the purchasing power has declined, while all other commodities have soared sky high.

However, in considering this question we must never lose sight of our object, namely, to organize the workers for emancipation from slavery thru industrial organization; therefore, while it may be found necessary to raise the dues, let us endeavor to keep the amount within the reach of all workers.

We should just as carefully consider if our funds are being used in the best possible manner. Take, for instance, the printing of bulletins by the industrial unions, one industrial union issued three bulletins, one for each district; another industrial union printed a paper once a month for a time, no effort being made to replace their cost. It would be interesting to have the data, showing the cost to the industrial unions for the year, for if it could be shown that the increase in membership by their aid did not cover the cost, it would virtually mean that funds were used that should properly go to paying their debts, and I feel confident that this is what actually occurred. Another angle to be considered is to what extent the bulletins given away free influence adversely the sale of our papers, thus causing them to be run at a loss, because this affects the general office two ways; first, because the general office is called upon to meet the deficit of the papers, and secondly, to the extent that publication of bulletins cause the industrial unions to be unable to meet their obligations to the general office.

Another great drain on the funds of the industrial unions is the present method of running industrial union district offices. We have had ample opportunity to discover that they are nothing more than a duplication of offices for the duplication of the same work, entirely unnecessary, and the only advantage gained that I can discover is that duplicate cards can be supplied to a member quicker—surely a tremendous price for so small an advantage. Surely supply offices could obtain the same results with from 50 to 75 per cent less office help and considerable less office furniture required.

In my financial report you will be told of the various debts of the industrial unions to the gen-

eral office. These figures cover total debts, which includes large amounts of supplies that have from time to time been confiscated in many raids during the past few years, including Freedom certificates, Defense stamps of all kinds, as well as organization supplies and literature.

As it is impossible to know what amount of each item as charged on the books have been confiscated, it appears to me that there are only two practical ways to deal with this question. One is that each industrial union should take an inventory of supplies on hand, in the main office, district and branch offices, and in the hands of the delegates at a time of the year when there is the smallest amount of activity in the field, or, if this method is considered too expensive, then set a date, say December 31, 1918, and the debt as shown on the books on that date be cancelled and deducted from the total debt.

During the past year the industrial unions have also become indebted to the general office, but they have a great deal of supplies on hand, which are an asset against this debt, and we need not worry about that part of the debt.

What we are concerned about is the actual debt owed for the supplies sold, and the bigger the industrial union the larger the actual debt for supplies sold for which they have received payment.

While these industrial unions are behind in their per capita by thousands of dollars, the greatest debts are for supplies that cost the general office the heaviest to replace, such as buttons, literature, card cases, etc.

Anticipating the question, "Is 15 cents per capita sufficient?" I would answer decidedly yes, provided prompt payment by the industrial unions of the per capita and all supplies sold during the month, as shown by the monthly statement issued by them, is made. No secretary should be allowed to please himself about remitting for same while funds are on hand to cover same.

Should district offices still be operated as they have in the past, they certainly should be prevented from acting like Seattle District Office of the Lumber Workers did a year ago, keeping month after month from four to five thousand dollars in the bank for the bank to get benefit from, while the main office needed the money to meet its bills, but could not get it.

Twice the main office sent an organization committee half way across the continent to try to get them to loosen up, but without avail, making a further great loss to the industrial union.

With the above system put into operation, and no laggards allowed to tamper with it, the general office would have ample funds to keep up its stock of supplies, get out fresh and up-to-date literature, and be able to place organizers in the field to aid the young and weaker industrial unions and break new ground in other industries not organized at all.

We are getting nowhere by building a few large industrial unions while others are left weak, and in a great number of industries no field work attempted.

If, I repeat, the above system is adopted and enforced, any increase in dues should go to the industrial unions and this would aid them to meet the above requirements and the amount of increase determined with this end in view.

Publications

The Hungarian, Russian and Croatian papers have at all times during the year been self-sustaining; several were gradually reducing their deficit until the Centralia tragedy, and the raid on the general office that occurred in January. Others that were continually going behind had to be dropped, as the financial drain became too heavy. The Croatian paper stopped for lack of an editor,

after Fellow Worker Verbanac, upon persistent calls for his services as organizer on the Iron Range and elsewhere, finally left with the intention of returning after two weeks, but never did return.

This paper has \$500 in the general office funds. Every effort has been made to get the papers to the subscribers at a very heavy cost, and it seems almost impossible to get bundle orders to the Pacific coast, so that the deficits are becoming alarming, Solidarity, for instance, during the month of March going \$400 to the bad and during April \$600. The One Big Union Monthly has had some varied experiences. At one time it was over \$1,000 behind, but during the summer months it overcame this handicap and had several hundred dollars to its credit, but the reverse is now true, as shown by the April report. The condition, however, is not as bad as it looks, because a large edition of the May issue was paid for in April and the returns should materially reduce the deficit. I presume Fellow Worker Sandgren will give you a more detailed report concerning this magazine.

The General Executive Board in its report touches on a number of subjects, making repetition unnecessary; also the secretary-treasurer of the General Defense committee, I believe, will give you a report for the committee, so I shall not touch on Defense matters except to say that after the last convention there was no defense committee, so that I am solely responsible for any mistakes, if any did occur, till Fellow Worker Haywood was released from Leavenworth, when a committee was organized consisting of industrial union secretaries and editors located at the general office and the general secretary-treasurer, and at our first meeting Fellow Worker Haywood was elected general defense secretary, and this action was ratified by the executive board at their August meeting.

In conclusion it is my desire that you above all things make provision to relieve the financial strain on the general office, so that my successor, whoever, he may be, shall not be hampered by troubles of this nature.

We have a bright future before us. We have stood the test of the most brutal persecution, thus providing the virility of the I. W. W. beyond question. Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

(Signed) THOS. WHITEHEAD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Moved and seconded that report be accepted as read and that same be printed with a synopsis of report of this convention in full, subject to any correction.

Amended, that secretary-treasurer furnish the delegates with a copy of financial report as soon as possible and have same published in the I. W. W. papers and magazines and that it be turned over to new business also. Amendment carried.

ORGANIZATION RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR FISCAL YEAR APRIL 1, 1919, TO APRIL 1, 1920

1919	Receipts	Disbursements
April 1, cash balance on hand.....	\$ 3,230.51	
April 30th, receipts	17,022.95	\$14,192.77
May 31	16,669.38	17,461.65
June 30	15,932.85	15,389.57
July 31	20,713.45	15,546.99
August 31	23,625.01	23,967.04
September 30	42,626.21	24,504.00
October 30	20,839.51	22,029.16
November 30	31,949.70	46,176.33
December 31	13,303.92	12,196.09
1920		
January 31	10,516.86	9,767.74
February 28	14,533.25	14,242.21
March 31	16,559.72	14,194.51
April 1 balance on hand and in bank.....		4,690.30
	\$247,517.36	\$247,517.36

