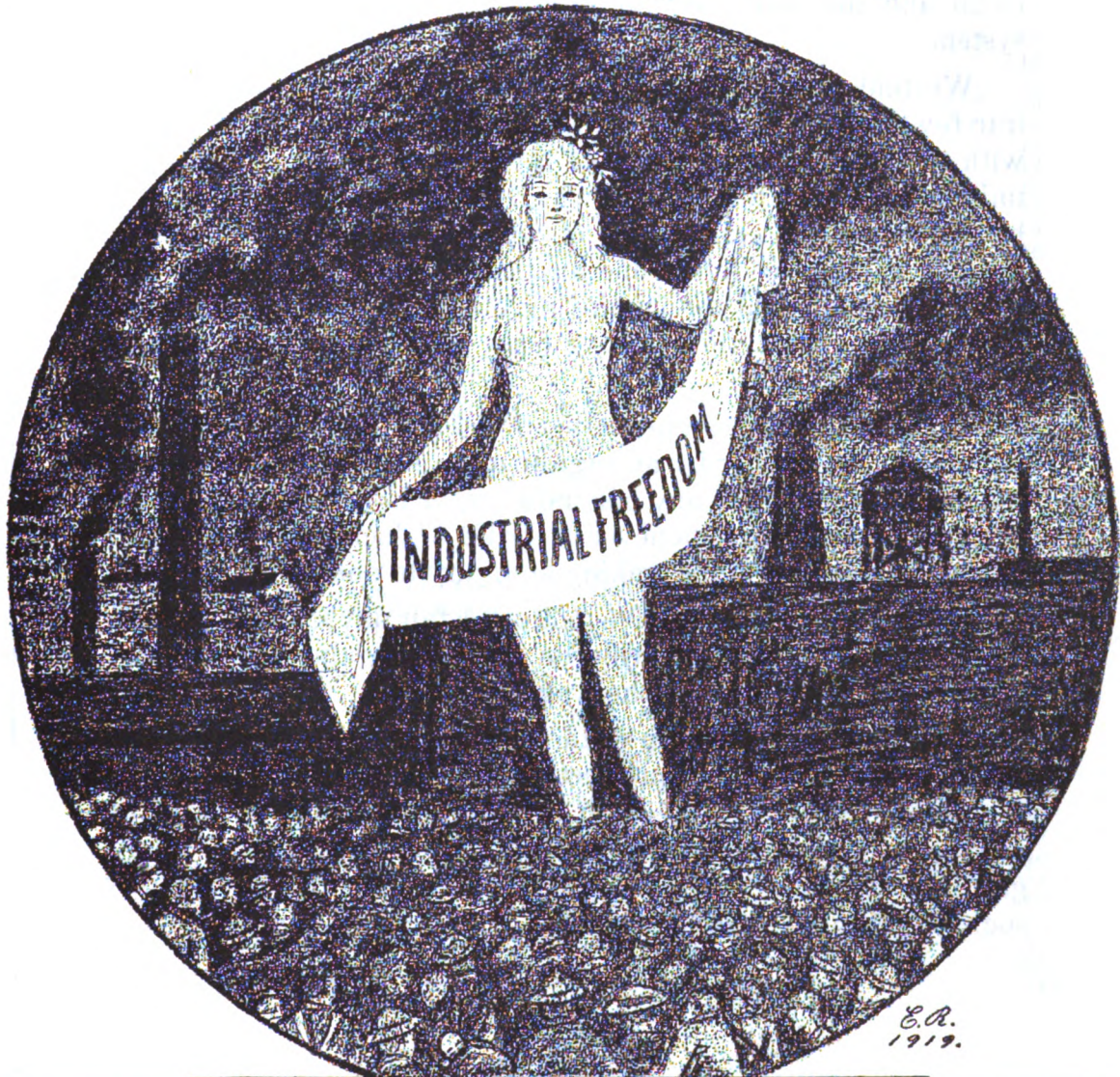


Vol. I, No. 3

MAY, 1919

Whole Number 3

The **One Big Union** *Monthly*



THE SPIRIT OF THE FIRST OF MAY.

PRICE: 15 CENTS

PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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



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“GREAT EVENTS THROW THEIR
SHADOW BEFORE THEM”

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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VOL. I, NO 3

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WHOLE NUMBER 3

FIRST OF MAY.

FIRST OF MAY" has greater traditions than any other day of the year outside the religious holidays. When the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889, settled upon this day as an **International Labor Day**, they made a most happy choice. For that reason it is about the only thing that remains as a result of barrel-fulls of resolutions passed at those congresses. The day stands as THE DAY of the workers on the strength of its traditions even after those who voted for the resolutions have shot one another to pieces in the trenches.

"First of May" goes farther back than known history. In the Northern temperate zone it is the culmination of spring, of returning life in nature. It is the day of which the poets sing, when they speak of the "sky so blue," of "zephyrs mild," of "nesting birds," of "budding flowers," of "unchained brooks," of "throbbing pulses," etc. Since times immemorial the peoples of the Arian race have spent the night preceding it on the hilltops of their neighborhoods, kindling huge bonfires in memory of things and events long ago forgotten, and the custom still remains in large parts of the earth. The day after has been used as a day of no work, as far back as tradition goes, a day on which people said farewell to winter's snow and cold winds and shouted greetings of joy to warmth, sunshine and flowers, a day of jollification in passing the boundary line between summer and winter, a day celebrated by all without any class distinctions.

When "First of May" was made International Labor Day it partly lost that significance. When workingmen began to use the day for the holding of giant demonstrations in which marched tens of thousands of workers with heart and mind bent on creating a new society, it became a gloomy day for the exploiting class. They shut their windows and pulled down the shades along the avenues black with regi-

ment after regiment of the poor, singing revolutionary songs. It boded nothing good to them. But happiness was in the hearts of the poor.

So it was up to five years ago.

Since then the worst anticipations of the exploiters have come true over wide areas. Nearly 200 million Russians can this year celebrate International Labor Day without any of the old exploiters to look at them. They may be as ragged as ever, and their stomachs may be empty, but their hearts never beat with greater joy than they will this year, for **hope of the future** wanders at the head of their procession like a giant goddess in the golden rays of the sun. The Germans, even though the machine guns play in the streets in their fratricidal strife, have the same grand hope. They know that the old can never, never turn back. The oppressors of centuries are gone, gone forever. A few steps more, and the workers are over the burning ground. Hungary, heaving a sigh of relief after centuries of oppression for the people, will go frantic with happiness on this day. The workers of Austria, Checko-Slovakia and Jugo-Slovakia, of Roumania will celebrate as never before. They may have a wide stretch of rough social country to travel over yet, but when listening they imagine they can almost hear the murmur of the waves as they are rolling in on the shores of **NEW SOCIETY**. Why should they not be happy on this day of hope, even though their cheeks are still wet with tears?

The workers of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, England, Ireland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, though hunger rages in their stomachs, why should they not celebrate this First of May as History's greatest day up to the present time? Are not their boldest dreams coming true? Are not now the powers of oppression, that have held them down for ages, tottering on the edge of their grave? They should be blind not to see the gleaming spires of the **NEW WORLD** at the horizon.

To all of bleeding, starving, suffering, mourning Europe this First of May should seem the great turning point, the boundary line, not only between winter and summer, but between the ghastly past and the bright future, between oppression and freedom, between need and plenty, between despair and hope, between hell and heaven, between capitalism and The New Society. Who counts the few steps remaining when the goal is in sight?

The workers of civilized Africa, of awakened Asia, of buoyant Australia, of fiery Latin America, will march on this First of May with thoughts in their minds that mean the speedy downfall of greed and oppression; that mean peace, happiness and plenty for all mankind for all ages to come.

And the workers of North America, of this "home of the free," what is First of May to us as this time?

Well, you all know that autocracy has moved over here under the ghastly mask of democracy. The birds will sing, the flowers will bud, the sun will shine over here as well as over there. But while over there the sun shines upon hundreds of millions of men, women and children who are **free, free** to do as they will, **free** to march and sing, over here it shines on a hundred million men and women and children who have lost their freedom, who are under the lash of the American cossack taking orders from the rich, it shines on a hundred million who sing and prate of freedom and democracy, because they dare not

say that freedom is dead and democracy a sham, on a hundred million who dare neither march nor sing, a hundred million who dare not even publicly speak of their joy at the feats of the hundreds of millions over there, who dare not acknowledge that they can see the new society right upon them, won by the valor and the blood of others.

Tens of thousands will march here also but the large mass of the workers of America will postpone their marching and singing until St. Gomper's Mass in September, and then they will march and sing, not as a proud mass of freemen but as companies of slaves who dare not stay home for fear of being suspected of lacking "patriotism" and under the penalty of a large fine, if they are absent.

But let us not despair. Our fellow workers of other parts have damaged capitalism so much that it will die some day. The head of the capitalist snake may be over here, while its body is over in Europe. It will be cut in two in Europe, and the head cannot live without the body. So let us cheer up on this First of May, hoping that it will be the last one that we will celebrate under the double cloud of tyranny and slavery.

All hail to First of May!

Let us keep it sacred as the boundary day between winter and summer, like our fathers have done, and let us maintain it as the Great International Labor Day, on which we shall yearly commemorate the birth of THE NEW SOCIETY.

Our Prisoners

WINTER has passed and spring is here. The grass is green, the birds sing and the hyacinths and tulips riot in color on the lawns, but none of that is for our hundreds of fellow workers in jail. For them there is only the gray and dismal cell in the company of human outcasts. In Leavenworth, in the Kansas jails, in the California jails, all over the country they are pining away, their only hope being the news of the crumbling of the old world and the rising of the new world out of the ruins.

And all this because they served their class and all mankind so well!

Some 36 of our fellow workers in the Leavenworth jail are admitted to bail, but the amount required is over a quarter of a million dollars. To demand such a sum of propertiless workers is a ghastly affront. If they had been of the other class, they would have been out now, because they owned property or had friends that owned it. But now they are poor, and will

have to stay in jail a long time, until this immense sum can be brought together. Talk about equality before the law! There is no such thing. And the fiends who persecute are grinning with intense satisfaction at the suffering they are able to inflict on us, the poor, in perfect accord with the law.

But the giant labor still sleeps and allows his friends to suffer. Liberty is sure to come in the near future, but Oh! when you count the days, the hours, the minutes, it is an eternity.

Fellow Worker! What have you done this month, this week, this day, to help your fellow workers out of jail or to ease their lot inside the jail? If we cannot get them out immediately we must at least do what we can for them and their families.

But the surest and best way of all is to build up the One Big Union, until it becomes so strong that it is the commanding power of society. What have you done in that direction lately?

The Triumph of the One Big Union

THESE are days when the most confirmed pessimists among us will have to shine up.

Hardly a day goes by without the news of some country or some province or some city falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks. We are not Bolsheviks, except in the sense that we rejoice with a full heart every time the Bolsheviks destroy some instrument of oppression and liberate the masses from their hard masters, and their achievements along this line alone make us forget their incapacity for economic reconstruction, and would in themselves be sufficient to keep us in good humor.

But when we are nearly as busy keeping track of the triumphant progress of The One Big Union movement in other parts of the world, then it would be unfair not to give vent to a grunt of satisfaction. Only the other day we received the report that all the unions west of Ontario, Canada, all the way to the Pacific Coast, had cut loose from the A. F. of L. and formed One Big Union, with a program sufficiently like the I. W. W. program to make us forget the small differences. And now we have definite news from Australia, showing that the bulk of Australian workers have united in One Big Union, with a preamble in part word for word copied from ours, with a few additions.

True, both the Canadian and the Australian One Big Union have inserted the famous political clause, declaring in favor of political action as well as industrial action, but so did the I. W. W. at its inception. We found it necessary to cut out that

clause, in order to save our life as an industrial organization. Perhaps our new brother organizations some day will feel compelled to do the same thing. But that clause should not prevent us from recognizing that the main point is won. **The have both declared for industrial unions by means of which to take over the means of production and distribution.**

In this fact lies the victory of our ideas. We have suffered long, and waited long, but our patience and endurance has been richly rewarded and we are happy.

It does not require much of a prophet to foretell that these two great events in labor's history are merely the forerunners of a regular landslide in our direction in the various countries of the world. We feel confident that the impulse will be felt first of all over the whole English-speaking world. America will find it much easier now to change from the old to the new, since Canada and Australia have gone before. England and Ireland and South Africa will unquestionably be in the center of the One Big Union vortex in a short time. After the Bolshevik countries have come from sounds to things, they also will feel compelled to take up our program, as the only one that will permanently solve the social problem.

The One Big Union program embodies the great world revolution. Let us just hold on a little longer, and it will all be easy sailing.

"Hold the fort, for we are coming,
Union men, be strong!"

The Onward Sweep of Bolshevism

THE tide of Bolshevism is still rising, to our immense satisfaction. In Russia they are not only holding their own in most places, but their sphere of influence seems to be widening. In Germany they have already lost thousands of lives, but they continue to spread. The most recent accessions are Hungary and Bavaria and parts of Checko-Slovakia and Jugo-Slovakia. Holland is reported to be on the verge of a Bolshevik revolution, and in Sweden the first preparations for a Bolshevik outbreak have been unearthed, the government having taken possession of a quantity of hidden arms and arrested certain leaders. Every country in the world is more or less affected by Bolshevik enthusiasm, but so far no outbreaks seem to

be expected outside the zone indicated.

Bolshevism is a great popular uprising against the upper class of the old world. Its first point of attack in every country is directed against the existing government, and the first thing the victorious Bolsheviks do, they take possession of the government buildings and the institutions of the state. They capture the government by force and put Bolsheviks into office in place of the officials of the old regime. The typical Bolshevik revolution is a **political revolution by force**. The exterior changes they make in the government may be ever so conspicuous, but still they are not fundamental. These changes all fall within the outlines of the institution we call "the state."

The Bolshevik revolution is the culmination of political socialism. The program of political socialism is a very general one. It is "the abolition of classes," "the abolition of capitalism," "the socialization of the means of production," "the establishment of a socialist republic," etc., expressions which we ourselves use. But the program of the political socialists is not well worked out on these most important points. They have left the details to chance at the last moment. As a consequence they find themselves without the proper industrial organs for taking over production, at the moment when they have captured political power. The Russians made a hasty experiment with soviets, but as late news inform us, these organs were unequal to the task of taking over production and distribution. The scheme is falling apart, and as a result Russia is partly returning to private ownership and control, partly turning over the work to the co-operative movement, partly resorting to direct government control, only a small part of production and distribution apparently being in control of the workers direct through their industrial organization, as we would have it. In short, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia has not resulted in Industrial Democracy, but in a makeshift or temporary arrangement without stability, without any pretense of a final solution. The limitations of political socialism have become plainly discernible. There are various other movements in Russia, each with their economic programs, but none of them would, as far as we can see, result in Industrial Democracy. With the experience of Bolshevism in Russia, we can again upon a basis of tangible facts reiterate our standpoint which we have so persistently repeated in years gone by, namely, that eco-

nomie reconstruction of society cannot be accomplished by a government trying to order things with a high hand through laws and regulations, but has to be an organic growth from the bottom, through the industrial organization of the workers at the place of work. Russia will yet have to tackle the immense task of organizing the workers industrially, in order to obtain the necessary organs for taking over production.

We cannot see how the result can be any different in Finland, in Germany, in Hungary or in any other Bolshevik country. The organized Syndicalists of Germany and Scandinavia can see these things plainly, and are constantly pointing it out in their press and in their agitation.

The great Bolshevik uprising or tidal wave is no doubt going to sweep over the larger part of Europe, but when it recedes it is not going to leave behind it an organized family of Socialist republics, carrying on production to the satisfaction of mankind. It will merely have done its grand work of social clearing, of destruction of the old and unfit. Bolshevism is the fire that clears of the old vegetation, "the brush." To plow, sow and reap among the charred stumps will be the immense task they will bequeath to us, the industrial organizers, the builders of the One Big Union.

Had the political Socialists not been so persistent in ignoring industrial organization, had they not insisted on monopolizing the thought of the workers for their parliamentary schemes, the workers of their countries would not now be in such a terrible plight; they would not now be standing helpless, but would be able to carry on production without interruption.

The Coming I. W. W. Convention

WHEN the delegates of the I. W. W. gather for their general convention on May 5, it will be the most important general consultation the organization has held up to this time.

We are living in the midst of a world-revolution that we have for a long time dimly foreseen and predicted to the extent of our vision. Only, perhaps, we ourselves did not think it would come so soon. This revolution has caused immense changes throughout the world. Ideas, beliefs and programs by thousands have gone tumbling into the abyss of oblivion. Most every group of men have had to "revise" their tenets, in order to adjust themselves to the new circumstances. I. W. W. and

the syndicalist organizations are the only ones who feel no need of changing their programs. On the contrary, the principle of "One Big Union," for which we stand, is getting air under its wings for the first time. We do not wish to anticipate the decisions of the coming convention, but it seems to us that there is no need of changing even a dot in the declaration of principles of the I. W. W. as known from the preamble. That preamble is the sample after which the workers of other countries are framing their own creeds with very slight changes. The I. W. W. and the principles for which it stands has not only survived the world's greatest upheaval up to

this day, but their truth is first now beginning to dawn upon greater masses of people. The underlying thought in our program is one of those thoughts that neither time nor man can change. That thought has been our hope through all these hard years, it is the only hope of hundreds of our fellow workers behind prison walls. To tamper with it and change it would be to throw those fellow workers into despair. Let us keep our faith and our creed and do our best to live up to it.

The work of the convention will be tremendous.

There has been no convention for some years. Numerous matters have accumulated. Add to this that not only the general office was raided and everything taken and upset and that at the same time there was a change in the office force on account of the arrests of the employes of the organization, and you will have an idea of the difficulties the organization has waded through. The raids on our branch offices throughout the country have still more increased the difficulties. All this will, of course, complicate the work of the convention.

If it were not for the notable fact that the organization has at the same time grown tremendously, and if it were not for the immensely gratifying prospects for the future, all this would of course be discouraging. As it is, the convention will probably just smile at the difficulties and proceed to solve them.

The convention meets at an exceedingly opportune time. The pro tempore em-

ployes of the organization are properly swamped by the constantly increasing amount of work. The workers clamor for information on the I. W. W. much as provident housewives clamor round a sensational bargain counter. Ways and means will have to be found to supply this need.

The work of education and organization will have to be placed on a much broader basis and be carried out on a much grander scale than ever before.

Then there is the most important matter of all, to devise ways and means of getting our fellow workers out of jail.

To solve all these questions will require all the coolest and wisest heads that the organization has within its ranks. But in such a hopeful world situation as the present one there is enough lifting capacity to make the hardest task an easy one.

With this convention begins a new period in the life of the organization, the history of which is bound to become the most glorious one in all labor's history.

The fact of the matter is, they are carried away with Russian Bolshevism, and would like to see us drop everything and follow them in the adventure of a Bolshevik revolution here in America. They are and claim to be "The American Bolsheviks."

As bolshevism settles down to the business of economic re-construction in earnest, we expect the Left Wingers will lose part of their enthusiasm, and see the practicability of the I. W. W. program. They will probably come out of their adventure minus parliamentary action and join the I. W. W.

The "Left Wingers" and Mass Action

IN order that we may know what the Left Winger means when he speaks of mass action we publish herewith four definitions from different sources after "The Proletarian."

In his recent book, "Revolutionary Socialism," Louis C. Fraina tells us that

"Mass action is not a **form** of action as much as it is a **process** and **synthesis** of action."

" * * * Mass action is the instinctive action of the proletariat, gradually developing more conscious and organized forms and definite purposes * * * "

" * * * Mass action is the proletariat itself in action * * * "

S. J. Rutgers, in the International Review, October, 1916, says:

"Now there can be different forms of political mass action: Meetings, street demonstrations, political strikes and revolts which give an opportunity to develop into higher forms

of mass action. Even voting in an election can be made a mass action, if only there is no compromising, and no effort to catch non-socialist votes, but real socialist propaganda and education."

Austin Lewis, in the New Reveiw, June, 1913, says:

" * * * Real mass action is outside the sphere of parliamentary action; it has nothing to do with the election of men to political positions, and yet is in the highest degree political * * * "

Anton Pannekoek defines mass action very completely, thus:

"When we speak of mass action we mean an extra parliamentary political act of the organized working class by which it acts directly and not through the medium of political delegates. Organized labor fights develop into political mass action as soon as they acquire political significance. The question of mass action, therefore, involves merely broadening the field of proletarian organization."

The I. W. W. also stands for mass action, but the mass action we stand for is **organized industrial mass action**. The mass action of the Left Wingers is more in the nature of mob action on a grand scale. What they aim at seems largely to be **unorganized political mass action**. Of course, they also include "Industrial Unionism" in

order to strengthen that action, but in their opinion I. W. W. industrial unionism is not good enough. It must be of the Russian kind, with "soviets" attached to them. The I. W. W. "soviets," The Industrial District Council, the industrial conventions and executive boards do not seem to suit them.

REVOLUTIONARY MASS ACTION

HAVING to its own satisfaction demonstrated the need of "proletarian dictatorship" and "revolutionary mass action" of the Bolshevik kind, "The Revolutionary Age," an organ of the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party, begins to find fault with the I. W. W. on that particular score.

"Is there, in the accepted literature of the I. W. W., asks the paper, any conception of revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship? Its theory that the proletariat must organize to seize the industries is not in accord with the proletarian revolution in theory and practice. The revolutionary proletariat **must first seize the power of the state**, must organize the new proletarian state of soviets and proletarian dictatorship, after which it proceeds to seize industry and organize the new communist regime and industrial administration, which the I. W. W. fatuously believes can be constructed within the shell of the old society. In its theory for the necessity for overthrowing the parliamentary state and organizing the new proletarian state of the organized producers, the I. W. W. is revolutionary and bolshevik; but in its tactics to accomplish that, it starts with the wrong end; it refuses to accept the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia and Germany—that you must first conquer the power of the state by means of revolutionary mass action, and then put the I. W. W. communist plan of industrial and social reorganization into practice."

"Industrial unionism alone cannot perform the revolutionary act of seizure of the power of the state, since under the conditions of capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class or an overwhelming majority into industrial unionism."

"The I. W. W. is a vital factor in the American revolutionary movement; it can and should become even more of a factor by recognizing that the proletarian revolution in Russia has improved upon the I. W. W. conception of the revolution. Life itself calls upon the revolutionists to make this adjustment to new conditions and the theory and practice arising out of these conditions."

In the first quotation we want first to take exception to the expression "in its theory for the necessity for overthrowing the parliamentary state." We lay no particular stress on that "necessity." We hold that as industrial evolution progresses the parliamentary state will become more and more inadequate for handling the problems of society, while at the same time the industrial administration that we are building in the I. W. W. will more and

more grow into the functions which it is calculated to assume. We are not counting with the necessity of "overthrowing" the state. We had almost counted on the change becoming so necessary that the state would gradually fall into disuse, while the industrial administration would in an equally natural way assume one function after another. We would rather see a gradual transition than a "revolutionary" shock. Such shocks are undesirable, because they cause bloodshed and suffering. On the other hand we do not consider it advisable to destroy any social organ, before we have the new organ ready which is to take its place. We think it is about time that men disabuse their minds of the idea that violence is absolutely necessary or desirable for great social changes. As men become more civilized from day to day we believe it to be possible to shift from the old form of society to the new form by public consent, without the use of the violence aimed at when there is talk of revolutionary mass action a la Bolshevik.

Whatever men may decide to do when the proper time comes will be right, but there is one thing sure, and that is that all talk about revolutionary mass action **at the present time** is sheer nonsense, and if we were not positively sure that, in this case, it is wholly traceable to the enthusiastic impulse of the Russian revolution, we would be inclined to consider all such talk as provocative and contrary to our best interests. To advise action a la Bolshevik as a first resort is contrary to reason. It is bad enough to know that it may have to come to that anyhow. For our part we say: Let us have a society of industrial communism, peaceably if we can, but let us have it. Putting it that way we get a chance to work out the solution without constantly being in the hot water of "revolution."

Then, as to the idea of "revolutionary mass action," we do not understand the impatience of the Left Wingers. We, the I. W. W., are straining every nerve, in fact, doing everything in our power to get **organized mass action**. We have been at it for about 12 years and we could not have

done any more if driven to it, and the result is what you see: About 15 Industrial Unions of the I. W. W., a new "One Big Union" in Canada, and a brand new "One Big Union" in Australia. For the rest it is all in the making. Mass action is coming and coming strong, but we would not speed it up by the constant use of the phrase "revolutionary mass action." The same is the case with the political Socialists. They have done everything in their power to gather adherents, but counting them all, the S. P., Left Wingers, S. D. L. and S. L. P. and the Anarchists, they amount to only a small percentage of the whole people. The fact is, that even if we pooled our forces we have got only a corporal's guard, relatively speaking. To urge this corporal's guard to revolutionary mass action would be absurd. How could we have mass action before we have control of the mind and the will of the mass. We have first to carry on an intensive work of education, so that we get the mass on our side, and at the present rate of progress that will not take many years. When the mass of the industrial population has adopted the principles of a communist society, then the time has come for a change. Then, and not before, can there be talk of "revolutionary mass action," but then it will not be mass action a la bolshevik; it will be **organized** mass action by a majority. This being a democratic country, the will of the majority will decide.

Besides, why should we be in such a hurry to imitate the Bolsheviks? What have they done that should make us jump off our track and follow their lead? They have overthrown autocracy and established political democracy for the proletariat. Political democracy has existed in this country for a long time. We do not have to make a revolution to get it. If we want the political power, control of the parliamentary state, all we have to do is to vote ourselves into power. It would be absolutely unfair of us to attempt a minority revolt against the American people by "revolutionary mass action" of a corporal's guard of radicals, and besides it would be impossible.

The only thing that is fair is to try to gain the American people over to our way of thinking by carrying on the work of education. True, they are, unconstitutionally, trying to deprive us of the right of free speech and free press and free assemblage, but there is reason to believe that this is only temporary. There will be a popular reaction against the capitalist revolutionists who have suspended our liberties, and then we can go on again. Besides,

these capitalist revolutionists are helping us in gaining adherents, so that what we lose in one way, by the loss of our liberty, we gain in another way by the oppression we suffer.

These views of ours explain why "revolutionary mass action" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" do not occur in our program. There is nothing "fatuous" in our firm belief in the possibility of building the new society within the shell of the old. The only thing that is "fatuous" is the attempt to stir people to "mass action" before the mass is with them.

And why should we rush in the footsteps of the Bolsheviks in regard to economic reconstruction? To us it seems it is a case of "vestigia terrent" or "the foot prints deter."

As reports are coming in, it becomes more and more apparent that Bolshevik Russia is far from having established industrial communism. On the contrary it seems that Bolshevism is breaking down on the question of economic reconstruction. If they go ahead on the right path, they will some day come to the point where they will have to put into practice the I. W. W. program. Why should we turn back to their kind of action and create suffering and chaos when we have a living chance of building the new society inside the old one, as we have started?

We are not decrying the Bolshevik revolution. It had to come because the mass of the people willed it. Nor are we finding petty faults with the Bolsheviks. We only wish to repeat that if the Russians had devoted themselves to industrial organization in advance, as we are doing, their task would have been much easier, and the danger of collapse and reaction would have been less.

It remains only to take up the statement that "it is impossible to organize the whole working class or an overwhelming majority into industrial unionism under capitalism." How do the Left Wingers know? Events in Canada and Australia point the other way. The idea may be old, but it is only 12 years ago, since it was seriously attempted to put it into practice. Social changes are not made in the wink of an eye, like changing your shirt. They take time. Let us have patience a few years more and keep on building up the One Big Union, so that we will be able to make a good revolution while we are at it, one that will stand for ages, resting on the bedrock of the organized industrial power of the proletariat. After we have got that power, the question of the actual transition is not going to worry us much.

THE ONE BIG UNION OF AUSTRALIA

Its Principles and Structure.

AFTER sitting for six days in Melbourne the notable Australian One Big Union Congress finished its work on January 17. That work should become historic, and the gathering prove a landmark in working class progress. We give a valuable outline of business transacted. Among the first matters attended to by the inter-State delegates was the adoption of the following:

PREAMBLE.

1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production, to which the working class must have access in order to live. The working class produces all value. The greater the share which the capitalist class appropriates the less remains for the working class; therefore, the interests of these two classes are in constant conflict.

2. There can be no peace as long as want and hunger are found among millions of working people and the few who constitute the employing class have all the good things of life.

3. Between these two classes the struggle must continue until capitalism is abolished. Capitalism can only be abolished by the workers uniting in one class-conscious economic organization to take and hold the means of production by revolutionary, industrial and political action. "Revolutionary action" means action to secure a complete change, namely, the abolition of capitalistic ownership of the means of production—whether privately or through the state—and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community. Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods, which aim at mending and rendering tolerable, and thereby perpetuating, capitalism—instead of ending it.

4. The rapid accumulation of wealth and concentration of the ownership of industries into fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because craft unionism fosters conditions which allow the employers to pit one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn.

5. These conditions can be changed, and the interests of the working class advanced, only by an organization so constituted that all its members in any industry shall take concerted action when deemed necessary, thereby making an injury to one the concern of all.

6. We hold that, as the working class creates and operates the socially-owned machinery of production, it should direct production, and determine working conditions.

PROVISIONAL COUNCIL AND OFFICERS.

The conference elected a provisional council to supervise the preliminary work of launching the scheme as drawn up by conference. The provisional council is to be known as the Australian council of officers of the Workers' Industrial Union. The office-bearers were elected as follows: Mr. T. E. Wilson, president; Mr. B. A. Mulvogue, secretary; Mr. C. Coupe, treasurer; Messrs. E. Rutherford, J. S. Garden (N. S. W.), and T. D. Williams (S. A.), delegates. The three officers are Victorian representatives.

The conference decided that the publication in New South Wales which is to issue at the end of this month to be known as the "O. B. U.," should be the official organ of the One Big Union, subject to the control of the provisional council. It was decided that uniform badges and buttons should be made for use throughout the Commonwealth.

COST OF SCHEME RECKONED.

At its final sitting the One Big Union Conference made an official estimate of the cost of administering the Australian One Big Union, and fixed the cost at £268,226. Figures supplied by Mr. G. H. Knibbs, the Commonwealth Statistician, is was stated by Mr. E. E. Judd, showed that the union expenditure for the Commonwealth for the year ended December, 1916, was £604,187 under craft unionism, the year 1916 having been chosen for comparison, as the big strike occurred in 1917, with consequent increased expenditure. The estimated expenditure for the One Big Union was based on the fact that the maximum salaries for the highest paid officials (Grand President and Grand Secretary) would be £400 a year, and the other salaries would be less. These figures, Mr. Judd claimed, showed that there would be a saving of £335,961, a year, or more than 10 shillings in the £, on union expenditures under the One Big Union scheme.—Melbourne "Socialist."

* * *
For comparison we refer to the I. W. W. Preamble on cover of this magazine.

* * *
That is a great and basic statement.

Mr. E. E. Judd, referring to the unfair attempt to lead the public to believe that the I. W. W. and O. B. U. preambles were practically the same thing, said that the vital difference between the two preambles was that the O. B. U. preamble stood for political action on the highest civilized plane, while the I. W. W. preamble relied on industrial action alone. "The O. B. U., when it is sufficiently powerful," said Mr. Judd, "will reflect its own political party. Its parliamentary candidates will enter Parliament not for the purpose of administering or perpetuating the existing class state, but to abolish the existing system and its Parliament, and inaugurate an industrial parliament composed of representatives of, and elected by, those in industries."

THE NAME AND OBJECT.

The name of the organization was decided upon as "The Workers' Industrial Union of Australia." The objective was declared as follows: "To bind together in one organization all the wage workers in every industry to achieve the purposes set forth in the preamble."

STRUCTURE.

It was agreed that the membership should consist of an unlimited number of wage earners, including those engaged as union officials, grouped together in such a manner as should be decided upon. It was resolved to classify the unions into departments, divisions, subdivisions, sections and mixed sections, and that there be six departments, each consisting of as many divisions as might be necessary to meet industrial requirements. It was decided to classify the departments as follows:

1. Building and construction.
2. Manufacture and general production.
3. Transportation and communication.
4. Agriculture, land and fisheries.
5. Civil service and public utilities.
6. Mining.

The classification of workers in departments, divisions, etc., was completed, and under the heading of public safety it was decided to include members

of the police forces and of the fire brigades. Conference decided that a section should be composed of workers in a given locality, or shop, who would elect shop committees to deal with local matters, and that a mixed section should consist of persons engaged in various industries or occupations in the same locality, where there are not sufficient workers in any one calling to form a subdivision or section.