STATEMENT OF CONSOLIDATED INDUSTRIAL UNION LEDGER BALANCES AND DEBIT AND CREDIT BALANCES

Industrial Union Consignment Ledger, March 31, 1920		Debits	Credits	Debit Balances	Credit Bal.
Name and Number					
General Recruiting Union					
Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 8		\$56,745.76	\$4,732.93	\$52,012.83	
Bakery Workers Industrial Union No. 46		649.00	2,525.67	25,975.44	
Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 100		12,132.47	180.00	469.00	
Industrial Union No. 340		31.00	15.00	12,132.47	
Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300		36,766.81	7,824.55	18.00	
Ship Building Workers Industrial Union No. 325		6,361.15	669.28	28,942.26	
Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400		167,551.52	4,148.80	5,681.87	
Fishermens Industrial Union No. 448		642.40	82.25	163,402.72	
Oil Workers Industrial Union No. 450		477.30	109.50	560.15	\$29.50
Rubber Workers Industrial Union No. 470		11,212.58	157.83	367.80	
Furniture Workers Industrial Union No. 480		625,500.68	21,530.40	1,054.75	
Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500		86,327.17	4,709.45	503,970.28	
Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573		22,526.11	252.45	81,617.22	
Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 500			51.30	22,263.66	
Industrial Union No. 616			230.40		51.30
Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 700		8,506.55	4,940.42	8,276.15	
Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800		120,984.99	23.75	116,044.57	
Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 900		20,515.60	1,064.66	3.75	
Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000		13,898.95	504.95	19,450.94	
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers I. U. No. 1100		2.25	376.98	13,390.00	
Tobacco Workers Industrial Union No. 1150		1,925.79	47.75	1,617.22	
Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union No. 1200		28.05	205.50	1,551.81	
Leather Workers Industrial Union No. 1250		145.85			19.70
G. D. Workers Industrial Union No. 1300					59.65
Glass Workers Industrial Union No. 1400					
Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union No. 1500		901.38	372.83	828.55	
Totals		\$1,112,351.22	\$54,792.40	\$1,057,718.97	\$160.15
Credit balances		160.15		54,792.40	
		\$1,112,511.37		\$1,112,511.37	

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, MARCH 31, 1920

Balance Sheet and Summary of Resources and Liabilities (Financial Statement General Organization, General Office)

Resources		
Cash on hand & in bank (Mid City Bk.)	\$4,690.30	
Petty cash in office (change box)	255.00	
Deposit to guar. lease on Workers Hall	600.00	
Total cash assets		\$315.30
Inventory		
Card cases and due books	\$2,829.43	
Buttons, pins, etc.	1,413.90	
Literature	9,420.93	
Organization supplies	1,292.96	
Furniture, fixtures (main office)	1,208.05	
Total inventory		16,078.27
Accounts receivable		
Individual or personal ledger	\$3,853.01	
Intl. Ptg. & Typstg. Co. acct.		
No. 1	2,256.60	
Acct. No. 2	1,778.28	
Due from publications		
gross deficits	\$8,756.01	
Less credit balances	1,625.56	
Balance due	\$7,130.45	
Bohemian Branch	5.50	
Total outstanding accounts		\$15,022.84
Due from committees and unions:		
Gen. Def. Com., Seattle, Wash	\$ 204,000.00	
Balance due from industrial unions	1,057,558.82	
		1,261,558.82
Total		\$1,297,972.23
Liabilities		
Bureau of research fund	\$500.00	
Due on individual accounts	350.00	
Current accounts payable	78.18	
Linotype loan account	735.00	
General Defense Committee	7,702.19	
		9,365.37
Net resources or surplus		1,288,606.86
Grand total		\$1,297,972.23

Among the great amount of business transacted this day we note:

Resolution No. 2. "Whereas, the Russian workers have sent out a call for an Industrial International Conference of all radical labor organizations of the world, therefore be it

"Resolved, That this body goes on record as being in favor of the Industrial Workers of the World sending representatives to said conference."

Moved and seconded that Resolution No. 2 be

concurrent in and turned over to ways and means committee for immediate action. Carried.

Resolution No. 3. "Resolved that the dues of the I. W. W. be raised to one dollar (\$1) per month."

Moved and seconded that resolution No. 3 be concurred in. Carried.

Fourth Day—May 13

The referendum committee submitted the following voting blank in the matter of raising the dues to \$1.00:

Special Referendum

Issued by the Twelfth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, May 12th, 1920.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

Mark an X in the square (yes) if in favor.

Mark an X in the square (no) if opposed.

That dues in the I. W. W. be raised to \$1 per month.

YES NO

Vote on this ballot and return it to the delegate or to your industrial union secretary in time to be tabulated and sent to the General Headquarters.

Name..... Card No.....
Dues paid for month of....., 1920
Card inspected by.....

The tabulated returns of the vote of industrial unions must be in the General Headquarters, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., July, 1920, in order to be counted.

(I. W. W. Seal) THOS. WHITEHEAD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Moved and seconded that this report of referendum committee be accepted. Carried.

In the matter of assessment stamps the following resolution was adopted: "That we go on record as in favor of having only two (2) assessment stamps throughout the organization; first, a Defense stamp, the total proceeds of same to go to the

General Defense, for defense and relief purposes; second, a General Organization stamp, for organization purposes, 50 per cent of same to go to the General Headquarters. All other assessment stamps, industrial union as well as general stamps, to be called in and be discontinued."

In the matter of selling **intoxicating liquors**, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That any person carrying a membership card in the I. W. W. who is upon sufficient proof found to be engaged in selling intoxicating liquor (bootlegging) that their card shall be taken up.

Resolution No. 25. Pertaining to **Defense Committees**:

Resolved, That the G. E. B. shall be responsible for the proper conducting of all defense work and shall devise ways and means of getting co-operation and proper centralization of effort in all cases. Local or district defense committees shall make complete report of all local affairs, including finances, in the same manner as branch secretaries and other officials of industrial unions. The general defense committee shall keep a complete index of all cases, which shall include date of arrest, date of trial, bondsman, and other information necessary to the handling of the defense. This shall be for the purpose of putting the defense in a position to properly handle all cases without overlooking any case and put them in a position to locate members out on bonds at any time.

Moved and seconded that Resolution No. 25 be concurred in. Carried.

Fifth Day—May 14

Moved and seconded that we send a wire to **Fellow Worker Charles Krieger**, pledging the support of the delegates of this Convention in his trial now going on in Tulsa, Okla., as against the Standard Oil company, and that all members of the I. W. W. will remember Krieger while on the job. Carried.

Here the **Secretary-Treasurer of the General Defense Committee** rendered his report. The report was accepted subject to further reference.

Resolution No. 31. Whereas, the Unity Conference of the **Jewish Speaking Members** of the I. W. W. have succeeded in stopping the quarrels between the different factions of the Jewish speaking members of this organization; and whereas, it succeeded in an harmonious co-operation of all the Jewish speaking members throughout the country with the exception of Chicago, where they so far refused to participate and are working against the efforts of the Unity Conference by publishing a paper of their own; therefore be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. W. W. go on record endorsing and favoring the work of said conference and will recognize only those publications and literature in the Jewish language which are issued under the supervision of the Unity Conference; and be it further

Resolved, That the G. E. B. shall withdraw all the financial and other support and refuse to issue the labels to any publication which is published by individuals or groups that are not a part of the Unity Conference of the Jewish speaking members of the I. W. W. in the U. S. A.

Moved and seconded that Resolution No. 31 be turned over to the incoming G. E. B. Motion withdrawn. Moved and seconded that we endorse the

Jewish Unity Conference. Carried.

Resolution No. 32, **Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union No. 1500**, is made up of five industrial subdivisions, as follows:

1. Comprises all workers in grain and cereal mills, bakeries, biscuit factories, candy and confectionery shops, sugar refineries, fruit packing and canning plants.

2. Comprises all workers in butcher shops and meat packing houses, dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers, fisheries and fish packing houses.

3. Comprises all workers employed in making beverages (beer, soft drinks, etc.).

4. Comprises all workers employed in the manufacture of tobacco goods.

5. Comprises all workers in restaurants, lunch rooms.

Each subdivision includes all engineers, coopers, clerks, salesmen, etc. Each subdivision again is divided into branches, as many as may be necessary. All workers handling a certain product shall form a branch, as, for example, subdivision 1 shall be composed of five branches: Branch 1—All workers in flour and cereal mills. Branch 2—All workers in bakeries and biscuit factories. Branch 3—All workers in sugar refineries. Branch 4—All workers in candy and confectionery shops. Branch 5—All workers in fruit and canning plants.

Subdivision 2, Branch 1—All workers employed in meat packing houses. All those handling meat products and all by-products.

Branch 2—Dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers. Branch 3—Fisheries and fish packing houses.

Subdivision 3—No plans have been worked out. Subdivision 4—No plans have been worked out. Subdivision 5—Only one branch.

All workers in restaurants and lunch rooms. Moved and seconded that the three unions, 46, 1100 and 1500, be consolidated into one union. Carried.

Moved and seconded that the Tobacco Workers be included in Resolution No. 32. Carried.

Resolution No. 36. Whereas, reports received from delegates of **Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 900**, as well as resolutions received from certain branches of said Industrial Union No. 900 who were not able to send delegates to our Second Convention, are asking that headquarters for Industrial Union No. 900 be established; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is necessary to establish headquarters for Industrial Union No. 900. This will help to enlarge the industrial union mentioned, by bringing into its folds large bodies of workers who are dissatisfied with the A. F. of L.

Moved and seconded that we endorse the action of Industrial Union No. 800 in regard to No. 900 headquarters. Carried.

Resolution No. 42. Whereas, there is constant demand on the I. W. W. for **legal defense**, some of our members being arrested daily; and whereas, there is a difference of opinion among some of our members about legal defense; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Resolutions Committee of the Twelfth I. W. W. Convention, urge upon the membership of the I. W. W. to speed up the work of organization in order that we may be able to use the general strike to open the jail doors and give our fellow workers back their freedom; and be it further

Resolved, That in the meantime we perfect our defense, so that we may get the best legal defense with the least expenditure of funds; and be it further

Resolved, That in raising funds our Defense Com-

mittee shall also carry on an agitation for the release of ALL Class War prisoners, and a campaign of publicity favorable to our organization.

Moved and seconded that Resolution No. 42 be concurred in. Carried.

Resolution No. 43. Whereas, the struggle of the working class for bettering its condition, ever since the earliest days of this class struggle, prove that reforms for the workers by leaders of the workers never have accomplished anything for them, but, on the contrary, reforms and leaders have always had the effect of keeping the workers in subjection and obedient to the wishes of the ruling class, thereby hampering the progress and diverting the true course of the inevitable change in society, therefore be it

Resolved, That we always preach and practice our only weapon—**Economic Direct Action**—in order to abolish the present system of exploitation.

Moved and seconded that Resolution No. 43 be concurred in. Carried.

Sixth Day—May 15

Chairman reports sending wire to Charles Krieger. Wire read as follows:

Delegates in convention send you greetings and wish you every success. If adverse we urge members to slow up on the job, produce less, thereby curtailing the profits of the masters.

Chairman reads cablegram from Buenos Aires, Argentine, which reads:

Greetings for O. B. U.

(Signed) M. T. W. F. O. R. A., by Campo.

(Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina.)

Report of the Literature Committee

Recommendation No. 1. We believe the I. W. W. needs entirely new literature.

Moved and seconded that Recommendation No. 1 be concurred in. Carried.

Recommendation No. 2. We believe this literature should consist of only a very few pamphlets of considerable length but should be mostly in the form of short leaflets, written in language that every slave can understand, and that new leaflets should be turned out all the time, dealing with every new development in the industrial field as fast as it arises.

Moved and seconded that Recommendation No. 2 be concurred in. Carried.

Recommendation No. 3. We suggest two pamphlets or booklets that should be written and published at once: (1) An analysis of the history, structure, ideals and methods of the A. F. of L. and other craft and so-called independent and industrial unions, and of the I. W. W., showing by comparison why the former is bound to fail and the latter to succeed.

Moved and seconded that Recommendation No. 3 be not concurred in. Motion Lost. Recommendation No. 3 concurred in.

Recommendation No. 4. A simply written description of how the I. W. W. will transform capitalism into the new society; how each individual fits into the scheme, and how the administration of all social processes will function precisely along the lines laid down by the I. W. W.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 4. Carried.

Recommendation No. 5. An explanation of the attitude of the I. W. W. toward political action by labor. Carried.

Recommendation No. 6. The writing of pamphlets and booklets addressed to workers in particular industries should be initiated by the respective industrial unions, under the supervision and with the co-operation of General Headquarters.

Moved and seconded that we concur on Recommendation No. 6. Carried.

Recommendation No. 7. Names of authors should not appear on any literature put out by the I. W. W.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 7. Carried.

Moved and seconded that we go on record to provide for a committee of three to act as an educational board.

Amended, That this matter be handed to the G. E. B. and that they be given power to create a committee of three for general education and propaganda if necessary. Amendment carried.

Moved and seconded that we take up report of editor of O. B. U. Monthly. Carried.

Report of editor of O. B. U. read. Moved and seconded that report be accepted and filed for future reference. Carried.

Recommendation No. 13. The chairman of the G. O. C. of each industrial union shall send out questionnaires to the members on the job, and endeavor in every possible way to gather information pertaining to his industry, with the object of compiling a handbook of industrial unionism as applied to that particular industry.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 13. Carried.

Recommendation of Ways and Means Committee: Moved and seconded as substitute for the whole, that all industrial unions pay all money collected for the Defense since the inception of the I. W. W. and pay all per capita tax and cost of supplies sold since January 1, 1920. Substitute carried.

Moved and seconded that we return fraternal greetings to the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina. Carried.

Seventh Day—May 17

In the matter of wages to officials of the I. W. W. the following was carried:

New amendment to amendment: That all officials of the General Organizations elected by referendum shall each receive for their services \$5 per day; and other employees shall be paid according to the discretion of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Moved and seconded that the O. B. U. Monthly be printed with 64 pages in increased size, using No. 1 print paper, and have three-color front cover and to sell for 25 cents. Carried.

Moved and seconded that financial statements be not printed in the O. B. U. Monthly. Carried.

Moved and seconded that we cease to print the names of all members arrested in the O. B. U. Monthly. Carried.

Resolution No. 17. That we go on record as being opposed to issuing foreign language charters to branches and that same be recommended to General Convention.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 17. Carried.

Resolution No. 18. I. U. No. 573, Seattle Branch. That Chairman of G. E. B. shall be the alternate

to the General Secretary-Treasurer and shall take his place in case of vacancy until such time as said vacancy is filled through proper channels, and shall be in headquarters at all times, except in emergency. Amended (He shall sign all checks with the Secretary-Treasurer.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 18. Carried.

Resolution No. 20. Resolved, That the following be entered in the by-laws: "That no member of one industrial union shall participate in a business meeting of another Industrial Union, except he be given special privilege or under "good and welfare."

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 20. Carried.

Resolution No. 44. From M. T. W. to the General Convention. Resolved, That M. T. W. I. U. No. 8 members working afloat other than river or harbor work shall be considered in good standing providing the member was in good standing at the time of leaving the port of shipment and has a paid-up card at that time; further, that all members must pay up dues to the nearest office or delegate immediately the member is paid off on the ship on his return, in order to be considered in good standing.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 44. Carried.

Communication from fellow workers in Leavenworth read.

Moved and seconded that this body instruct the General Secretary of Defense to send the necessary cash to fellow workers in jail.

Eighth Day—May 18

Amendment that all Class War Prisoners be given \$1 per week (if needed). Carried.