It was resolved that the grand council be the chief administrative body of the union, and that it consist of a president and secretary, together with two delegates from each department of industry, the president and secretary to be elected by a ballot of the whole membership of the union, and the delegates by a ballot of the members in their respective national divisions.

One Big Union in Canada

THE cheering news that the labor unions of Western Canada, from Fort Williams, Ontario, to the Pacific Coast, have in regular convention decided to sever connections with the American Federation of Labor and to form "One Big Union" on the basis of industrial organization, have by this time reached most of our readers. For that reason we will here content ourselves with merely giving space to the most important resolutions, as a matter of record, and to allow of comparison with our own movement and similar movements in other countries.

This memorable convention, called the "Western Canada Labor Conference," took place in Calgary, Alberta, on March 13, 14, and 15, 1919.

Among the resolutions adopted we note:

(1) Realizing that the aims and objects of the labor movement should be the improving of the social and economic conditions of society in general, and the working class in particular;

And whereas the present system of production for profit and the institutions resulting therefrom prevent this being achieved,

Be it resolved, that the aims of labor as represented by this convention are the abolition of the present system of production for profit, and the substituting therefor, production for use, and that a system of propaganda to this end be carried on. (Adopted unanimously.)

(2) Whereas, great and far-reaching changes have taken place during the last year in the realms of industry;

And whereas, we have discovered through painful experiences the utter futility of separate action on the part of the workers, organized merely on craft lines, such action tending to strengthen the relative position of the master class;

Therefore be it resolved, that this Western Labor Conference place itself on record as favoring the immediate reorganization of the workers along industrial lines, so that by virtue of their industrial strength, the workers may be better prepared to enforce any demand they may consider essential to their maintenance and wellbeing;

And be it further resolved, that in view of the foregoing we place ourselves also on record as being opposed to the innocuity of labor leaders lobby-

ing parliament for palliatives which do not palliate. (Unanimously carried.)

(3) Resolved, that this convention recommend to its affiliated membership the severance of their affiliation with their international organizations, and that steps be taken to form an industrial organization of all workers. (Carried.)

(4) We recommend the name of the organization be "One Big Union." (Carried.)

(5) We recommend the convention elect a committee of five, irrespective of geographical location, for the purpose of carrying out the necessary propaganda to make the referendum a success. (Carried.)

(6) We further recommend that delegates from each province meet and elect a committee of five to work in conjunction with the central committee in carrying on the necessary propaganda to accomplish the wishes of the convention.

(7) We recommend that the drafting and issuing of the referendum be left to the "central committee," also receiving and publishing the returns of the vote. (Carried.)

(8) In the opinion of the committee it will be necessary in establishing an industrial form of organization, to work through the existing trades councils and district boards, and no definite plan of organization can be submitted until after the referendum has been taken. (Carried.)

(9) The committee further recommends that after the returns of the vote are received, the central committee shall call a conference of representatives of trades councils and district boards to perfect the plans of organization. Basis of representation, affiliated membership of 5,000 or less, one delegate; over 5,000, two delegates; over 10,000, three delegates. (Carried.)

(10) We recommend that an appeal be made to the trades councils and district boards for a payment of 2 cents per member affiliated, to finance the educational campaign for the inauguration of "One Big Union." (Carried.)

The above are the main resolutions pertaining to the forming of One Big Union. Lack of space prevents us from publishing further details.

We think that if the convention report was published in pamphlet form, it would find a ready sale here in the U. S.

The Friends and Enemies of Bolshevism

BOLSHEVISM has numerous friends throughout the world. In the recent call for an international communist congress issued by the Communist Party of Russia, no less than thirty-nine national organizations of different countries were invited. Together, they would form a formidable array of revolutionary force.

But numerous as the friends of the Bolsheviks are in the ranks of the workers, still more numerous are their enemies. The Social Democrats of the right, such as the Social Democratic Parties of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and so on, throughout the world, are their bitterest enemies and do not hesitate to say what they think of them as well as to fight them, as they do in Germany.

Here follows a description of Bolshevism taken from the Swedish paper, "Socialdemokraten," edited by the notorious Hjalmar Branting of bourgeois Socialist fame. The description is taken from the German Social Democratic paper, "Vorwärts," and the reader should remember that the Social Democrats and the Bolsheviks until quite recently have belonged to the same party and worked more or less hand in hand. This is what the Social Democrats say about the Bolsheviks:

"Lenin's Socialist Russia.

The Bolshevik petty bourgeois transformation.

A very good description of the situation that has arisen in Russia through the Bolshevik regime may be read in "Vorwärts." It is written by a Social Democrat who, some years ago, traveled through Russia full of enthusiasm for Russian emancipation. He said, among other things, "The Bolsheviks gave the land to the peasants and their slogan was, 'Divide it between you as you see fit, yourselves.' Through this, there arose a general and mutual rage of annihilation. While the proletarians hurried to divide property in the city, the peasants divided the land in the country. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Government, the proletariat succeeded in getting so far with the socialization of the means of production that thousands of factories had to be shut down. Petrograd, had, up to a year ago, three million inhabitants, but has now eight hundred thousand. A year ago, Moscow had two and a half million inhabitants, but now it has only nine hundred thousand. Transportation conditions offered the greatest difficulties in moving from the cities.

At the same time, the Bolsheviks succeeded in wholly suppressing cultural life. Only purely Bolshevik meetings of an official character are allowed to take place, and on account of the terror, nobody dares to have diverging opinions. Workers who are anti-Bolshevik, or not quite Bolshevik, are in the best case threatened with a suspension of the insignificant rations, whereby they would be given over to starvation.

With starvation and capital punishment, all criticisms of Bolshevik actions are punished. Even such actions as had been timely have now on account of the division and annihilation rage, led to the same result. The soviet government wanted to socialize credit, but cash money could not be found; only worthless paper money, and as industry already was in a miserable condition, this nationalization of credit led to its complete destruction and to the complete ruin of industry. In some few factories which are still running, there is very little work done and the workers are getting their wages even if nothing is produced, and besides production is considered as being under the leadership of the workers there employed. Not seldom, parts of machinery are sold and the proceeds divided among the workers. Of corruption and graft among the Bolshevik officeholders, it is hardly worth speaking. Only ask the comrades who have spent some time in Russia as soldiers. They can tell you something. Many bureaucrats of the old regime were as poor-house inmates as compared with the present Socialist officials."

Such are conditions in Bolshevik Russia, according to the Social Democrats. If it is true, it only goes to show that political Socialism is unable to change the economic structure of society. That there is some truth in this, we may surmise without turning to the capitalist papers. From the syndicalist paper of Sweden, which has all the time taken an impartial and expectant attitude toward Bolshevism, we learn the following:

"According to a telegram from Berlin, the central executive committee of soviet Russia has recently unanimously adopted a resolution in which it says in part:

'The transportation of and trading with these products is hereby made completely free. No bars of any kind are to exist nor shall the free import and the free trading in these products in squares and market places be interfered with.'

After the adoption of this resolution, followed a long debate, during which Kameneff, president of the Moscow Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, in the following words explained the adopted resolution and its right meaning:

'The main thought in Comrade Lenin's resolution is, that the state shall make every effort to gather into the hands the trade with the most important food products, but leave everything else free.'

If this telegram speaks the truth, and there is no reason to suppose that it does not, the event spoken of is good proof of the impossibility of the Social Democratic theory, while, it at the same time gives strength to the syndicalist view of society.

This complete liberation of commerce can only mean the breakdown of the attempt of socializing commerce, and what is worse, it probably means a

return to the private capitalist system of production and distribution.

And this breakdown, what does it prove? It proves that neither the working-class nor any other class in possession of the political power is by that fact able to shape the economic conditions of society. The Bolsheviks have followed the Social Democratic doctrine to conquer political power in order to introduce Socialism through decrees and proclamations. Better than any other Social Democratic Party, they have succeeded in getting the power of the state into their hands and they have, more honestly than any other party, tried to make a reality out of the theories. In order to realize the theories, they have not hesitated to use force; all the powers of the state have been taken into use and they have consistently worked in the direction of the ideal of social democracy to make the state the owner of the means of production and distribution.

But after nearly a year and a half of consistent carrying out of the theory of socialization, they have been compelled to commence the retreat, although they are still in possession of the political power.

What will eventually remain of Socialism in Russia now that the private capitalist renaissance apparently has begun, depends upon the Russian workers. Not on their political power, however, but on their economic power, that is, on the influence the workers have directly on the economic organization of the enterprises. If the Russian Workers, through the power of their economic organizations, gain some rights at the place of work, for instance, the right to control the management of syndicalism, and besides it is no longer a mere pose of the profits of the enterprise, in other words, the same right as the owner himself had, and if this right is acknowledged, not by government or *duma*, but by the employer,—then it is a real gain, an expression of a real economic adjustment of society that no political change can alter. But then it is no longer social democracy, but a piece

of syndicalism and besides it is no longer a more or less lofty theory but a reality.

However, it is a fact that in Russia the economic organizations of the workers lack the capacity to assert themselves in production, and for this reason, the return to private capitalism will probably be complete. Be this as it may, what the workers have won they have won through their economic power and not through their political power. That is what the syndicalists have to say about Bolshevism.

Then, turning to the third group of their enemies, the Anarchists, we find that they have a program of their own which, however dim and unclear it may be, is at variance with the Bolshevik economic program. Krapotkin, according to a recent interview, would substitute for the Bolshevik society, a society based on so-called free associations, not very clearly defined.

The fourth group of their enemies are the Social Revolutionists of the various shades and particularly strong in their criticism of Bolshevism is the faction represented by Maria Spiridonova. Finally, it is to be noted that the group represented by Kerensky, Breshkowskaya and Tchaikowski are actively engaged in the United States in trying to secure allied interference in Russia, and add to it all that the old bourgeoisie and the aristocracy are working in the same direction, and we will be compelled to admit that Bolshevism is going to be put to a test that it will perhaps not survive.

The immortal gains of Bolshevism for humanity lie on the political field. When it comes to economic reconstruction, the Bolsheviks are going to find that it cannot be made from the top through laws and regulations. Any attempt to make the people the real owners of the means of production and distribution must start with the industrial organization of the workers themselves as outlined in the I. W. W. program. In the meantime, let us hope that Bolshevism will sweep victoriously over all such parts of the world where it still has a mission to perform. After that, begins the I. W. W. period in human history.

Social Democracy Throws Off The Mask

BEFORE the war, we all knew about the type of Socialists represented by Vandervelde, Victor Berger, Hjalmar Branting, Millerand and Viviani, etc. We ridiculed it, little thinking that we might sometime come under the rule of such Socialists, God save the mark! The Russians had five months of Kerensky and that was enough for them; the Germans have had about the same length of time under Ebert and Scheidemann, and they are dying by the thousands in the attempt to get rid of it. The French are still putting up with their Albert Thomas, but for how long we do not know. But the worst of them all, seems to have been bestowed upon the Danes and the Swedes, who com-

pete for the doubtful honor of having made the poorest substitute for Socialists. Listen to these few lines taken from the Social Democrat, the official organ of Branting's party in Sweden:

"In direct conflict with reality, the workers believe that their poverty depends only on the unjust partition of wealth. They lack sufficient knowledge to themselves determine that human production is not sufficient to give all men an adequate living, that it is not sufficient to give everyone what he needs to develop all his powers in freedom to his own satisfaction and for the benefit of the whole. To only a few these possibilities are offered; if even they were to be deprived of them, the only

result would be that mass poverty would be still greater than now. The unjust division enters as a fundamental element in the process of production itself."

These leaders of world fame have now for nearly

half a century been dangling the cornucopia of Socialism before the working-class mule's nose, and like the famous Missouri mule, they are about to follow their leaders over the banks of the Mississippi to destruction.

The Victory of the Bourgeoisie Over the Revolution in Germany

(From "The Syndicalist" of Sweden.)

THE Socialists of the right call the new German state the "Socialist Republic." They apparently feel justified in doing that because there is a government of moderate Socialists in power, but it is not a question of what label a government carries but what it is doing in the direction of Socialism.

Has the German Socialist government done anything for Socialism in Germany? We have shown how Scheidemann at the beginning of the revolution expressed his regret over the revolutionary events and threatened to use the powers of violence of the bourgeois state against them. Anyone who has followed events in Germany can verify that Scheidemann and his co-rulers have done everything to keep this promise. According to old reactionary example, they used cannon and machine guns, prisons and executions to beat down the revolution.

The bourgeoisie owes them great thanks for mounting guard around the old order of things.

They have also bungled or ignored the decisions of the Workers' and Soldiers' Congress in Berlin. The new constitution which they have caused to be elaborated shows that they are determined to continue on the anti-Socialist road they had started on in the beginning. Already their manner of starting the work on this constitution is characteristic of their Socialism. It is not Socialists, not even bourgeois Social Democrats, who made the first sketch of this constitution; it was a simon-pure bourgeois Democrat to whom this important task was con-

fided, namely, Minister of Interior Preuss.

A typical bourgeois is made Minister of Interior in order to enable him to draft the constitution of the new Socialist Republic.

One could at least have expected a Magna Charta of State Socialism, the great letter of freedom of the Socialist state, but instead we get the bourgeois constitution in which property is declared sacred. According to "Freiheit," is says in one of the paragraphs of this draft, "**Property is sacred; expropriation can only be undertaken on the basis of law for public welfare.**"

And in the following paragraph it says that no change of the constitution can be made as long as only one representative over one-third in both chambers is against such change.

These are the same regulations as we find through all bourgeois constitutions. It is a stipulation which surrenders without a struggle to capitalism all the conquests that the revolution had made from the bourgeoisie.

Why do they then call this a Socialist Republic? By what right are they misusing the name of Socialism? Of course, only to deceive the people. With full right, "Freiheit" remarks, that if you hadn't known it beforehand, nobody could have suspected that the proletarian revolution has taken place in Germany.

Of the principal products of the revolution, the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, there is not one word in the constitution.

"THE A. A. A. A."

By MICHAEL ALTSCHULER

AT times we must be very grateful to our enemies, the capitalist financiers, priests, intellectuals and literary prostitutes, for preparing for us material for propaganda purposes, for spurring us into more active and energetic activities.

AN ORGANIZATION has been founded by a plutocratic clique with such "prominent" figures at its head, as ex-president TAFT, the most incompetent president the U. S. ever had, CARDINAL GIBBONS, the famous labor-hater, the "fighting mayor" OLE HANSON, and a number of other celebrities, all famous for their anti-labor records,

the purpose of which is to exterminate root and branch all semblances of radicalism in this country. all signs of "Bolshevism." THE AMERICAN ANTI-ANARCHY ASSOCIATION, the celebrated name of this "patriotic" league, has issued a maiden-manifesto in which the following remark is inserted: "DO NOT CALL IT BOLSHEVISM, OR ALLOW THE WORD TO BE USED. CALL IT BY THE GOOD, OLD, REPULSIVE AND DETESTABLE NAME OF "ANARCHY" AND "I. W. W.-ISM."

Very well, plutocrats of America. We will gladly accept your challenge. We will, in reply, to your pernicious agitation, more incessantly and enthus-

istically go on with our educational propaganda of industrial unionism; we shall most energetically and unceasingly carry on our exposition of the shameful effects of your corrupt system, as unemployment, privation, poverty, crises, disease and wars, disastrous effects continually scourging the working class in your beneficent and benevolent state. Help us in our agitation. Advertise our organization and spread broadcast our activities. We are in want of publicity, and the more of it we get the more we will appreciate it.

But one thing we want you to know at the outset: that none of your lies and calumnies will or can in any way ameliorate or change the conditions of the workers; none of your hysteric campaigns against radicalism can or will remove the fundamental causes of poverty, misery, slavery, or the capitalist mode of production and distribution, and as long as that cause will subsist so long will our kind of unionism grow and multiply in gigantic proportions.

You have thrown the gauntlet to us, plutocrats of U. S., we are ready to meet your challenge and fight you to a bitter end.

General Organization Stamp

The DOLLAR ORGANIZATION STAMP is the most important stamp that has ever been issued by the General Organization, as the entire proceeds of these stamps are to be used for constructive organization work.

Money received from the sale of these stamps will be used to defray the deficits arising in the organization and building up of the smaller Industrial Unions. For instance, as was done in the case of the A. W. O. 400, which upon its organization was loaned \$500 and given unlimited credit for papers and supplies. This assistance given by the General Organization resulted in building up one of the strongest Industrial Unions of the I. W. W.