International Relations

Recommendation No. 4. That an interchange of cards be adopted immediately, on the following basis:

A member of the Shop Steward and the Workers Committee Movement of Great Britain coming to the United States be given an I. W. W. card and be recognized as a member in good standing in the I. W. W. from the time he becomes a member of the Shop Stewards and Workers Committee movement. The same conditions to apply to a member of the I. W. W. entering Great Britain—providing he becomes a member of the Shop Steward and Workers Committee.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 4. Carried.

Recommendation No. 5. Any speakers who may enter the United States from Great Britain will be given an open platform in the I. W. W. to advocate Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, the same condition to apply to the I. W. W. speaker in Great Britain. Note—All speakers should have the endorsement of their respective organizations.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 5. Carried.

Recommendation No. 6. That we take immediate steps to have an International Union Conference called to bring together I. W. W. and Shop Stewards and Worker Committees of Great Britain and all organizations who believe in Economic Direct Action for the purpose of mutual assistance and further, to take what international action the workers see fit to take to prevent international calamities

brought on by the economic contradiction of the capitalist system.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 6. Carried.

Recommendation No. 7. That the Ways and Means Committee recommend that this Twelfth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World send this Resolution as the immediate basis for the affiliation of the I. W. W. and the Shop Steward and Workers Committees of Great Britain preceding the International Industrial Conference, which will take place as soon as possible.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Recommendation No. 7. Carried.

Recommendation No. 8. Whereas, the struggle of the working class throughout the world forced capitalism to internationalize in order to crush the mighty power of the workers and to prolong its existence on the back of the workers; and whereas, realizing the fact that the working class is the only class who will have to take possession of the means of production and distribution; therefore we recommend that the Industrial Workers of the World support the Industrial International Conference of all Revolutionary Economic Bodies, and do all within our power to bring the International Conference to action and the G. E. B. be given power to appoint said delegates to the conference.

Moved and seconded that the bringing about of an International Industrial Conference be left to the G. E. B. to be acted on immediately. Carried.

Industrial District Councils

Moved and seconded that General District Industrial Councils shall not use any dues or initiation fees as revenue. Carried.

Moved and seconded that Industrial District Councils shall be established to function in an industrial union in the same manner as the General Industrial District Council functions in the entire district, Industrial District Council to be composed of delegates from all the job or shop branches of one industry within a district. Its functions are the same as that of the district convention of an industrial union. It shall convene as often as conditions in its locality shall make it necessary. It is not necessary that a charter be granted. Carried.

In the matter of finances it was decided that the financing of the Industrial District Councils be left to the industrial unions.

Ninth Day—May 19

Resolution No. 51. That the incoming G. E. B. and Secretary-Treasurer take steps to bring about a Unity Conference of all labor unions in the United States and Canada which are squarely based on the principles of the class war and of revolutionary industrial unionism.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 51.

Amendment, that the incoming G. E. B. send invitations to all different radical and semi-radical organizations to send fraternal delegates to our next convention, with voice on affiliation matters only.

Amendment to amendment, that only fraternal delegates who are elected by the rank and file of other organizations be admitted to our convention.

Substitute for whole: That we make the motion

and amendment to read that we extend an invitation to all economic revolutionary organizations of the world to send fraternal delegates to the next I. W. W. convention, to be seated with a voice but no vote. Substitute put and carried.

Resolution No. 54. That shop or job branches are the basic unit of the I. W. W. and that wherever there are seven or more members on a job, they shall constitute themselves a shop or job branch, elect a job committee and job delegates to attend to urgent business meetings. No members should serve permanently on a committee. At each business all members should take their turn at serving on committees.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 54. Carried.

Resolution No. 56. Resolved, That we support the Work People's College, and urge industrial unions to send students to this college.

Moved and seconded that we concur with Resolution No. 56. Carried.

Constitution committee reports:

Resolution No. 26. Resolved, That editors be chosen by the G. E. B. instead of elected by referendum.

Resolution No. 26 concurred in.

Moved and seconded that we do away with unnecessary duplication of work in industrial unions' district offices. Carried.

Moved and seconded that the G. E. B. be instructed to send speakers through the harvest fields while harvest is on. Carried.

Tenth Day—May 20

Moved and seconded that the General Defense Secretary be appointed by and at all times be under the supervision of the General Executive Board. Carried.

Moved and seconded that the chairman of the G. E. B. sign all checks with the General Defense Secretary. Carried.

The roll call on raising the dues to \$1 showed: Yes, 531 2-3; No, 144 1-3.

Moved and seconded that the old G. E. B. leave two members in office until the newly elected G. E. B. members get familiar with the duties of the office. Carried.

Moved and seconded that no member be elected as delegate to the general convention for two consecutive conventions. Carried.

Moved and seconded that we go on record as authorizing the G. E. B. to appoint a committee to be known as the General Agitation Committee, with power to raise funds, employ speakers, publish literature, and hold meetings for the purpose of agitating among all unions to bring about a general strike as a protest against the imprisonment of our fellow workers, i. e., the class war prisoners, and that we carry on this agitation along the same line of the Tom Mooney agitation; and that we invite all other labor organizations in each locality to co-operate with us in organizing the general strike committee. Carried.

Nominations and Elections

Nominations for candidates for General Secretary-Treasurer: George Hardy, No. 8; A. S. Embree, No. 800; M. K. Fox, No. 400; John Grady, No. 500. John Grady, 19 votes; M. K. Fox, 11 votes; A. E. Embree, 13 votes; George Hardy, 23 votes. George Hardy, A. S. Embree and John Grady elected as candidates for General Secretary-Treasurer.

Nominations for candidates for G. E. B.: I. U. No. 8, R. J. Bobba, Jacob Sanock, P. F. Maclykin; I. U. No. 300, Otto Justh, M. Novak, Patrick McClellan; I. U. No. 400, Albert Bare, Joe Fisher, E. W. Latchem; I. U. No. 500, Roy Brown, P. J. Gorman, M. Daly; I. U. No. 573, M. H. Patten, W. W. White, Jim Clark; I. U. No. 800, Tom Bones, M. C. Sullivan, Joe Condoti; I. U. No. 1000, Adolph Lessig; I. U. No. 600, Martin Carlson; I. U. No. 1200, Justus Ebert.

Editor of Solidarity

James Cronan, H. R. Richards, Myer Friedkin, George Andreytchine.

Moved and seconded that nominations be closed. Carried.

Cronan, 8 votes; Richards, 27 votes; Friedkin, 19 votes; Andreytchine, 10 votes.

Richards, Friedkin and Andreytchine elected as candidates for editor of Solidarity.

Editor of O. B. U. Monthly

Frederick A. Blossom, John Sandgren, Billy Walden, C. W. Sellers, C. L. Chumley.

Moved and seconded that nominations be closed. Carried.

Blossom, 12 votes; John Sandgren, 20 votes; Walden, 7 votes; Sellers, 11 votes; Chumley, 4 votes.

Blossom, Sandgren and Sellers elected as candidates for editor of O. B. U. Monthly.

The Convention adjourned sine die at 6:30 p. m., the delegates and visitors singing "Hold the Fort."

NOTICE

Some of the financial reports have been sidetracked to make room for the above report of convention. Please note that, in accordance with the decision of the convention, the financial reports will not be published in the One Big Union Monthly in the future.

Lumber Grades and Grade Bureaus

(By D. S. Dietz)

Of the many intricacies of the Lumber Industry, no single feature is more important than grades. It requires a skilled workman to grade lumber, in all its details. The skill is acquired after much experience and study. A more general knowledge of the necessity of proper grading should be known by the Lumber Workers in general and the graders in particular.