At the present time, the General Organization is doing the same thing for the Metal and Machinery Workers' No. 300, the Railroad Workers' No. 600, the Marine Transport Workers' No. 100 and the Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers No. 1100. All of these Industrial Unions have been re-organized by the General Organization and are being assisted financially until they have a membership that will enable them to stand by themselves.

The ORGANIZATION STAMP FUND will also be used for advancing money to the stronger Industrial Unions in order to enable them to carry out their plans for organization and to assist in making their intensive membership and organization campaigns during the periods when work is just opening up in their respective industries.

The ORGANIZATION STAMP FUND will also be used to print and distribute foreign and Industrial Union literature and to assist newly formed unions to put out the literature required by their respective industries.

The ORGANIZATION STAMP FUND will also enable the General Organization to reimburse itself for the large amount of literature and supplies LOST in transit, and thus enable the organization to print new literature and meet the deficit of the publishing bureau arising from such losses.

It is, therefore, imperative that the membership contribute as liberally as possible to this fund if they wish to build up a strong and aggressive organization.

Calls are coming in for literature and supplies from all over the country. There were twenty new charters for branches of Industrial Unions and the General Recruiting Union issued during the month of March.

IF YOU BELIEVE IN CONSTRUCTIVE ORGANIZATION WORK AND INDUSTRIAL UNION PROPAGANDA AND "Desire to build up the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," PUSH THE SALE OF THE ORGANIZATION STAMP.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,
By THOMAS WHITEHEAD,
Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

Who Wants War

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

WHO wants war? Who is it that is trying to get us into trouble with Mexico and send American workmen across the Rio Grande to kill their Mexican fellow workers? Who is it that is demanding a standing army of half a million men and a fleet that shall be able to whip that of Great Britain?

The workers of America have no quarrel with the workers of Mexico or with the workers of England. They have no interest in disputes over Mexican mines and oil wells, or foreign trade in South America and the Orient. All they demand is to be left in peace to do the work of the world and solve the big problem of genuine industrial democracy.

The workers of every country are always the ones who pay the terrible cost of war, who pay it in sweat and blood, in life and limb, while the master class makes enormous fortunes out of the agony of mankind. The workers, who are the immense majority, DO NOT WANT WAR.

The master class, the privileged few who live by the toil of the many, find war a highly profitable business. They will continue to provoke one war after another in the advancement of their money-making schemes, in settlement of their commercial disputes, until the workers of the world, realizing their enormous power, rise up and put an end to their selfish rule.

We believe, as a working class, in Sinn Fein, which means "Ourselves" or "By Ourselves." We will accomplish our emancipation ourselves, by ourselves, and for ourselves.

A BOLSHEVIK ULTIMATUM



DRAWN FOR THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY.

"NO WORK—NO EAT"

A Letter from "Over There"

Dear Mat:—

According to rumors here now we are due to sail for The States about the 20th of May. You spoke of the prospects being good for our organization. Well, I hope to be back with the old bunch driving through the long straw this coming summer, with **Industrial Freedom** as our objective. Well, Mat, you no doubt have been wondering why I have never sent any jack. The reason is that the only means we have of sending it is through that great gang of thieves known as the Y. M. C. A.

I suppose the papers are telling all about the great time the men in the army of occupation are having. I am pleased to see the change that is taking place in the majority of men every day; also more pleased to be sharing in the tyrannical abuse that we are having handed to us.

The men that used to tell me that it was our duty to come over here and fight to make the world safe for democracy, are coming to me now and asking me: "What in hell **does** democracy mean?"

Men that never had a thought or an idea in their heads until a few months ago are now saying in tones of determination: "Well, every little dog has its day, and the doughboy who is the little dog now, will have his."—M. J. B., formerly A. W. I. U. delegate.

A FAILURE?

The capitalistic press insisted that the Seattle strike was lost. Was it? When the ten-hour men went back to work each carried a whistle in his pocket. After they had worked eight hours, the whistles blew in concert, and the men quit. To irate bosses who yelled, "Same conditions, same hours, same wages," these men humbly replied, "Yes, eight today, ten to-morrow." But when to-morrow came those whistles blew again. Humble words, defiant actions. Those men did not **ask**,—they **TOOK**. That is the way the working class does in some places. Why not in your city? Don't you know how? Read the I. W. W. program. Study the O. B. U. Monthly and find out how to be free men. Why be cringing beggars longer? **Take**, don't **ask**.—R-a B.

The Bolsheviki in America

By JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS.

It is very difficult for one in these days, moving about in Labor, Socialist and Progressive circles, to find anyone who is not a Bolshevik. The confession of faith is something astounding, really marvelous, as it were. They take a sort of holy delight of informing you that they are Bolsheviki. Now, if their faith was really genuine, founded in fact, this flood of Bolshevism coming from their lips would indeed be a litany of joy and hope to the class-conscious proletariat.

We have had occasion to hear a long line of Socialist Party speakers, including the charming and delightful Miss Louise Bryant, on the subject of the Soviet government. To our great surprise, however, in practically every instance, we could not glean just which American organization of labor contained within its structure the elements of the Soviet. Nor have these emissaries of Socialism explained to their audiences the meaning of the conflict between the Bolsheviki on the one hand, demanding and finally destroying the Duma, a parliamentary machine, and upon the other hand the Mensheviki, who wanted the Duma with its parliamentary regime. This point is very illuminating, and once popularly understood, will direct attention to the Soviet organization of America, namely, the Industrial Workers of the World, which, by the way, has made less pretensions of being the real Bolshevik group during the last 16 months, than the rest, notwithstanding the fact that it has trained many Soviet officials while they were living here as exiles, among whom was Wm. Shatoff, a personal friend of the writer. It was Shatoff who organized in Russia what is known as "Workers' Control." It was in the I. W. W. that he was educated to understand the importance of industrial organization as a means of providing the mechanism for an Industrial Democracy. He found in our country what did not exist in his: a highly developed technique of production. Consequently, he soon shed his dualistic ideas regarding working class instruments of emancipation, and became pragmatic, monistic. For philosophically stated, that is what the I. W. W. is. It is monism that triumphs and not Dualism. It is pragmatism that works and not metaphysics.

The Socialist Party is a pure and simple parliamentary organization, claiming to champion the cause of the proletariat, without, however, it having the proletariat within its folds. The officials of the S. P. were certainly alarmed at the Bolsheviki, and took pains to say so. It is completely out of current with the masses; a sort of a god on Mount Olympus, having absolutely no roots in the daily social and economic life of the workers—the class struggle. The Soviet is an industrial organization, controlling the social and economic destiny of the workers, on the job and away from the factory, mine, field or workshop. It is the fruition of

Engels' dictum that the administration of things must supplant that of men. It is the crystallization of immortal Hugo's prophecy that "The political tribune must be supplanted by the scientific." It is precisely what the I. W. W. has been advocating right along, and for which some 90 men are today living the life of death, in a prison, among whom there are the most brilliant men the labor movement of America has ever had. Most decidedly then, the S. P. member as such, is not a Bolshevik, whatever his pretensions may be.

But the "Left Wingers" are with their "Mass Action" and "Socialist Industrial Unionism"? Not at all. This "Socialist" union is only a phrase. That's all. It does not exist in fact. It is only in the minds of intellectuals, who are certainly worthy of better work, if only they look at the American labor movement from the viewpoint of American history, growth and industry. The constant importation of European phraseology may be a fascinating thing to do, but when imposed upon a movement which has origins, traditions and developing conditions different from that of Europe, then, may we suggest, the new phrases remain phrases, and the I. W. W. continues its work of deeds, because it is planted in the proletarian soil of America. Strange that the high priests of the East can't grasp this significant fact. Perhaps it is only too true, what Harold Varney has somewhere written, that Fraina and his group smell more of the oil of the midnight lamp, than they do of the machine. That is to say, they forget that Marx taught that revolutions are the outcome of economic conditions, rather than the result of economic or political theory.

The Russians were in a psychological revolt against existing conditions, prior to the war. The war gave them their arms, their modus operandi.

The American proletariat was not in any kind of a rebellion before the war. He is only now commencing to stir a little. Therefore, an endeavor to transplant onto our soil a set of tactics which were the result of a given historical crisis in the political life of Russia, is anything but Marxian, and, to say the least, perfectly stupid. It certainly won't apply, however well and skillful the phrasemongers may write about it, to their own intellectual gratification, while ignoring the revolutionary machinery already constructed here; the machine that has drawn the fire of the entire capitalist onslaught. May we ask here of the budding intellectuals of the East, has this persecution of the I. W. W., only matched by the Russian revolutionary movement, been the consequence of it not being revolutionary?

The Soviet is an Industrial Democracy predicated upon the organization of labor in industry, without which an Industrial Democracy is unthinkable. The politics of the Soviet spring from the needs of the

workers in industry, by whom they are directly and immediately controlled. Just as the ripened cornstalk is the fruit of the seed planted in spring time, from which it grew, so too, the political action of the Soviet, both domestic and foreign, is rooted in the economic organizations of Russia. No amount of sophistry can argue this fact out of existence.

The I. W. W. is also, in embryo, an Industrial Democracy. It contains the identical potentialities of the Soviet. Its political action is also founded in the sphere of industry. To say, however, that the I. W. W. is not a political organization, when it sets out to attain a new body politic, is to read its preamble in the manner of the ostrich, with its head in the sand. The capitalist class realizes full

well the political significance of the I. W. W., even if some would-be Moses' of the working class in the East don't.

The real clash for power in this country is not between the intellectuals, representing organizations that have long since died of dry rot, but between the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. Moreover, the A. F. of L., with all of its reaction, is, potentially, more revolutionary than the intellectual groups who stand outside of the industrial trenches and contribute to the fight a mass of cumbersome phraseology. We are not here lambasting the intellectual as such. What we desire is that they come out from under their camouflage, and face the facts of the American labor movement. The I. W. W. is the American Soviet.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE BABUSHKA

BABUSHKA BRESHKOWSKA is one of the noblest figures in the history of the Russian revolution. She has been persecuted, prosecuted and exiled to Siberia for her convictions; she has been languishing in prison the greatest portion of her life for the revolutionary views and ideas she professed. A remarkable personality. And yet we find the former idealist and fighter for freedom aligned at present, in this country, with a counter-revolutionary clique who are out to besmirch the Bolshevik regime and restore the splendors of old Czarism under a cloak of a republican form of a monarchy. In their savage battle against Bolshevism they stoop to the most contemptible, despicable methods. All means justify their ends. And with such a reactionary gang our old, brave Babushka is cooperating? What happened to our fiery revolutionist? She pleads for American intervention in Russia, but hates to see the English or French armies invade Russia. She has overconfidence in the American plutocrats. Poor, naive Babushka!—She has forgotten the most hideous crimes against civilization perpetrated upon the working class by the exploiters in Colorado, Butte, Bayonne, etc.; she seems to be oblivious to, or ignorant of the most inhuman exploitation and degradation to which the American worker is subjected in mills, mines and factories. To have confidence in the American capitalist class is the most preposterous absurdity. The American exploiters are the most dangerous class to the happiness of future generations; the world's peace will not once be disturbed by the machinations and chicaneries of American imperialism, and yet our brave Breshkowska is aligned with such a group of exploiters and profiteers.

I would advise our old Babushka to re-read some chapters of recent history, and learn the effects of foreign intervention before advocating such a dangerous move into her own country.

Turn your eyes to the French revolution. The remarkable achievements of a rising, oppressed stratum of society has been mercilessly and ruthlessly crushed under the heels of invading armies—

invited by the Bourgeoisie of France. The aspirations of the Finnish proletariat has been throttled by the rattling guns of the bloodthirsty junkers—invited by the Bourgeoisie of Finland. The passionate yearnings for freedom and liberty of the multitude of Ukrainian peasantry have been stilled, temporarily to be sure, by the invading savage hordes of German militarism—invited by the Bourgeoisie and land-bureaucrats of Ukrainia. At whose bidding is the American invasion to take place? Is Babushka really so deluded and bamboozled as to believe that the masses of Russia are desirous of foreign invasion? Is she really so hopeless about the Russian worker and peasant that foreign help is needed to help him solve his destiny?

Yes, the Babushka is playing her last tragic role. A beautiful career is being besmirched by a blemished, final chapter. At the final stage of the Russian Revolution, when the proletariat has at last succeeded, after such priceless sacrifices and suffering, in starting to build up industrial democracy, we find our Babushka instead of co-operating with the forces of democracy, joining hands with the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, we find her associating with a clique whose wish is to see Czarism restored in Russia.

How can we account for this pathological metamorphosis in the views of Babushka? The truth of the matter is that great and profound as her sacrifices were, they were never motivated by genuine proletarian impulses. Great as Babushka's contributions were towards the success of the Russian Revolution, they were nevertheless prompted by feelings and emotions of a radical-bourgeois nature; her sympathies were with the rising middle Bourgeoisie and with the so-called intellectuals of Russia, the intelligensia. The aspirations of the lower strata of society, the proletariat and the poor peasantry, were unknown to her, and consequently, her change of front is quite explicable, in view of the fact that the aspirations and visions of her class are being exterminated by the proletarian regime of Russia.—By Michael Altschuler.

The Three Mushyteers

By COVINGTON AMI.

I take the following clipping from an article, "Our Shield Against Bolshevism," by Samuel Gompers in McClure's for April:

"If I thought that Bolshevism was the right road to go, that it meant freedom, justice and the principles of humane society and living conditions, I would join the Bolsheviki. **It is because I know that the whole scheme leads to nowhere, that it is destructive in its efforts and in its every activity, that it compels reaction and brings about a situation worse than the one it has undertaken to displace, that I oppose and fight it.**

"The American labor movement is founded upon the historic development of conditions of industry and commerce in our country, based upon the ideas and the ideals of American institutions; it is a movement that is rational, natural, orderly and yet insistent that the rights to which the workers are entitled shall be fully accorded.

"The American labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor and our trade unions is this:

"We believe in progress; we believe that all the fruits and the results of the genius of past ages and of today do not belong to any particular class, that they belong in truth as a fair share, and opportunity for a fair share, to every man and woman who gives service to society and who aids civilization.

"If Society stands like a stone wall against that concept, as a united body against that presentation of thought and ideas, no one knows with what we may have to contend later."

This was preceded and followed by reams of mushy adulation of the "American Labor Movement," or, in plain American, by that tingodization of self which so distinguishes all the utterances of Samuel the Second.

As to the facts—the Soviet Republic of Russia has held its own for over two years now, and this though ringed with bayonets, beset by war, open and secret, haunted by hunger and clothed in rags. Nowhere at any time or place in human history has any people made a more marvelous fight for freedom and self-government than that which the Russian people are today maintaining against all comers. Candor compels honest men, whether or not they agree with them, to acknowledge that their struggle has been unsurpassed and even borders on the miraculous, but the performance of miracles has ever been, by the Gompers', considered the "work of Beelzebub." However that may be, the very endurance of the Soviet Republic—the **Republic of Producers**—bears witness that it **does not** "lead to nowhere," is **not** "destructive in its efforts and in its every activity," etc., etc., and for the good and simple reason that, despite all opposition, it **endures and grows.**

Second, "The American Labor Movement" (by which he means craft unionism) is **not** "founded upon the historic development of conditions of industry and commerce in our country"—it is an **importation from England and Germany**—for history will show that every spontaneous effort made by the American workers to organize was made on

industrial, and not on craft, lines, as witness the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Industrial Workers of the World; at no time in their history have the masses of the American workers been other than **industrialists**, and for the good and sufficient reason that the development of this country has **always** been a **development of industry**, and, hence, craft unionism, with its squalid ideas and ideals, has been an abortion here.

But, third and last: if the American labor movement really stands for what he says it does, will Mr. Gompers please tell us how its ideals can be achieved this side of a classless world?

"If Society stands like a stone wall," other like and everlastingly-repeated threats are of no avail in helping men to solve the gigantic problems with which the suicide of capitalism will entail.

That craft unionism has done anything beyond ameliorating the worst barbarisms of capitalism; that it has **solved** a single social problem, is denied by this extract, taken from an article by **Newell Dwight Hillis**, "Repopulating the Earth," also in McClure's for April:

"The repopulation of England is further complicated by climatic conditions. Every European visitor who has traveled through the United States has commented upon the stature of men and women in our factory towns as opposed to the factory classes in Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Leeds. The Blue Book Reports of the British Parliament have stressed the number of British working men with dwarfed physique. Investigation shows an abnormal number of young men whose optic nerve was so imperfect they could not see the sights of a rifle; whose auditory nerve was weak; whose vital force was not sufficient to develop enamel upon the teeth; whose heart action was feeble and whose respiration was sub-normal. British students find the explanation in dark tenements, insufficient food, want of playgrounds where boys and girls could exercise and build their bodies, in child-labor, in pregnant women who worked up to within a month of their confinement. The physique of the British factory operator has suffered serious injury. But there is also an underlying source that is climatic. Provided the Britisher lives much in the open air, hunts, rides, golfs, shoots and tramps, he can maintain a high average of strength despite what Americans call a deficiency of oxygen in the air incident to an island that breeds fogs and is wrapped in mist and rain."

This, too, was preceded and followed by a sloppy adulation of British imperialism that would make any English democrat puke with disgust; but, nonetheless, it **proves the falsity** of Mr. Gompers' claims and assertions as to his ever-betterment of the condition of the workers under and in the wage system—a system that pre-dooms the worker while yet in the womb to fear and hunger.

It is a **social condition**, and not a nebulous ideal, which the working class is facing today, and it cannot be solved with fine phrases and rolling sentences any more than it can be remedied with prisons and deportations.

Damn a man who damns his own class while such threats as this are being issued against it:

"There must be no equivocation, no evasion, no

mildness. Deportation or incarceration for one and all. Mildness breeds contempt with these people; kindness only encourages continued agitation. Iron-handed justice and not pity is the remedy. They who are with us I would foster and care for; those against us I would remove from American society forever.

"This is the land of freedom, but not the land of license and lawlessness. This is the land of opportunity and promise, but it is not, and never shall be, the refuge of anarchists and criminals.

"Let us clean house; let us clean house now!"

"A government that will not defend itself cannot stand. Let us not hesitate to shed blood if necessary. Let us be real men and not eunuchs. Either we destroy these vermin now or the time may come when they will destroy us. All who are for this Government are my friends; all who are against this Government are my enemies. As to the first, God bless them; as to the last, to hell with them."

Thus speaks the "hero" Ole Hanson, also in McClure's for April; and, although, my people were among the first whites to land on the American continent and his among the last, I say: "God bless him!" for we, at least, know where he stands and "where we get off"; and I say this though I object to him and other like old, simon pure and super-Americans claiming as their private property our government, flag, army, navy and country, and I object because my people were at Valley Forge and his were not.

However that may be, what I want to know is where the Prophet Samuel stands in all this wholesale "outlawing" of union men (for it is to members of the A. F. of L. that the "hero" Ole is talking)—where—with the outlaws or the superlaws?

Further, if this local general strike in Seattle is a "rebellion against the government," a "revolution," what, then, is the legal status of any other strike? For this strike in Seattle was not the first local general strike in this country—the first strike of this kind occurred in the City of New Orleans, La., along about 1886, and the entire city was shut down for ten days or more; even the Typographical Union went out, and that was "going some."

In his New York speech immediately following his fight with the Republican members of the United States Senate, President Wilson made this statement:

"If you really believe that wars ought to be stopped, stop thinking about the rival interests of nations and think about men and women and children throughout the world."

Follow this advice a little while, ye wise men who rule the State, the Union and the Church, and history will record your names among the Great Emancipators instead of among the Great Fools who crucified thinkers in order to kill new ideas—think it if, like Debs and Haywood, you get ten and twenty years for the thinking thereof! THINK! For the old order is gone, gone forever, and: "You cannot enter the future's portals with the past's bloodrusted key."

The workers know how to make things they need, but they haven't yet learned how to prevent others from taking the things they make.

A Little Journey to Leavenworth

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

(In the Call Magazine.)

HAPPENING to be in Kansas City on the anniversary of the birth of the man who distinguished himself many years ago by declaring that "no nation can long exist half slave and half free," and who on the battlefield of Gettysburg during the Civil War expressed the hope that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth," it seemed to me that I could not better celebrate the day than by visiting one of the chief points in America where the present administration is doing its best to "make the world safe for democracy." So I took an interurban car for that great symbol of our present-day civilization, Leavenworth, Kansas.

If there is any other place on the western continent that can show such versatility in just simply forcing people to love and revere the institutions of this land of the free and the home of the brave as Leavenworth does, well, I don't want to see it. Leavenworth fairly reeks with jails and prisons and penitentiaries. Not being well posted on the subject, I stumbled into the Kansas state penitentiary. When I mentioned the fact that I had come to visit some I. W. W. friends of mine, the warden—who is in the neighborhood of 10 feet high—informed me that the place I was looking for was farther on. He was a hospitable chap, though, and at his invitation I sat down to prison fare. The bread was all right, but I shall have to report these people for the enormous waste of pepper in their dietry. The pepper bill of the State of Kansas must be enormous.

At last I found myself at the gates of the Federal penitentiary, and soon was in the office of the deputy warden. He has found that since the I. W. W. boys have come there the place has become a regular mecca. So popular has it become to visitors that, in order to leave a little time for other duties, he has been obliged to limit the visitor to only one prisoner. I had wanted to see George and many more, but, since I could only see one, I selected Big Bill Haywood, and in a few minutes I was shaking his hand, and, on opposite sides of the table, we talked for fully an hour—an extremely short hour; at that. While waiting for Haywood to come, I chatted with a guard, whom I found to be a Socialist. He spotted me at once, probably on account of my "How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society."

As in the case of Emma Goldman, whom I had visited at Jefferson City the day before, I had expected to enlighten Haywood about what was going on outside. Instead, he was the boy who did all the enlightening. Some enlightener, he is, and so are all the other I. W. W., as is well known. In fact, I should say one of the best ways of Bolshevizing our prisons and penitentiaries would be to board some of the I. W. W. for a while. If anything

escapes a knowledge of the deep-reaching, clear-cut principles of this movement, it will not be the fault of the disciples of it.

I suppose most people think that the walls of Leavenworth Federal penitentiary, and the authorities which those walls well symbolize, really represent an order of things which stands secure, while these workers, sentenced for terms of from one to twenty years, represent merely a passing resistance to authority. What they overlook is history, sociology, economics, the labor movement, the stars in their courses and a few little things like these. Indeed, these Burlesonian and Gregorian defenders of a social order absolutely and solely dependent on guns and prisons and suppression of every vestige of freedom, in criticism seem, curiously enough, never to have heard of the Czar of Russia, the Kaiser of Germany, and the elaborate system of espionage and military force which these former friends of our government conducted so long. Some one should write a letter to Mr. Burleson and to other officials of this administration, and tell them that the Czar, to whom we so long accredited Ambassadors, and the Kaiser, whom we hailed with such acclaim as the great bulwark of peace on earth, are no longer doing business at the old stand. Why should it be supposed that any business can be done by less experienced hands at that same old stand?

No, the human being with a twentieth century mind does not live who does not know that there is no future for the people of America who pin their faith in jails, prisons, pens, deportation, and the like. The place for all people who think that anything can be made permanent on that plan is with Hohenzollern, or Hapsburg, or Romanoff. The most cheerful people in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth are the I. W. W. In fact, I presume they are the only ones there who are cheerful. Because they are the only ones there who possess modern minds. They know their principles are right, just as Galileo knew his ideas were sound, even when bat-eyed priests were telling him that to see planets and stars through his telescope one would have to create them. People who are unwilling to see stars through a telescope have sometimes had to see them from the impact of a club.

Free Speech, Free Press and Amnesty

IF under free, open discussion the majority of the people in this country want something they ought to have it. If the world cannot stand up against "Bolshevism" and meet it by free speech and a free press, then "Bolshevism" has a right to rule. It would then be time to try it out and see if it can succeed.

To smother any opinion is at once a confession that it may be true and that it cannot be met by open discussion and fair argument. Our institutions have cost too much to permit them to be

destroyed on account of the war. It will not do to make a war fought for democracy result in autocracy. There can be no danger from this if the question is understood and the people act promptly to repeal war legislation when the war is done.

If it is right to repeal war legislation, it is also equally just and pressing that a general amnesty should be given to all of those who are now suffering under this sort of legislation. Everyone knows that large numbers of these men are conscientious and it is intolerable to think that men are in jail on account of their conscience, when there is no longer need that they should stay.

The labor unions did their part in this war. Without them it would not have been possible to bring the United States Government to that solid support that made victory possible. As they were patriotic in times of war, it is equally certain they will be patriotic in times of peace, and from the nature of things they are the ones who first of all should demand the repeal of this legislation and that amnesty be given to all these prisoners.—Clarence Darrow.

A Sample of Pogrom Propaganda Against Us

THE following is a copy of a full page advertisement in the Pittsburg Leader of March 3, 1919.

It is unsigned, so we do not know what particular organization has paid for it. But, then, Pittsburg is a steel trust town, and its papers are controlled by the trust.—Naturally we I. W. W.'s are included among the "Bolsheviks."

"Bolshevism is Treason.

Bolshevism is treason. It is the deadly purpose of the Bolsheviks to destroy the American republic.

Bolshevism represents the economic ideas of the tramp. The disciples of Lenin and Trotsky know that their appeal is chiefly to the shiftless, the untrained, the unskilled, the ignorant and the incompetent, to men who hate work and envy honest workers.

Bolshevism would take away your home, place your children under the care of the state, place your wife in the community of women, take away your job, destroy the American government, and wipe out every sound American institution.

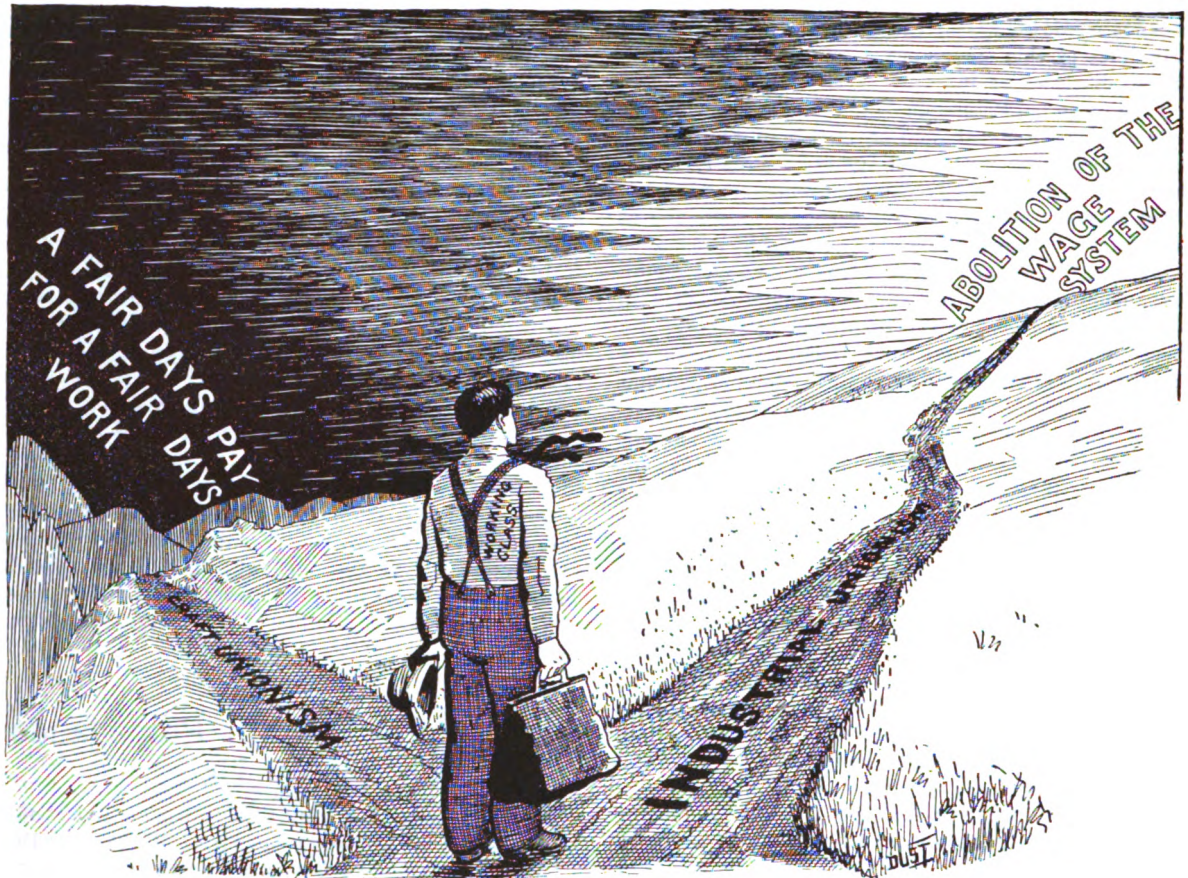
Bolshevism is anarchy.

It cannot stand the light of the day. It shrinks from the pitiless spotlight of publicity. It dare not show itself for what it is.

The way to destroy Bolshevism is to advertise it, to show just exactly what it is.

One of Germany's greatest crimes was the financing of Lenin and Trotsky, sending them to Russia to turn loose the unspeakable horror of anarchy.

Bolshevism is treason. Stamp it out!"



At the Parting of the Ways

By JACK GAVEEL.

THIS is the third issue of the One Big Union Monthly. The average workingman after having read it will no doubt be done with it as far as giving it any further thought is concerned. To him the magazine is just an I. W. W. magazine, containing good educational matter it is true but, after its pages have parted with their information, having no significance to him beyond the amount of paper and ink spent on it. To him the deeper meaning which underlies and antedates the written page, nay, which is its very cause and essence, is lost.

The One Big Union Monthly is more than just simply an I. W. W. magazine. From its every page there stare at you the agonies and sufferings of the working class and in it there comes to expression and life the revolutionary psychology of that class, which is a result of those agonies and sufferings. You pick this magazine up and bury yourself among its many ideas, and there strikes you the breath of revolution whispering to you of hidden, unfathomable forces, forces engendered and nursed in the Hell of Capitalism.

In the One Big Union Monthly we not only behold the Revolutionary Movement of the Proletar-

iat but above all the ever more determined, ever more increasing tendency of that movement to progress, in spite of all obstacles flung in its way, undauntedly towards the ultimate goal, which is the establishment of a working-class democracy in every country on the globe. The days are gone by when people considered as dreamers those who would talk about a time when there would be no longer any capitalists. Phrases such as: The Capitalist Class, The Working Class, The Class Struggle, The Proletarian Revolution, Industrial Democracy, at one time not understood or else considered empty catchwords used by irresponsible agitators to ensnare the ignorant mob in their fanatic schemes against the well-established God-ordained order of respectable society, have now become part of the every day vocabulary. The revolutionary movement of the workingclass, which until not so very long ago to many people only meant so many dead letters, is now becoming a living reality and a most terrible reality to all those who as parasites live on the backs of the working class.

No longer do we have to refer people to intricate scientific works hard of comprehension every time we are asked for the proof of our assertions that

capitalist governments must go and that in their place must step a government of, by, and for the working class. From now on Russia stands as our living proof, and so will all other countries that hereafter must do what Russia did. How long it will take the proletarian revolution to clean house in the other countries in the world we do not know, neither do we care. No revolution is staged on a predetermined date by a handful of people, but is the outgrowth of an economic development which, by putting in the hands of a few bloody tyrants the power to decide the fate and the destinies of the masses, at last inspires the crushed and downtrodden millions with a spirit of revolt against their oppressors so deepseated, so indestructible that all efforts to crush it but augment its surging tide, which in the end engulfs the world in a revolution sweeping away all opposition to the march of Liberty.

There is not a country in the world in which hereafter it will be possible for capitalism to perpetuate itself, and that is all we care for. True, many times it takes an oppressed slave class a considerable time to come into their own and oftentimes it appears to the casual, uninformed observer that the workers have gone to sleep. However, let us not forget here that a working class as a whole will move for a long time in the same old rut dug by tradition and habit without seemingly taking any more notice of their environment than a mule would of a book written by a Herbert Spencer. From this, results the false idea that the workers are indolent, indifferent, stupid, in fact incapable of any great and stirring actions. This has always been the idea of every ruling class that ever existed in regard to those that it crushed under the weight of its Iron Heel. This is exactly what the Czar thought of his Russian workers until most unexpectedly they arose in their might and astonished the whole world by the swift and accurate action they took when they swept all tyranny in Russia out of existence.