As a log is sawed into lumber it is seen at once that the product is suitable for a great variety of uses. All grading is, or should be, based on the lumber's adaptability to those many uses. (Value, is a term the masters use largely while discussing grades. It is purely a capitalistic term and has no place here. Use, is a fundamental term and conforms to the New Order). As mortar is to a brick building, so is grader's technique to the knowledge of manufacturing lumber. The more knowledge the sawyers, edgermen and trimmers have of grades, the better qualified are they to saw, edge and trim to the best advantage; that is, produce the highest use standards from the raw material. The same is true of the machine men in the planing mill.

Aside from all machine men there must be general graders of wider technical knowledge. In the process of producing the finished product, lumber is graded, not less than three times. First, at the sawmill, so that it may be piled, approximately, according to its future uses. Again, when sent to the planing mill. In this step more technical points become involved. It is necessary now that the grader knows just what it is to be "run" to and if properly suited to the purpose; as, flooring, siding, ceiling, etc.; also, what size and what grade. After it has passed through the machine processes it is again graded for the purpose of laying out pieces which show defective milling and such other defects that may develop from planing, which were not noticeable in the rough. It is now ready to be placed with the finished product; or, loaded into the car for shipment.

There are, what we call hand-books of grades. These are necessary. The different associations have them printed. They are known as: Mississippi Valley Grade, Western Pine Manufacturers' Association Grades (Spokane District), Pacific Coast Lumbermen Association Grades, etc. As we have stated before, grades should be known by the timber to which they apply. Fundamentally, it is the difference in timber that compels the variation of grades. (Not the alleged owners; they are all one grade, eventually to become obsolete). The universal feature of grades will be adjusted in the event of Workers' Control of Industry. It will be a very simple matter to a special committee of expert graders.

The grade bureaus engaged those who are known as Inspectors. They visit the various plants to see that a uniformity of grades is maintained among the members (corporations) of the associa-

tion. This function is largely necessary and will, eventually, be taken over by the Committee of Lumber Technology; together with such other matters as proper care peculiar to different timber and climatic conditions; also, looking forward to world-wide standardization of sizes, for the purpose of eliminating present waste of labor energies.

These bureaus, like all other capitalistic organizations, have their little tricks of intrigue and ways to hoodwink and outwit the other fellow. The associations have their king leaders—their Sammy Gompers—who profit by their ability to fool the membership—the many lesser-light corporations. That is, emphatically, one of the purposes of their bureau. We must state here, that the graders and inspectors are, generally, innocent. The machination is beyond them.

It has been our aim, in this article, to show just what part of these organized bureaus are necessary to the scheme of production. It should be remembered by the workers that the masters make use of scientific technology necessary to production, to some extent; and, in some ways, scientific organization. To that extent their schemes will be logically "taken over" along with "the tools of production".

The other elements of those bureaus are merely instrumentalities necessary to the protection of swag and the competitive system. Industry, generally, is overloaded with that sort of machinery; growing ever more unwieldy and topheavy and will be very easy to topple over in the not far remote future. In that event, the Working Class will emerge from the industrial dark ages of the twentieth century and BEGIN to CIVILIZE MAN.

FORD'S FATAL ADMISSION

I take the following fatal admission from Ford's Weekly (2-24-20): "No one has the right to disemploy, starve and freeze great multitudes in a free country—no right whatever, moral, political nor economic. Nor should any group of men have the right to withdraw themselves from the economic unit of production thereby crippling their fellow men, unless they are willing to forego the benefits of those commodities produced by men who remain at work."

The foregoing is from an editorial in which the recent Railroad Yardmen's strike is bitterly criticised. I agree to Mr. Ford's right to freely criticise this strike or any other economic phenomena that develop here or elsewhere on Earth, for without the freedom to criticise the phenomena of society, there can be no real progress but I claim also the right I concede to Mr. Ford.

Hence I ask him, if the statement above quoted is true, AND IT IS, if he will mind telling me where the Capitalist Class gets either its "divine" or "vested right" to close down the industries of this Nation simply because it CANNOT MAKE PROFIT out of the operation thereof; thereby starving and freezing millions!

(Ami.)

MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 8, I. W. W.

The spring organization drive is on, and with the M. T. W. Conference in session on May 6th plans will undoubtedly be made to carry on an intensive organization campaign for members in all branches of the marine transport industry.

At the present time, with three traveling organizers in the field, the ground is being broken for a membership drive from which good results are expected.

Ben Fletcher is doing well in Baltimore and the branch has taken on new life. A polish organizer is needed in this port and the M. T. W. Conference will probably place one here.

Jack Walsh reports that there is considerable dissatisfaction among the members of the old unions in Boston. That the workers have received a raw deal from their old organizations. He has submitted many suggestions on the matter to the M. T. W. Conference.

Gust Kangas is covering all the towns on the Upper Lakes and putting out delegates. There is a good chance to establish several live branches in the Superior District.

The Pacific Coast is improving slowly and the situation there looks better than it has appeared since the January raids.

South America is holding its own. But they are badly in need of a few live wires to help them keep the organization intact as an industrial union.

Fellow Workers Tom Barker and Muhlbarg are in Europe and will establish branches of the M. T. W. there. Two branch offices have been opened in Australia by the Marine Transport Workers of South America.

Now is the time for all members to boost the O. B. U. with the many strikes lost by the I. L. A. and Harbor Boatmen, with the Seamen about to demand better conditions. All workers in the marine industry are ready for the message of the O. B. U., and with a little effort No. 8 can become a mighty factor in the marine industry of this country.

All members who are not carrying credentials should get them at once. Job organization is the thing. The I. W. W. is an Industrial Union. Unions function on the job. No union can be built up in halls. Carry on your agitation on the job. Get busy in the industry and function where you work.

The General Convention of the I. W. W. will be held May 10th at Chicago, Ill., and many construc-

tive plans will be presented by the delegates. A stronger, better and more powerful organization will result. With best wishes, we remain,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

JAMES SCOTT,

Elmer Kennard, Sec.-Treas. M. T. W.

Chairman G. O. C.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR APRIL

Receipts	
Delegates B. 119.....	\$11.50
Alexander, acct. Swedish branch.....	85.00
P. Petaja.....	12.38
G. Mangano, New York branch.....	5.00
John Patterson, I. U. No. 500.....	26.25
F. Fisher, I. U. No. 400.....	1.75
T. H. Dixon, I. U. No. 573.....	20.25
Wm. D. Jones, Philadelphia district.....	564.45
Bert Smith, duplicate card.....	.50
G. Mangano, New York branch.....	10.00
Delegate A. 314.....	1.25
Nick Verbanac, I. U. No. 800.....	1.25
P. Petaja.....	7.90
Thos. Whitehead, acct. G. R. U.....	442.00
Chas. Ross, I. U. No. 325.....	1.25
G. Mangano, New York branch.....	5.00
James Bruce, Seattle branch.....	40.50
Wm. D. Jones, Philadelphia district.....	500.00
For Falcone.....	50.00
Pete Petaja.....	14.40
G. Mangano, New York branch.....	10.00
M. T. W. of S. A. on deposit.....	100.00
Ben H. Fletcher, Baltimore.....	20.00
James Bruce, Seattle branch.....	14.00
G. Mangano, New York branch.....	10.00
Ben H. Fletcher, Baltimore, Md.....	25.00
James Bruce, Seattle.....	6.52
Total receipts for April.....	\$1,517.40

Expenditures	
Kate V. O'Brien, office rent.....	\$50.00
E. Kennard, wages.....	40.00
James Scott, wages.....	40.00
Bert Smith, stamps for dup.....	.50
J. J. O'Brien, office supplies.....	3.50
E. Kennard, wages.....	40.00
James Scott, wages.....	40.00
Jack Walsh, adv. acct. organizing.....	100.00
Madison Square Post Office, stamps.....	5.00
Ben Fletcher, adv. acct. organizing.....	100.00
E. Kennard, telephone.....	.50
E. Kennard, wages.....	40.00
James Scott, wages.....	40.00
Gus Kangas, adv. acct. organizing.....	50.00
Telegraphing above.....	2.52
J. J. O'Brien, office supplies.....	4.05
New York Edison Co.....	1.12
E. Kennard, wages.....	40.00
James Scott, wages.....	40.00
Thos. Whitehead, per capita.....	600.00
Assessments.....	35.00
Jack Walsh, acct. organizing.....	100.00
Ben Fletcher, acct. organizing.....	100.00
J. J. O'Brien, office fixtures.....	32.35
John Patterson, per capita 500.....	4.75
Pat Mee, pro rata 800.....	5.50
A. E. Reese, pro rata 600.....	4.00
A. Ross, pro rata 325.....	3.75
T. H. Dixon, pro rata 573.....	5.50
Total expenditures.....	\$1,516.84

Receipts.....	\$1,517.40
Expenses.....	1,516.84
Balance for month.....	\$1.56
On hand April 1st.....	3,037.80
On hand May 1st.....	\$3,039.36

JAMES SCOTT, Sec.-Treas.
E. Kennard, Chairman G. O. C.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 400, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR APRIL, 1920

Receipts		Literature, duplicate cards, card cases, etc.....	
Initiations No. 400 (58).....	\$116.00		345.09
Due stamps No. 400 (1,365).....	682.50		1,117.85
A. W. I. U. stamps.....	34.00		12.00
Initiations No. 450 (17).....	74.50		2.00
Dues, No. 450 (149).....	87.00		3.00
Organization stamps.....	42.00	Subscription German paper (list).....	67.54
Relief stamps.....	133.00	General Defense donations.....	85.42
General Defense stamps.....	270.00	General Convention fund.....	5.00
Centralia Defense stamps.....	4.50	Treasury Certificate.....	1.25
R. R. M. stamps.....	12.00	Miscellaneous receipts.....	
C. W. I. U. stamps.....	6.50		
A. W. I. U. stamps.....	18.75	Industrial Unions—	
Buttons, pins, etc.....	24.00	M. T. W. U. No. 8.....	Init. Dues
Criminal Syndicalism stamps.....		B. W. I. U. No. 8.....	.60 4.50
		G. R. U.....	9.50 9.60

M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300.....	2.00	5.50	7.50
L. W. I. U. No. 500.....	2.00	66.50	68.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573.....	34.00	135.00	169.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.....	10.00	32.50	42.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.....		2.50	2.50
H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100.....	8.00	17.50	25.50
R. W. I. U. No. 1250.....		.50	.50
F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500.....	2.00	8.50	10.50
P. & P. W. I. U. No. 1200.....		1.50	1.50
Total receipts.....		\$3,486.41	

Postage, express, wires.....	104.24
General Defense and Relief.....	191.81
Allowance on rep. from other ind. unions.....	148.00
On acct. March rep. to other ind. unions.....	245.50
Criminal Syndicalism stamps.....	27.00
Sioux City Br., money paid on photograph.....	15.00
Bank exchange.....	.15
Suitcases.....	12.00
Three one-year subs. to O. B. U. Monthly.....	4.50
One year sub to Solidarity.....	2.00
Total expenditures.....	\$4,082.48

Disbursements	
Headquarters, March per capita.....	\$362.10
Headquarters, March due books.....	23.80
Commission on literature and papers.....	13.31
Literature and papers.....	211.20
Dial. and Br. Secy. wages and del. comm.....	753.25
Miscellaneous.....	478.82
Money held by branch secy's and del.	1,184.62
Main Office, salaries.....	358.00
Rent, light, heat, etc.....	164.63
Stationery and fixtures.....	56.05

Recapitulation	
Total receipts.....	\$3,486.41
Cash on hand April 1.....	2,109.73
Grand total.....	\$5,596.14
Total expenditures.....	4,082.48
Cash on hand April 30, 1920.....	\$1,513.16
F. FISHER, Sec'y-Treas.	
A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.	

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 573, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR APRIL, 1920

Receipts	
Initiations (305).....	\$ 610.00
Due stamps (3,438).....	1,719.00
Assessment stamps: Gen. Org.....	839.50
Class War Prisoners.....	50.00
General Defense.....	220.00
Centralia.....	478.82
Criminal Syndicalism.....	164.00
No. 573 Convention.....	248.00
R. R. Magazine.....	.50
Card cases.....	24.00
Buttons.....	21.75
Literature sales.....	229.15
Papers and magazines.....	559.92
Donations:	
Gen. Def. and Centralia.....	13.50
No. 573. Donations, collections, etc.....	382.19
Acct. cash balances, secretaries and delegates.....	440.87
Hall rents.....	440.87
R. R. I. U. No. 600, joint acct.....	144.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, joint acct.....	65.00
H. R. & D. No. 1100, joint acct.....	58.39
Duplicates.....	55.00
Initiations for other unions.....	18.50
Dues for other unions.....	730.50
Charter fee, New York Branch No. 4.....	10.00
Unclaimed check I. U. No. 46.....	15.75
Miscellaneous.....	21.19
Total receipts.....	\$6,848.71

Total receipts.....	\$6,848.71
On hand April 1.....	1,961.99
Total.....	\$8,810.70
Total expenses.....	7,265.55
On hand May 1.....	\$1,545.15
T. H. DIXON,	
Sec'y-Treas. C. W. I. U. No. 573.	

YEARLY SUMMARY

May 1, 1920—Total receipts and expenses for the year—
May 1, 1919, to May 1, 1920. This includes receipts from all sources

	Receipts	Expenses
May, 1919.....	\$5,278.94	\$4,940.03
June, 1919.....	5,700.54	5,331.24
July, 1919.....	8,263.03	7,123.45
August, 1919.....	6,163.11	7,767.47
Sept., 1919.....	11,256.81	10,483.85
Oct., 1919.....	9,933.12	10,839.42
Nov., 1919.....	9,330.75	9,564.48
Dec., 1919.....	5,534.20	5,802.21
Jan., 1920.....	5,880.10	6,343.60
Feb., 1920.....	6,099.53	5,664.03
March, 1920.....	7,039.29	6,912.46
April, 1920.....	6,848.71	7,245.55
Totals.....	\$87,324.63	\$88,137.84

Disbursements	
Per capita, March initiations.....	\$ 53.40
Per capita, March due stamps.....	465.75
Literature.....	169.26
Papers and magazines.....	569.34
Commissions, initiations and literature.....	102.05
Wages, secretaries and delegates.....	1,215.39
Miscellaneous.....	96.36
Allowance to other unions.....	786.60
Acct. cash bal. sec'y's and del.	1,648.49
General Defense.....	485.66
Cal. Dist. Crim. Syndicalism.....	134.00
Rent, light, heat.....	340.00
Stationery and fixtures.....	805.25
Postage, express, wires.....	390.97
Personal deposits withdrawn.....	89.80
Deficit on dance, Chicago No. 2.....	14.50
Music for dance, Milwaukee.....	39.12
Three A. F. of L. cards on initiation.....	32.00
Printing.....	6.00
Miscellaneous.....	102.95
Total expenditures.....	\$7,265.55

Total receipts for year.....	\$87,324.63
On hand May 1, 1919.....	2,358.36
Total receipts.....	\$89,682.99
Total expenses.....	88,137.84
Balance on hand May 1, 1920.....	\$1,545.15

This office owes the following amounts for actual supplies sold and not paid for. (These bills are accrued from Nov. 1, 1919, to May 1, 1920. All bills are paid prior to Nov. 1, 1919, according to statement of Auditing Committee of December 1, 1919.)