How do we account for the fact, however, that generally the working class does not seem to take any interest in political affairs and moves along in the same old rut. Not certainly because of any inferiority mentally or physically on the part of the workers. There is no essential difference between workers and capitalists or other peoples. A worker is flesh and blood, possesses a set of organs, feels, thinks and acts the same as all other human beings. Therefore it is not in any organic difference but the necessity under which workers continuously find themselves to devote all their time to their masters' jobs that we must expect to find a solution of the fact that as a rule the proletarians do not seem to take any interest at all in what is going on around them outside of their most immediate environment. This necessity leaves them no time to enlighten themselves beyond the most rudimentary knowledge of things. Does this mean, however, that the workers do not suffer from the injustices done them or from the pains inflicted

upon them by a system of production which enriches the few at the expense of the many? Nay, does it not far sooner follow from this that at any time they are given a chance to right their wrongs they will do so and will do it swiftly and efficiently, imitating the workers of Russia?

A workingman is a product of his environment, and as such his mind is occupied with a job most of the time, because under this system to be allowed to work and kill yourself on a job belonging to somebody else is equivalent, as far as the worker is concerned, to solving the problem of how to make a living. That is how it is that all organizations and movements which, instead of holding out the material temptation of a job, offer to the working class nothing else but empty philosophy, never made and never will make any headway. The minute, however, there appears on the battlefield the Organization or Movement which holds the power to give to the working class their jobs, the same as that power is now held by the capitalist class, then the working class, realizing that capitalism has run its course and is being replaced by a working class government and administration of things, will rally to the support of the new organization because it only is identical with their interests in so far as it only has got the power to give them a job. Such an organization are the Industrial Workers of the World. It believes in action, not in philosophy, and herein lies the difference between IT and organizations like the Socialist Party, which only know how to philosophize.

As said before, the masses of the workers will act if brought into contact with suitable conditions. Some people here, no doubt, will point their finger at the United States and tell us that in this country the working class is not making any considerable headway in comparison with the workers in Europe. In fact, it has often been said that the American working class lacks the fighting spirit which characterizes the European proletariat. But do they? Can anybody show us a country in the world where the revolutionary working class, ever since the European war started has been hounded and persecuted so much, where there are so many workers languishing in the jails and hell-holes of Capitalism as in the United States? True, the American proletarians have so far not succeeded yet in shattering and shaking off the fetters of their slavery. Instead, however, of ascribing this phenomenon to a lack of revolutionary fire on the part of the working class of this country let us use our heads and judge it in its real relations to America's geographical isolation and to other facts of which the following are only a few examples.

1st. The United States, comparatively speaking, is only a young nation in which the capitalist system of production and distribution has not had the required amount of time yet, as in older countries, necessary to impress upon the minds of the people the fact of its utter destructiveness and uselessness.

- 2nd. The idea that in this country there is an opportunity for everybody, an idea which originated in colonial days when capitalism had not monopolized the national wealth yet, and when at the same time there was still plenty of free land to be had, still permeates the masses of the American people to their own detriment.
- 3rd. The idea born of the many revolutionary struggles that this nation has carried on in the course of its history, namely, that this is the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Only therefore, by considering this peculiarity of the American working class in its true relations, do we arrive at a correct interpretation of it and the outcome of our investigations is, as already shown by the above facts, that, if the American workers do not occupy the same prominent position as the workers of Europe, this is not on account of any lack of revolutionary spirit but rather due to conditions over which they have no control; and in this connection let it not be forgotten that another contributing factor to the psychology characteristic of the American workers is the fact that in this country capitalism is more developed, more powerful and therefore better able to crush the workers down than in any other country on earth.

The toiling millions of America's proletariat do not have to back up before Europe when it comes to a question of revolutionary spirit. On the contrary it seems to us that the idea of Liberty is deeper seated and holds a greater sway over the minds of the workers here in America than anywhere else in the world because, as already said, the United States is the country of revolutions par excellence. True, this psychology of the American workers is now being exploited for all it is worth by a clique of tyrannical, blood-thirsty parasites in their endeavors to make the world safe for Autocracy. However, it only takes the occurrence of some great and stirring event, such as for instance, the European war and its outcome, throwing a bright illumination on the fraud perpetrated on the working class by the master class, to thoroughly awaken this spirit of liberty always slumbering deep within the breasts of the American people and fan it into the flames of an all-consuming fire, burning to a cinder everything that stands for capitalism.

Will anybody tell us what the American soldiers will think when, upon coming back after fighting for Democracy, they not only find that if they want to go back to work on their old jobs, they can only do so if they are willing to work for about half as much as they got before they were called away, but also that it is impossible for them to get a job? Will they not on account of that identify themselves with the Bolsheviks, whom they have had plenty opportunity to become acquainted with and who they know established a working-class government in Russia because the capitalist government of the Czar failed to give them jobs and allowed them to starve? There lies a deep significance in this fact, and it is up to The Industrial

Workers of the World as the most revolutionary organization in this country to monopolize this sentiment to the end of still further building up its organization, thereby adding one more to its long list of victories, thus once more confirming the reputation it has of always forcing ahead in spite of all persecution, a reputation which, as we showed in the beginning of this article, has been so forcefully confirmed by the fact of the publication of the new I. W. W. magazine—the One Big Union Monthly.

Good News from Gotham

THE New York organization of the I. W. W. now comprises an imposing array of unions, including industrial unions for metal and machinery, transport, construction and textile workers, besides the recruiting unions in Manhattan and Brooklyn, with a third just organized in the Bronx. In addition, the New York fellow workers publish "The Rebel Worker," with a circulation of 12,000 copies twice a month, and a Jewish monthly, "The Class Struggle."

But the membership of the I. W. W. in Gotham is not content with this showing, notwithstanding the remarkable progress it indicates. Like Oliver Twist, they want "more"—considerably more. So they have launched a "Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.," to include all employees of printing and publishing establishments, whether job, newspaper or periodical. Temporary officers have been elected, and committees on meetings, publicity, literature, etc., are at work.

Ways and means of recruiting members are being discussed, with job agitation the favorite plan.

The issuing of a monthly bulletin is also being considered.

Printing and publishing house employees all over the country are urged to join the new union, which is the first of its kind in the I. W. W. Send in your membership fees (\$2.00) and dues (50 cents per month), fellow workers, and get job delegate credentials and literature, so that you can help line up this industry in the One Big Union.

For further information address Secretary, Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W., 27 East Fourth St., New York.

We believe in "making the world safe for democracy"—in the shop, mill, factory and mine. Not until the vast majority of the population—the workers—rule in industry, transportation and finance, will the world be safe from imperialism of all kinds.

We believe in internationalism, founded on an industrial union of the world's workers, just as capitalist internationalism is founded on the financial union of the world's capitalists. We believe—but then "works are more important than beliefs." Join the one big union—the I. W. W.

An Open Letter to President Wilson

Leavenworth Penitentiary,
March, 1919.

Woodrow Wilson, President.

Sir:

This open letter is addressed to you, and to all lovers of freedom, that your attention may be called to a condition which is making a mockery of justice.

The undersigned are the ninety-three men who were sentenced after the I. W. W. trial at Chicago, on August 30, 1918, to a total of 788 years imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$2,788,000. Also a number of the men sentenced at Sacramento on January 17, 1919.

Since the early part of 1917 the I. W. W. has been subjected to a persecution without parallel. Headquarters, offices, and even homes of members, were raided; our letter-files, records and office equipment seized, and members arrested by the hundreds.

Our defense was hampered by raids upon our offices. The Post-Office Department stopped our papers; thousands of letters, many of them registered, dealing solely with our legal defense, were seized; hundreds of letters were delivered six months to a year after mailing.

Furthermore, during the Chicago trial many of our witnesses were intimidated by detectives and Army Intelligence Department officers. These facts, established in open court, are undeniable.

Connected with all this prosecution and persecution, legal and extra-legal, is the press campaign carried on against the I. W. W., with the approval and co-operation of the Department of Justice. Who directs this press campaign? Is it the "Creel Bureau"? This question must be answered, for the working of this sinister "poison pen" agency has made trial by jury a hideous travesty of justice.

The more important phases of this campaign are:

First, the "press agent" stories of the evidence seized in raids. Government officials stated that there was absolute proof that the I. W. W. was financed by "German gold"—that the I. W. W. was "pro-German." (Note: No evidence of pro-German influence or "German gold" was shown at the trial.) A reading of the files of the Chicago dailies during the period between the arrests and the trial will show the "German gold" story, with variations; pro-German plots, the setting afire of all the forests and wheat fields in the country, dynamiting, poisoning of wells, cattle, etc. (Note: No proof of any of these charges at the trial; but it was shown that the I. W. W.'s harvested the wheat crop of the country, and that thousands of them risked their lives in fighting forest fires.)

Then came a series of stories of "attempted jail deliveries" from Cook County jail; of explosions in the jail; the "Girl in Red" story; the "Dynamite Girl" story—pages of matter, all having one feature in common: official assurance of proof connect-

ing the I. W. W. with these plots. All this, previous to our trial.

We contend that the result of this misrepresentation made a fair trial impossible. (Note: About the end of the trial Head Jailer Davis in a statement in the Chicago "Daily News," said that the I. W. W. had made no trouble at all; that they were, in fact, model prisoners.)

After conviction, and while our attorneys were trying to have bonds set for us, pending appeal, came the explosion at the Federal Building in Chicago. This outrage was immediately charged to the I. W. W., by various officials. Members of the I. W. W. were arrested and held for months. All of them have been released, without trial or charge. There was absolutely no evidence to connect the I. W. W. with the explosion. This story, however, served its purpose. It made it impossible for us to have bonds set.

All this has strengthened the belief that there is no justice in the courts for the workers. The "Silent Defense" of forty-three of the defendants in the I. W. W. case at Sacramento is a direct result of this belief. Facing the heavy penalties of the Espionage Act, they refused to take any part in the trial. After trial with no legal defense, these men were sentenced to an aggregate of 295 years imprisonment. The "Silent Defense" of the Sacramento members is both a challenge and a blazing question mark.

On March 12, thirty-five I. W. W.'s are to go to trial at Wichita, Kansas—and a sinister campaign is under full headway. The familiar plots are being rehearsed again. Revolvers are "found" in Hayward's locker in the Federal Penitentiary, and the Kansas press carried scare-head stories about the plot for a jail delivery.

Next, the story that stores of explosives were secreted in various places in Kansas by the I. W. W. Again, that the I. W. W.'s jailed in Wichita, Kansas, were transferred to other jails to prevent a jail delivery. And the very latest is, "the plot of the I. W. W.'s in the Leavenworth Penitentiary to assassinate President Wilson."

Lies! All lies! But we ask, what chance is there for these thirty-five men to get a fair trial, when the prospective jurors read this stuff in their papers, week after week—especially when the stories are accredited to agents of the Department of Justice? We ask, is a fair trial possible?

Is this propaganda against the I. W. W. a part of the work of the Bureau of Public Information? We submit that this question should be answered.

This Bureau of Public Information has demonstrated that it can control the news policy of the press; and Burleson has amply demonstrated that the liberal press of the United States can be directed, coerced or suppressed. Cannot that same agency curb lying statements of the press, sufficiently to assure workers a fair trial?

And so we ask: Has this campaign, which can be credited with the conviction of a great number of innocent workingmen—plus the effectual crushing of their belief in justice in our courts—the sanction and approval of your administration?

I. W. W. Prisoners at Leavenworth Penitentiary.

The Shop Stewards and the I. W. W.

THE "Public" gives an analysis of the labor movement in Great Britain that will help elucidate labor organization here. It says:

"There are really two labor movements in Great Britain. One is the ordinary craft unionism very closely parallel to American Trade Unionism; the other is the Shop Steward Movement. And it is not an unconscious thing for the British workers to come within the scope of both movements. Sometimes the two pull together; sometimes they are in conflict.

"The craft unions are nationally organized like our own, and all men are organized by trades into large national Societies. The Shop Stewards are individuals of committees who represent the workers of all trades in individual shops or plants. Sometimes they are merely representatives of the various unions. At other times they represent the workers directly and are directly elected. They frequently represent all the workers in a shop, whether members of a union or not. Occasionally, conflict is avoided by requiring the shop steward to be a member of some union.

This description of the British Shop Steward's movement sounds like a description of I. W. W. evolution. It is an application of I. W. W. principles that the shop steward's movement exhibits.

The I. W. W. was the first labor organization in this country—and perhaps the world—to sound the slogan "Organize on the job (for your own improvement and emancipation) just as you work on the job for your bosses' profits." This was in the Brooklyn shoe workers' strike in 1911. Then shop organization was promoted, regardless of craft, and committees representative of all crafts were elected. In the Paterson Silk Strike, 6 years ago, this system of shop organization and committees was developed still more. The final expression was heard in the Northwestern lumberjacks' "Organization of the job, on the job," and the development of the job delegate system.

As in Great Britain, many workers come within the scope of the I. W. W., as well as the craft unions. In fact, the I. W. W. has at all times been most representative of the working class. In the great Lawrence and other strikes which it dominated, it has allowed craft union representation on the committees and encouraged the unorganized in every way possible.

Solidarity has always been the I. W. W. aim. For this it is hated.

Going After the I. W. W.

THE Senate Committee on propaganda is going to deal a deathblow to the I. W. W. in the near future. This is what Senator Overman from North Carolina has to say about the proposed legislation:

Since the signing of the armistice, the agitation against the existing social order has increased in violence and in volume, and the Espionage Law enacted for the period of the war must be immediately replaced on the statute books with such legislation as Congress may deem necessary to meet the peril. His committee, the Senator said, would recommend action by Congress as soon as possible along several distinct lines.

Legislation Recommended.

1. Legislation must be framed by the judiciary committee for the purpose of preventing the circulation of seditious literature urging the overthrow of the government by force and advocating class war in the United States. The time has come, he said, when a clear-cut distinction must be made between liberty and license. Freedom of the press, he asserted, is as much at stake as is the freedom of the individual and the safety and security of life and property.

2. The existing laws must be immediately amended to prevent the coming into the United States of foreign-born agitators whose mission is to preach social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time steps must be taken to rid the country of the alien whose only aim is to promote unrest. The evidence before the committee clearly shows that it is from these two classes that the American Bolsheviki, the I. W. W., are recruited.

3. The foreign-language press, the committee is convinced, is now, as was the case with German propaganda, the most sinister and fruitful agency in promoting unrest and advocating revolution and force to put control of the government and the people in the hands of the so-called proletariat. Chairman Overman indicated that he would recommend in his report that newspapers and publications of this character printed only in a foreign language be suppressed.

4. The people of the United States must be made to realize that Bolshevism, as much as German militarism, is a challenge to Americanism and all the social, political, moral and religious concepts implied in that term. "We must bring home to the people," said Senator Overman, "the truth that a compromise with Bolshevism is to barter away our inheritance."

Evidence of Conspiracy.

The evidence that an organized conspiracy to substitute a dictatorship based on force for a constitution and government based on legal, moral and religious sanction is overwhelming.

What Senator Overman does not know about the I. W. W. would fill volumes.

A Manifesto On Deportation

**New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W.,
27 East Fourth St., New York.**

The New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W. has prepared a

MANIFESTO ON DEPORTATION, size 14x21 inches, to be posted in union headquarters, meeting halls, shops and wherever working men and women congregate. This manifesto, which bears a striking cartoon, exposes the Capitalist-A. F. of L. plan for getting rid of foreign-born workers with radical opinions, and calls on the workers to organize their economic power in industrial unions and use it to resist the schemes of the master class and their allies—the Gompers gang of labor politicians.

Individuals and organizations are urged to spread this manifesto at once all over the United States, in order to help the campaign in behalf of the hundreds of fellow workers being held in the deportation pens of Seattle, Spokane, Gloucester City, N. J., Boston, Ellis Island and elsewhere.

The manifesto will be supplied in any quantity desired at cost, \$6.00 per thousand. Address orders to N. Y. Defense Committee, 27 East Fourth St., New York City, N. Y.

DEPORTATION

**A Menace to the American Labor Movement.
By Frederick A. Blossom.**

The labor movement in this country is facing a most serious peril. In league with a reactionary gang of trade union officials, the capitalist government of the United States is proceeding with a plan to strip the movement of a great part of its progressive element and reduce the workers, as far as possible, to the condition of COWED, SUBMISSIVE SLAVES.

Under an amendment to the immigration laws passed last October at the request of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, representing the American Federation of Labor in the present cabinet, the U. S. government is deporting hundreds of foreign-born workers for no other reason than that they hold economic opinions unfavorable to the interests of the employing class and hostile to the political ring that holds the A. F. of L. in its grip.

Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti has announced that arrangements have already been made for deporting 7,500 of these workers. **THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING.** It is undoubtedly the intention of those in power to comb the country thoroughly and get rid of every foreign-born worker who dares to oppose their reactionary schemes.

The disastrous consequences of these deportations to the radical labor movement can hardly be exaggerated. Not only will the elimination of militant workers make this country "safe for capitalism," but it will make the American Federation of Labor "safe" for the gang of politicians and fakirs at present in control.

In addition, the deportation of active leaders and the threat to deport any foreign-born worker who dares to take a radical stand will undermine the fighting spirit of the rank and file. It will be used as a club to break strikes and crush any democratic movement among the workers. One capitalist paper has very frankly stated that "the settlement of our domestic labor disputes will be much easier."

The manner in which these deportations are being carried out is particularly tyrannical and outrages every conception of justice. On mere suspicion or report, an immigration inspector can order the arrest of a worker, cross-question him as to his private opinions at a closed hearing where he is not allowed the services of a lawyer to defend his rights, and then order his immediate deportation. The findings of the inspector are submitted to Secretary Wilson for approval, but there is no sign or semblance of trial by jury or any judicial proceeding. If the immigration inspector does not like the man's opinions, he can order him shipped out of the country with virtually no chance to put up any defense.

To read an I. W. W. or other radical labor paper, to question the form or any act of the U. S. Government, to read books with red paper covers—any of these things seems to be considered sufficient to justify immediate expulsion from this land of supposed liberty. A brief hearing before a prejudiced or ignorant immigration officer, and a workman whose only crime has been loyalty to his class may be torn from his family and friends in violation of the most elementary human rights.

Many of the men at present awaiting deportation were arrested over a year ago and held illegally until Secretary Wilson could secure the enactment of a "law" that would make it possible for him to deport them. They have been kept incommunicado for months, subjected to the harshest prison treatment, denied decent food or proper clothing, and every possible obstacle put in the way of their communicating with friends or securing legal assistance.

If the authorities and Gompers' clique are allowed to carry out their present plan unchecked, the labor movement in this country will be gagged, bound and delivered over to the reactionaries. The workers, paralyzed by this new terror, will not dare to fight for their rights or take part in any radical undertaking. Progress toward industrial democracy will be blocked, and reaction, with its train of oppression, injustice, exploitation and war, will reign supreme. Aided by the labor politicians, the master class will be free to exploit the workers in industry at home and mobilize them for war abroad whenever that may suit their plans.

The workers of the United States must act at once and so vigorously that the authorities will be forced to call a halt in their present scheme. Start agitating this question immediately in every possible way and at every opportunity. Tell your fellow workers about these deportations and bring the matter up at every meeting where you can get the floor. See that the subject is given the widest publicity in any paper controlled by the organization of which you are a member. Post this circular in a conspicuous place, reprint it or any other suitable literature on the subject and distribute it broadcast among the workers.

Do not let up for a minute in your agitation. There has never been a more critical moment in the history of the labor movement in this country. Deportation is a menace to each and every one of us. We must use all our strength to block this scheme to cripple the radical labor movement.

Both the Department of Labor and its ally, the political machine in control of the A. F. of L., must be made to feel the wrath of the workers and to realize that they will not sit by idly while this crime is being perpetrated. They must be made to understand that the Workers of America are waking to a sense of their power and of the wrongs that are committed against them by those who pretend to be their leaders, and that they are ready to revolt and throw off the yoke of oppression which holds them down.

Meanwhile, push forward vigorously the task of organizing the workers in industrial unions under the revolutionary banner, "Abolition of the Wage System." Wake them to a realization of their power. Show them that, by united action, they can control the industrial life of the country, force the authorities to obey their will and put a stop to capitalist tyranny and injustice such as the present wholesale deportation of workingmen.

What Can We Do?

By FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

WE WHO sincerely want to do **something** in the present crisis of the radical movement in this country, find ourselves in a peculiar dilemma. Previous experience has opened our eyes to the futility of many of the things we have tried in the past. We are looking earnestly for some line of action that promises to get us somewhere, and not leave us in a blind alley, as has so often happened heretofore.

The wholesale raid on the radical labor movement under cover of the war, the railroading of hundreds of I. W. W.'s and others to jail for what amounts practically to life sentences, the suppression of the honest labor press, the prohibition of gatherings where anything unfavorable to the ruling class was likely to be said, the conviction of the official heads of the Socialist Party, and now the action of the Supreme Court in upholding the sentence of Eugene Debs—these and countless minor acts of tyranny rouse and confirm in us the determination to throw off the intolerable yoke.

And yet, what can we do? We have voted resolutions of protest by the bale, only to see them ignored; we have signed petitions by the ton, only to see them spurned. We have voted for Socialist officials, only to see them defeated, counted out or voted down. We have attended mass meetings without number and have come away filled with the resolve to **do something**, only to wake up the next morning with a feeling of helplessness, and drop back again into the old ruts.

They tell us to "join the Socialist Party," and

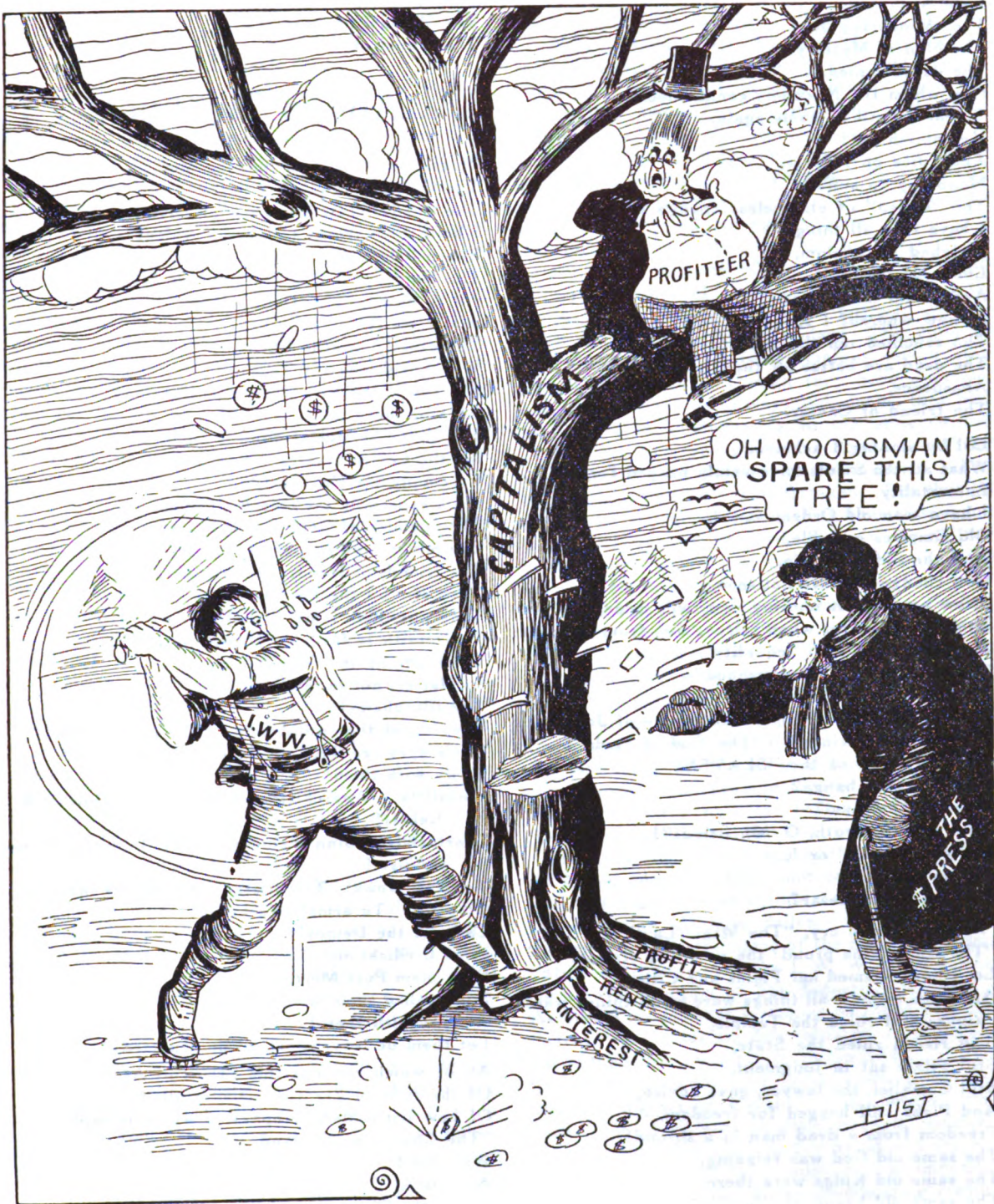
we do it with a will, but Election Day is a long way off and it comes but once a year. And we realize that Bill Haywood and Eugene Debs and the rest of "our boys" may rest in jail before we can elect enough officials to capture the machinery of bourgeois government.

When we turn to the industrial field and try to combine our power as workers with that of others in our trade, we find the trade union engrossed in the petty, sordid business of haggling with the boss for a few dollars more wages and few hours less drudgery, or tied up in the tangle of craft union political machinery and indifferent to the larger and deeper interests of the workers as a class.

What can we do, we ask, not only to rescue our fellow-workers from unjust imprisonment, but to defend ourselves and our class from similar acts of oppression? The workers of other countries point the way. The proletariat of Russia and Germany, the radical labor organizations of Great Britain and Australia and western Canada have solved the riddle. They supply the answer to our question.

Revolutionary industrial organization of the working class is their answer. That alone will open the prison doors for Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood, and the other victims of capitalist tyranny. That alone will stop the hand of oppression. That alone will free the workers for all time.

"In the industrial field, we are invincible; if we leave it, we are lost," is as true now as when Marx said it.



THE MAN UP A TREE

Soliloquy of Ahasuerus

By COVINGTON AMI.

I am Ahasuerus,
The Wandering Jew,
The Man of Mystery,
The death-denied.
Him whom the Nazarene condemned
To earth until he came again.
He cometh not!
And I live on forever,
Monotony to suffer,
The "sweep" of changeless change to see.
I have seen all things,
Weighed all wisdom,
Every passion felt,
And found them wanting.
I know whereof I speak.
Tho crucified ten thousand times
The dead are better off than I,
Ahasuerus,
The friend of Caesar.

Lo! by sinning I achieved
What all the Saints have vainly prayed for,—
Immortality.
I have seen old Orders vanish,
Old Empires crumble,
And the old Gods die,
But, change—I have not seen.
"New names, but nothing new, will come,"
I told the Christos when I drove him from my door:
He, the Preacher of "equality"—
The Herald of "Brotherhood"—
"The Carpenter of Nazareth"—
He, a BEGGAR, sits upon the throne of Jove!—
"The King of Kings!" "The God of Gods!"—
The "Saviour" of the—SLAVES!
Where is the change?
What is the good?
Who told the truth, O "Christians!"
He, your "God," or I,
Ahasuerus,
The friend of Caesar?

"America!" you cry, "The Magic Land!"
"The young! the proud! the new! the strong!"
Lo, I have roamed her Fields and Cities,
And have found—all things were as all things were:
Caiphas still ruled the Temple,
Still Herod ruled the State,
Still Pilate sat in judgment,
Still Gamaliel, the lawyer, gave advice,
And Plebs still begged for freedom,—
Freedom from a dead man in a shroud!
The same old God was reigning,
The same old Kings were there,
The same old brand of "justice,"
And only names were new,
From foul and fetid prisons,
Still I heard:
The anguished cries of Nazarenes,
The shrieks of tortured Communists,

The dread-born, agonized appeal:
"My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me!"
And I smiled,
I, Ahasuerus,
The Wandering Jew,
The friend of Caesar.

Absent Treatment

By COVINGTON AMI.

"I am The Christian Science Monitor.
The Official Organ of Almighty.
The unadulterated essence of Divinity.
I hold these truths to be self-evident:
There is no such thing as Matter:
The Universe is One Harmonious Whole:
All is Spirit, God, Divine Mind.
And I am It.
Therefore I am the Christos,
Which is Greek for Truth.
All who agree with me are in Harmony.
All who don't ain't.
The Error of Mortal Mind is on them.
All the Lower Classes suffer from it.
Especially the Proletariat.
More especially the One Big Union,—
The enemies of Gods and Masters!
The miners and sappers of Society!
The friends of Hoboes and Sinners!
They stir up the People!
They put their trust in 'Solidarity'!
Their faith is faith in 'Direct Action'!
Their 'Might' in 'Folded Arms'!
In Matter, not in Mind!
The Blasphemers!
They upset the equilibrium of the Pocketbook!
Their eyes are fixed on Sirloin, not on Soul!
Away with them!
Socialists! Anarchists! Foreigners! Bolsheviki!
Rebels!
Spartacists! Sinn Feiners! Free Lovers! Communists!
Apostate Jews! Terrorists! (O me! O my!)
To arms! To arms! Ye brave!
Call out the Demos!
Save Civilization!
Give them Post Mortems!
Spiritualize them with TNT!
Avaunt with them!
Let them be leavenworthed or deported!"
All of which reminds this Errorfull Atom
Of the Infinite Errorless Divine Mind
Of how truly Marx prophesied when he said:
"The Church of England
Will stand
An attack
On all the Thirty-nine Articles of its Faith
With more equanimity
Than it will stand
An attack
On One-Thirty-ninth of its Income."
Let us prey.

Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow

By ROBERTA BRUNER.

Part II.

TODAY.

THE day is far advanced. Thoughts of slavery grow more oppressive. Freedom allures with compelling force. In order to achieve that most speedily and with the greatest economy it is necessary to examine closely into the state of society at the present time. The scope is so immense that it is difficult to approach a correct perspective. Because of the immensity of the view, misconceptions often result as to the true condition of the whole or of some part. Members of society thrust themselves, or are thrust, into such close proximity with some single phase of social conditions that their vision becomes distorted to the extent that their conclusions are mere vapid sentimentalities—or sometimes criminal perversions of truth.

The purpose of these paragraphs, therefore, is to set forth the state of the whole in such a way as to reveal the practicable point of departure for completely revolutionizing the world.

The mass of human beings are dependent for the necessities and luxuries of life—yes, for life itself—upon certain commodities, the products of toil. The commodities any one individual may need, he, as an **individual**, cannot produce. Time was when he could much more generally, but with the advance of means of production and the co-operative nature of that production, the individual is lost if he attempts to satisfy his own needs. Take, for example, the greatest necessity—that of food: Agrarian labor, assisted by labor-built machines, which have drawn upon labor from the mines, from the manufacturing, construction and transportation departments, furnish us with the simple piece of bread. Thus all industries are interlocked with the purpose of production—and, under the existing system, with the controlling purpose of profit. Guaging in terms of profit, the present management controls the production of the working class, marketing back to producer at a profit. The arrangement is such that those who work get the least, while those others, who do nothing productive, control the distribution of utilities among the great human family.

What sort of family is this human one? Rather quarrelsome and rebellious at times with clearly defined lines of separation between its parts. The trouble is that the quarreling is generally individualistic and is between members of the same class. Small in numbers, but great in economic power, the few who have control of the remainder of the family contend among themselves as to ways and means of securing more control at less expense. The middle class, or bourgeoisie, vie with each other in their mad effort to find a place in the class above them, the capitalists. If a step or two advance seems to be

gained by any one of them, at once the jealousies of those behind, start the quarrel—a bourgeois quarrel among the bourgeoisie. If, however, instead of a step, the bourgeois actually leaps into the class he strives for, the remaining ones salaam and pay homage to his "success."

Then we approach the only class who make any attempt at revolutionary activity. That activity, even here, is minimized by the element who spend their combative efforts against each other. The working class, who produce everything, are not all mindful that, because of the co-operative nature of industry, the only road to emancipation is the highway of solidarity. Many are pitifully ignorant of the solidarity of the ruling class. That class has staunchly held together on the main issue—of keeping workers slaves. Though they have quarreled among themselves as to ways and means, they have ever stood in solidarity as to the ends desired. Their union is growing closer. Suasion or threat seeks to bring all forces into submission. Where both fail, annihilation is undertaken. But that the product of the workers is needed, that class would long ago have been crushed. As it is, the militant members are sought out for persecution and this very persecution, because of its flagrancy, is proving a strategic point. The masters know this and frantically seek to hide their real motives under various pretexts. They hedge themselves about with institutions, organizations, and customs to preserve the rotten structure of their society.