Owing to Defense, \$1,703; to Relief, \$368; to Org., \$1,046.50. Total amt due for stamps sold and note remitted, \$3,117.50.

Charters have been issued for the following branches since July 1, 1920: Boston; Newark, N. J.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Des Moines, Ia.; Chicago, Branches No. 2 and No. 3; Toledo, Ohio; Sioux City, Ia.; San Francisco, Cal.; Detroit, Mich.; Branch No. 2; Harlem, N. Y.; Branch No. 2; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Total number charters, 13.

T. H. DIXON,
Sec'y-Treas. C. W. I. U. No. 573.

LUMBER WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 500, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR APRIL, 1920

Initiations (535).....	\$1,070.00
Due stamps (10,090).....	5,045.00
General Organization stamps.....	805.00
C. W. Prisoners Relief stamps.....	315.00
General Defense stamps.....	395.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 stamps.....	827.50
Seattle District Organization stamps.....	13.00
Centralia Defense stamps.....	1,777.00
Card cases.....	91.00
Buttons and pins.....	56.00
Literature.....	612.25
Credit: on branch sec. and del. acct.	3,740.87
Contributions: to Centralia Defense.....	371.25

To General Defense.....	124.55
To strike funds.....	1,251.58
To convention fund.....	297.40
To Industrial Worker.....	12.72
Suspense account.....	26.40
Refund on rent.....	84.50
Refund on stationery.....	50.80
Receipts from delegates of other unions.....	5.35
Receipts for other unions (69 initiations).....	47.75
Receipts for other unions (1,252 due stamps).....	138.00
Total receipts.....	\$17,281.90

Expenditures	
Gen. Headquarters, per capita	\$1,500.00
Gen. Headquarters, supplies	506.00
Literature, bulletins, papers	947.92
Wages, branch sec. and delegates	2,614.02
Commission to delegates	184.00
Mileage	261.69
Charges on branch sec. and dels. acct.	5,378.25
Centralia Defense acct.	2,167.15
General Defense acct.	152.35
Convention account	290.00
Main Office, wages	731.25
Rent, light, heat	617.25
Stationery and fixtures	179.99
Postage, express and wires	150.25
Branch deposit withdrawn	161.87

Remittance to other unions	375.50
Allowance (50-50 basis)	242.75
Strike relief	42.75
Bank exchange (Canadian currency)	51.21
Total expenses	\$16,611.21
Recapitulation	
Total receipts	\$17,281.90
Cash balance April 1	3,078.95
Grand total	20,260.85
Total expenditures	16,611.21
Cash balance April 30, 1920	\$3,749.64

HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND DOMESTIC WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 1100, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR APRIL, 1920

Receipts	
Initiations (73)	\$146.00
Due stamps (986)	462.50
Duplicate cards	2.50
Defense stamps	2.50
Defense donations	5.00
Relief stamps	2.00
Organization stamps	9.00
Centralia stamps	11.00
Buttons	2.50
Literature	88.45
Smokers, entertainments and donations	76.90
Credit, acct. of cash balance	13.04
Total	\$851.89

Expenditures	
General Headquarters, per capita	\$100.00
Acct. assessment stamps	23.50
Acct. Literature	50.00
Literature	38.40
Wages branch secys., delegates and organizers	62.20
Mileage	25.00

Rent, light, heat	75.00
Stationery and fixtures	34.45
Postage, express and wires	38.50
Main Office, wages	140.00
Entertainment expenses	10.00
Business done for other unions	47.75
Bus. done by other unions, allowance on supplies	162.75
Total	\$903.58

Recapitulation	
Total receipts from April 1 to 30	\$851.89
Brought forward from March 31	390.44
Grand total	\$1,242.33
Total exp. April 1 to 30	903.58
Cash balance May 1	338.75
Grand total	\$1,242.33

ERNEST HOLMEN,
Sec'y-Treas. H. R. & W. I. U. No. 1100.

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT MARCH 1 TO APRIL 3, 1920

Receipts	
Defense lists	\$343.14
Donations	319.70
General Defense Committee, Chicago	90.00
Criminal Syndicalist stamps	183.00
General Defense stamps	30.00
Receipt books	58.75
Refunds	54.83
Total	\$1,780.42

Expenditures	
Attorneys on account	400.00
Attorneys' expenses	305.00
Witness fees and trial expenses	79.50
Jail comforts	81.77
Wages (district office)	219.00
Mileage and expenses advanced	339.95
Postage, wires, phone, money orders and express	28.04
Rent, light and heat	17.45
Stationery, office fixtures and printing	11.40
Payment on loans to organ. and bail and bond	115.00
Relief	149.00
Total	\$1,746.11

Recapitulation	
Total receipts	\$1,780.42
Amount brought forward	28.51
Grand total	\$1,808.93
Total expenditures	1,746.11

Cash on hand May 4, 1920 62.82

LOUIS H. BROWN, Sec'y-Treas.
California District Def. Com. of I. W. W.
Room 219 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, California.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR APRIL, 1920

Receipts	
Defense Lists	\$661.65
Donations	136.25
General Defense Committee, Chicago	850.00
Cash held on hand last month, L. A. branch	51.96
Criminal Syndicalist stamps	161.00
General Defense stamps	11.00
Receipt books	14.00
Total receipts	\$1,885.86

Expenditures	
Attorneys on account	\$1,040.00
Attorneys' expenses	30.00
Cash held on hand, L. A. branch	156.12
Witness fees and trial expenses	35.00
Jail comforts	190.36
Wages, district office	212.00
Mileage and expenses advanced	41.64
Rent, light and heat	30.01
Stationery, office fixtures and printing	11.15
Wires, phone, postage and express	22.89
Payment on loans, org. and bond and bail	40.00
Relief	87.50
Total expenditures	\$1,894.44

Recapitulation	
Total receipts	\$1,885.86
Cash on hand April 4, 1920	62.82
Grand total	\$1,948.68
Total expenditures	1,894.44

Cash on hand May 1, 1920 \$54.24
Yours for Industrial Freedom,
CALIFORNIA DEFENSE COMMITTEE.
Per Louis H. Brown, Sec'y-Treas.,
Room 219 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD GENERAL OFFICE

Summary Receipts

Due stamps	\$4,642.20
Assessments, Gen. Organization	356.25
Class War Relief	103.00
General Defense	703.00
Centralia and Raids	159.00
Day's Wage, defense	3.00
Rent second floor	100.00
Office supplies	48.56
Returned on storage	3.00

Gen. Exec. Bd. mileage returned	16.00
Gen. Rec. Union deposits, April	617.84
Publications, deposits for April	3,793.77
Due books	645.60
Buttons, pins, etc.	8.50
Supplies	438.80
Literature	125.42
Office cash sales, literature	72.01
Int. Fig. & Typstr. Co., deposit for April	6,439.01
Personal accounts	73.80
Total	\$18,473.26

Summary Expenses

Office expenses: Wages	\$555.00
Stationery and supplies	397.70
Postage, parcel post and express	43.97
Rent	250.00
Loan on Linotype, returned	20.00
Telephone, March and April	58.34
Light	26.18
Telegrams	2.45
Printing—Transfer notices	21.00
Due books	772.00
Financial report	44.50
Coal	38.25
Window cleaning	4.40
Repairing typewriter	1.50
Towel service	3.25
Water coupons	8.95
Gen. Executive Bd., wages and mileage	391.78
Educational: Publications	4,975.86
Literature	178.40
I. W. W. Propaganda Committee	3.95
Advertising pamphlets in the Seattle Union Record	40.32
Organizing: Business for Ind. Unions	95.50
General Recruiting Unit	424.50
General Defense Committee	300.71
Int. Ptg. & Typstg. Co.	6,698.21
Personal accounts	78.45
Bank exchange for April	3.67

\$16,032.39

RECAPITULATION

Balance April 1, 1920	\$ 4,690.30
Rec eipts for April, 1920	18,473.26
Total	\$23,163.56
Disbursements for April, 1920	16,032.39

Balance cash on hand May 1, 1920. \$7,131.17

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATIONS, APRIL, 1920

SOLIDARITY	
April receipts	\$548.07
April Disbursements	1,179.91
April deficit	\$631.84
April 1st deficit	3,408.34
May 1st deficit	\$4,040.18

ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

April receipts	\$1,114.89
April disbursements	1,684.59
April deficit	\$569.70
April 1st deficit	131.48
May 1st deficit	701.18

SOLIDARNOSC (Polish)

April 1st deficit	\$120.86
May 1st deficit	120.86

GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Russian)

April receipts	\$1,209.95
April disbursements	1,027.30
April balance	\$182.65
April 1st balance	1,055.50
May 1st balance	1,238.15

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian)

April receipts	\$432.24
April disbursements	690.40
April deficit	\$258.16
April 1st balance	60.56
May 1st deficit	197.60

GLAS RADNIKA (Croatian)

April 1st balance	\$506.82
April disbursements	2.04
May 1st balance	504.78
Press fund balance	21.00
Bohemian Paper	5.50
Printing contribution list—deficit	5.50
PROLETARAS (Lithuanian)	2.68
May 1st balance	421.18

Hungarian Paper

April disbursements	\$24.18
May 1st deficit	24.18

IL NUEVA PROLETARIO (Italian)

April receipts	\$483.18
April disbursements	870.65
April deficit	\$387.47
April 1st deficit	1,846.67
May 1st deficit	2,229.04

DER INDUSTRIAL ARBEITER (Jewish)

April receipts	\$3.50
April disbursements	3.00
April balance	.50
May 1st deficit	220.48
May 1st deficit	219.98

LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish)

April receipts	\$33.60
April disbursements	3.21
April balance	\$30.39
April 1st deficit	1,157.71
May 1st deficit	1,127.32

NYA VARLDEN (Swedish)

April 1st deficit	\$1,774.31
May 1st deficit	1,774.31
April 1st deficit	\$ 96.26
May 1st deficit	96.26

Summary of Publications

	Deficit	Balance
Solidarity	\$4,040.18	
One Big Union Monthly	701.18	
Polish paper	120.86	
Gołos Truzenka (Russian)		\$1,238.15
Rabotnicheska Mysl (Bulgarian)	197.60	
Glas Radnika (Croatian)		504.78
Czecho-Slovak press fund		21.00
Bohemian paper	5.50	2.68
Proletaras (Lithuanian)		24.18
Hungarian paper		2,229.04
Il Nueva Proletario (Italian)		219.98
Der Industrial Arbeiter (Jewish)		1,127.32
La Nueva Solidaridad (Spanish)		1,774.31
Nya Varlden (Swedish)		96.26
Der Klassenkampf (German)		
Total deficits	\$10,536.41	
Total balances		\$1,766.61
Net deficits		\$,769.80
Total		\$10,536.41

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, GENERAL RECRUITING UNIT, FOR APRIL, 1920

Receipts		
Initiations		\$62.00
Dues		\$63.00
Assessments: Organization		5.00
Relief		1.00
Defense		31.00
Centralia and raids		33.00
Donations: Relief and defense		26.13
Buttons, pins and duplicate cards		13.85
Literature		282.03
Bundle orders, papers and magazines		69.95
Refunds on hall rent		143.47
Refunds on telephone slips		1.75
Smokers and entertainments, organization purposes		179.99
Collections, organization purposes		71.92
Lunch counter proceeds, org. purposes		9.45
On acct. delegates and branches		184.27
Other Unions Initiations Dues		
No. 8	\$8.00	\$58.00 66.00
No. 46		5.50 5.50
No. 300	28.00	105.00 133.00
No. 325	2.00	.50 2.50
No. 400		10.00 10.00
No. 470		2.00 2.00
No. 500		13.50 13.50
No. 573	12.00	65.00 77.00
No. 600		5.00 5.00
No. 800		5.00 5.00
No. 1000		49.00 49.00
No. 1100		31.00 39.00
No. 1200	8.00	11.00 11.00
No. 1250		1.50 1.50
No. 1300	4.00	14.00 18.00
No. 1500	2.00	.50 2.50
Total receipts		\$1,973.31

Expenses

Literature of L. cards exchanged	\$2.00
Wages and commission to delegates and branches	206.35
Mileage	508.20
Rent, heat and light	2.85
Stationery and fixtures	238.22
Postage, express and wires	115.90
Deposit for picnic grounds	34.08
Groceries, pastry and ice cream for smoker	50.00
War tax for smokers	34.55
	7.77

Printing	6.10	
Allowance to industrial unions, supplies.....	58.00	
Charge delegate and branch accts.....	90.45	
Total expenses, field.....		\$1,355.47
Main Office expenses: Subscriptions.....	\$1.50	
Allowance to ind. unions for April bus.....	414.50	
Wages	116.00	
Total office expenses.....		\$532.00

Error in December, 1919, report.....	244.14	
Error in January, 1920, report.....	5.00	
Grand total receipts.....		\$2,877.11
Expenses in field, April.....	\$1,355.47	
Expenses in Main Office.....	532.00	
Total expenses, April.....		\$1,887.47
Balance cash on hand, May 1st, 1920		\$989.64

RECAPITULATION

Receipts in April, 1920.....	\$1,973.31
Balance on hand April 1st.....	654.66

Yours for the I. W. U.
 THOMAS WHITEHEAD,
 Secretary-Treasurer G. R. U.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

SUMMARY

Receipts	
Defense fund donations.....	\$5,076.18
Centralia fund donations.....	398.00
Donation to Krieger case.....	100.00
Defense assessments.....	138.50
Centralia assessments.....	85.00
Defense literature.....	10.55
Defense supplies.....	29.21
Amount exchanged for a check.....	467.95
Relief: Donations.....	325.00
Assessments.....	31.00
Bail fund donations.....	615.50
Bail fund loans.....	675.66
Amount belonging to Seattle Bail and Bond Committee turned in.....	4,000.00
Total receipts.....	\$11,953.55

Meeting expenses.....	556.08
Speakers' wages and expenses.....	90.97
Legal services and expenses.....	6,160.67
Drayage.....	3.12
Bank exchange.....	.50
Relief.....	237.61
Bail.....	945.15
Bonds and war sav. stamps purchased.....	95.66
Total disbursements.....	\$9,011.29

RECAPITULATION

Balance cash on hand April 1st, 1920.....	\$4,734.15
Total receipts for April, 1920.....	11,953.55
	\$16,687.70
Total disbursements for April, 1920.....	9,011.29
Cash on hand May 1st.....	\$7,676.41
Balance due Gen. Def. from Gen. Org.....	7,702.19
Total defense fund May 1, 1920.....	\$15,378.60

Disbursements	
Office: Wages.....	\$863.00
Postage.....	41.45
Telephone.....	.55
Printing and publicity.....	515.52

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
 Sec'y. General Defense Committee



First of May demonstration in Minneapolis passing the Post Office

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