Emanating from the criminal desires of the capitalists, who would perpetuate the present system at any cost, has come the political machine. In order to compel an acclamation of loyalty to that machine whose wheels roll over the bodies of the working class, every available means is corrupted.

Press, church, educational institutions, ideals of the home, even so-called labor organizations, have been called upon to prostitute themselves and without exception all have fallen. All fall for the treason incited in the name of the flag. One organization—and one alone, the I. W. W., has remained pure. The program of **The Industrial Workers of the World** is such that it assures emancipation from slavery. The resulting determination of those who understand the program is incorruptible. Therefore all other forces have joined hands to exterminate **The Industrial Workers of the World**. Poor fools! For employers to exist as such, industrial workers must also exist, and to crush out the constructive program of those workers is as impossible as to prevent rainfall. Every card-bearing member could repudiate the organization but its truth would survive. Every United States citizen member could be shut up in prison or murdered on the gallows or in the chair, and every foreign member deported, still the truth cannot be vanquished. Every leaflet

and book and periodical can be suppressed and destroyed, and yet like the ancient Chinese books, it will be revived and live. Nothing can obliterate the ideals and plans of the I. W. W. as long as the wage-system exists. For as long as people are exploited by thieving ghouls, whose sole concern is profit, those exploited will realize their robbery and will seek redress. As long as there are slaves, there will be seekers for freedom. As long as labor can be hired for wages, there will be slavery, and the slaves will know that the road sign to the land of freedom is industrial unionism. The slaves are finding out that all other signs are camouflages, leading through by-paths into the masters' own slave-pens!

The forces which cringe before capitalism recognize in industrial unionism the means of release. That is why they fear and tremble when they see the I. W. W. adopting the tactics of going into the one big union. That is why they, who have sought to perpetuate their state by means of force and violence, tremble at the sound of the workmen's whistle. That is why they seek in any and every way to discredit the I. W. W. in the eyes of the world. They fear and persecute because they know the I. W. W. has the winning program.

History shows that the losing side in any contention invariably resorts to violence in the dual attempt to retrench its position and to provoke a display of undignified wrath on the part of the victors. That is what capitalism is doing today. They are on the offensive. Shall the workers accept the challenge and be ready for their own defense?

The press, whose policies are controlled by the capitalistic advertisers, is perhaps the most abandoned tool of capitalism. The hysteria of the newspapers is almost laughable; but the supine allegiance given by many slaves to the monstrous distortions of truth by these "creatures of slime" turns laughter to tragical wailing. Contradictions within the same sheet and super-contradictions within the week or month are ignored by the salaaming slaves who still read "not to refute." The paradoxes in some cases are so wide that even the sodden believer falls down into a crevasse between the walls of vile lies and in the pinch he discovers the cause of his dilemma—it is the wild effort of an expiring despot to revivify the putrefying, infected carcass of dead belief in its power. But bear in mind that capitalism, though dying, has still enough foul excrement to shed to befoul the world. Therefore, it behooves the workers to be ready with the scavenger tanks!

The church would have us servile to the conditions which its nominal leader expugned by means of whips. In their anxiety to aid their masters the high priests forgot that the money lenders were scourged out of the temple. They are like a certain political party which commemorates the death of those sacrifices. The keepers of philosophies would pollute the teaching they espouse. With over-

drawn pretenses of altruism they play upon the fears and superstitions of its members to keep them willing slaves—and this they call meekness! In the meantime the fat money-maker supplies the deficit in the meagre salaries demanded by the spiritual barterers! Gratuitously the press turns religious and church and press reach out for the third ally, the school.

The school has its superlative place in the big corporation for the enslavement of labor. While the press is most abandoned and the church is most hypocritical, the school is most *useful*. In order to place this utility at a maximum, the teachers are intimidated as to whom they shall choose as associates. The inane respectability striven for is gained—and that is all. The deadening, stultifying work of keeping the students ignorant of the real knowledge vital to humanity is the function of our present school system. It is true that the teachers, in supine resignation to the instructions of their "superiors," have built a wall of ignorance about themselves. Technical training has served to strengthen this wall by creating a feeling of superiority for those who lack such training. The net result of the whole is that the institutions whose function is to disseminate general knowledge not only fails to do that but also consciously aids and abets a system which is detrimental to a large majority of the people. While sedulously giving that technical training that makes the students more profitable for the employing class, the school can be charged with criminally conspiring to keep from the working class any and all education which would assist that class to emancipate itself. The school, then, becomes an avenue of advertising for master-class propaganda, while any news of interest to the proletariat is tabooed. Teachers are so intimidated that they fear to say anything except that which is dictated from above—from superintendents and principals—and they gradually deteriorate in mental initiative till eventually they know little or nothing vital to say. Like skilled craftsmen, they render specialized service until they are wedded to that one line of work. They fear to try to give any other form of service, yet as a rule any one of them would appreciate any sort of change of vocation. However, with the exception of a small minority who marry, the teachers remain in the schools,—discontented wage-slaves of a decaying organ of capitalism.

"The young, the old, the great, the small
Give homage all supine.
Fond parents bring their children there
As to some holy shrine.
And every one the Beast transforms
From Human into swine."

And because of this transformation the slaves sleep soundly, so soundly that the masters, "corrupt by power," are emboldened to prod more brutally. The consequence that those who are not utterly "debased by slavery" stir in their slumber—and when they fully awake, what then? Think, slaves, what will ye then?

The "fond parents" transfer their last hope for their own individual relief to their children. At the few family gatherings which yet remain, the ideals that are given to the children are those of "getting up in the world". "Getting up" always means getting into the employing class. They are "up"—upon the backs of labor. The children of workers are taught by blind parents that their hope of salvation is to get out of the working class into the bourgeois or capitalist class. Any abominable method of shrewd trickery which succeeds in placing one "higher up" is condoned in the home. The ideals of honor are supplanted by desires for success in thievery, and the home prostrates itself at the shrine of "big business" and worships the cobra that constricts the children of the world.

The pity that is felt for this stupid selfishness on the part of the home is superceded by burning indignation for the dupes of the labor organizer.

Under pretense of helping out the cause of the working class an organization is effected which benefits, not the workers, but the profiteering kings of industry. The nature of craft organization fosters scabbing and kindred evils. The practice of giving ninety days' notice when the hands of labor is being crushed in the vise of exploitation merely gives the master time to close that vise together to the complete satisfaction of the employer and to the equally complete discomfiture of the employee. Then after "ninety days" the "settlement is effected" between labor and capital—with the latter another point ahead and labor cowed into silently nursing its bruised and bleeding hands. No wonder the American Federation of Labor is gasping out its last breath as a labor organization and certainly less wonder that the masters and masters' tools are beginning to praise its efficiency on every hand.

Thus we have the capitalist class who rules the whole of society enlisting the sympathy of every vehicle of enlightenment or social activity. This class does nothing useful but gets the abundance of the earth and production therein to control. They are like ticks which grow fat upon the blood of the dog. The working class is the dog. Then there is the bourgeoisie—a few of whom (the petit bourgeois) work harder than the wage slave and get less reward,—who exploit at every opportunity and whose weight is heavy upon the toilers' backs. They worship at the altar of a master they vainly seek to emulate, and their reward is a stubborn mind. These also feed upon the fruits of the workers' toil. The petit bourgeois, because of his precarious nearness to wage-slavery, is perhaps the most difficult element to deal with, and though he does work, and sometimes does useful work, he is the loudest-spoken foe of the working-class. Because of his similarity of appearance and activity, he is used by the master and is flattered at his own exploitation. Both of these classes rest on the shoulders of the great mass of workers.

Even the wages-slaves are not all free from

blame. Many seek employment parasitical. Others in the same class point to the unproductive wage-slave in fear when a proletarian dictatorship is mentioned. They say, "Look at the jailor, the detective, they are wage-slaves; would they be fitted to dictate?" And they fail to see that there can be recognition in the new industrial democracy for only the productive toiler. For the productive worker only will there be a place in society, therefore only the productive worker will dictate. The thinking minority point out to the skeptical that those who produce every necessary and luxury of life are the only benefactors of society. We can use nothing except those commodities produced by labor.

If everything which serves to make life better comes from industry, why rule from a separate point Why not rule from "the point of production," the source of our every utility? Why not have the laws governing industry made on the spot instead of in some distant palace? Why not let those who know industry govern it, rather than those who do not know it except to exploit it? And why not allow the worker as much reward (pay) as the parasite? Why not? Because the working class is ignorant of its own best interests. Therefore, educate and organize for emancipation, so that we may live like freemen should, tomorrow.

Leavenworth, 1919

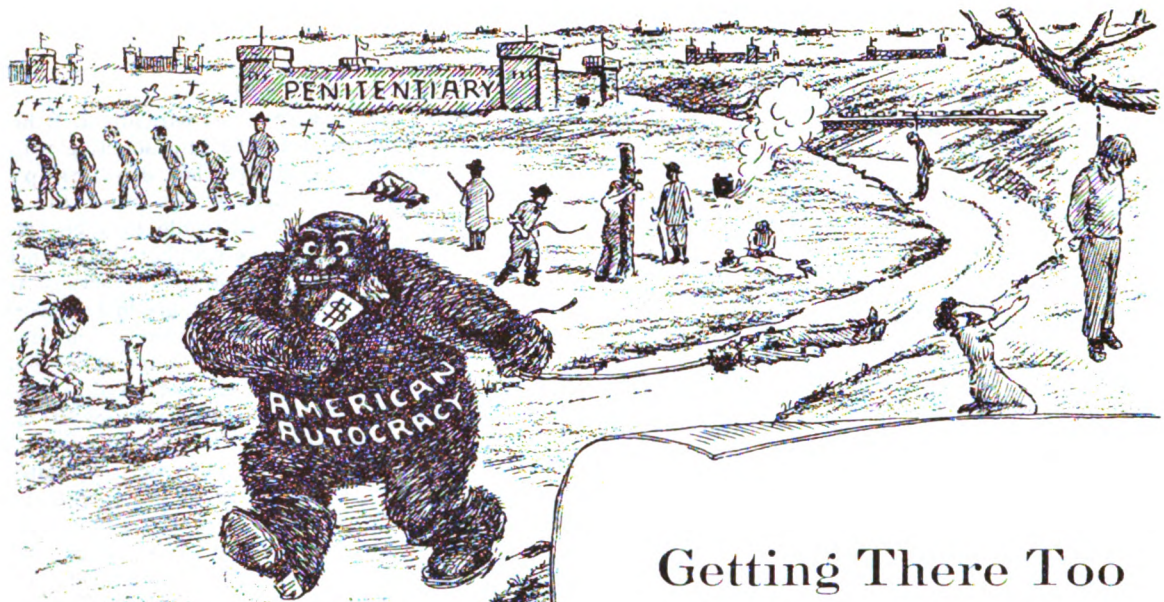
By MORTIMER DOWNING.

'Tis spring! On Leavenworth's dry waste
No flower blows—no grass blades haste
To glad the wilderness of walls
And yards and narrow two-crib stalls
Called cells where men pass lock-stepped days
Or, sulky, bend o'er useless ways
To tasks ungrateful.

'Tis spring! But joy and love speed by
With ears hand-hushed against the sigh
Breathed by a multitude of men
Heart-yearning to know once again
Rain on green fields and flowers,
Sunlight, moonlight, bright'ning hours
Of full requital.

Soon spring will come to Leavenworth
When power to desolate Fair Earth
Has passed; when men of workers' breed,
Lined up, have freed the world from greed,
Then where the prison curses ring
Buds will ope and birds will sing
Merry roundelays.

The average man today has little time for anything but getting a job and holding it when he gets it—and he's lucky if he holds it. The human race cannot make much progress towards an ideal society under such conditions.



E.A.
1919

Getting There Too

by

E. RIEBE

ALL autocracy goes the same way. Stupid and heedless it rushes onward to destruction. Autocracy never learns from history. Crazy with power, intoxicated with atrocities, it raves and follows the bloody path of its predecessors toward its final down. Czar autocracy went first. It sneered at the attempts of the seemingly few, who agitated against them. Free speech was abolished, the workingmen's papers were raided, the agitators deported, jailed or killed. But the storm broke out unexpectedly. The feeble whisperings of protest grew over night to a mighty thunderstorm. The secret police, the stoolpigeons and cossacks were swept aside and Czar Autocracy went down. Kaiser Autocracy went the same way. It had acted like Czar Autocracy and it died like it. At the present time American Autocracy seems all powerful. Those, who criticize the government or protest against the exploitation of the toilers, are persecuted.

Free speech and free press is abolished. Anti-Autocratic labor papers are suppressed and only a few of them are left in order to make it appear as if a free press were still in existence. The few remaining anti-autocratic papers are crippled in every imaginable way. Mailing privileges have been taken away and the mail, including money orders has been stopped or delayed. Men and women, who dare to tell the truth or ask for more wages or shorter hours are put in the penitentiaries, they are tortured, shot, hanged, tarred and feathered or deported. Autocracy has also lately very often resorted to black-hundred methods, to lynching. Mobs are organized in the old Russian style to murder the workers and this is done, to charge the crime to "Public Sentiment." The assassins of course are never punished. American Autocracy becomes more reckless every day. The number of the political prisoners in jails and penitentiaries is growing fast. American Autocracy sneers at us now; it feels secure. It depends on its police, its machine guns and its atrocities. So did Czar Autocracy, so did Kaiser Autocracy. American Autocracy acts like them, it will die like them.

OLD GOGG

A STORY

By Harold Lord Varney.

"Puy de Avakener! De Avakener! ONLY twenty-five cents yet."

The rasping, shaky voice broke in, insinuatingly, on the conversation of the two earnest young men who sat waiting on the over-turned soap box. A dingy vein-traced hand thrust out a copy of the lurid magazine and swung it under their eyes with a hopeful hesitation. The thing seemed frayed and soiled with long handling.

It was characteristic of Joe Allen that he gazed icily away—his eyes fixed upon the looming tower of the Metropolitan mammoth across the square. His shoulders shrugged with contemptuous recognition. Joe's likes and dislikes were invariably emphatic.

But mirthful Harry Rifkin, halted midway in a voluble declaim, gazed up at the interrupter in a startled jerk, and struck by wonderment, continued to stare in amused and curious surprise.

It was a sombre face—that which blinked down on him. From the bald head, topped with its absurd, flashy cap,—the peering eyes, glinting under the thick lenses of his silver bowed spectacles—the quizzical and wrinkled lines of his cheeks which moved incessantly with a labored, chewing gesture of his jaws—the straggly, gray beard which he stroked with an inveterate ceaselessness—he radiated an atmosphere of sombreness which wrapped him like a hideous shroud. One felt at a glance that here was one to whom life was passionately serious—bleakly dismal—unutterably gray and mirthless. It was such a face as one meets in Socialist locals—or in Baptist Conventicles! a face which has forgotten how to smile.

But the sombreness was not infectious. One felt a resistless impulse to laugh at the odd figure and its unmentionable attire. Especially, one smiled at the attire.

His garments were scarecrow-like and unutterably funny. On his rickety old body, the garb of many classes met. Above, he was clerical (if one ignored the flashy cap). A long, shiny, mended black coat flapped about him with a pulpit-like solemnity. One wondered from what ministerial barrel the bearded one had salvaged it. Unfortunately, however, the length of the coat was a length only of rear; in front, it cut away sharply just above his hips, revealing a flesh-tight pair of yellow-brown trousers which halted, in "high water" style, uncomfortably high above his ankles. And underneath, was a horror of green socks which completed the incongruous figure.

Such was the lank, rickety human thing which thrust its tattered periodical under the sophisticated nose of Harry Rifkin.

One of the pockets of the solemn coat was heavy with a sagging weight of folded tracts and papers; the other had already given way before a similar

usage and flapped in torn dilapidation. The bearded one shifted uneasily as he waited, then his hand dove into the flapping pocket and jerked out a plug of tobacco. With unrelaxed expression, he bit into the tobacco viciously with his yellow, tusk-like teeth and replacing the plug in the precarious pocket he resumed his plea:

"Puy de Avakener?"

Harry reached languidly for the magazine. Joe whirled stiffly around.

"You mooching again, Gogg?" he shot out, sweeping the shambling figure with a flash of disdain.

Harry cackled.

"What—are you on speaking terms with old Rip Van Winkle here, Joe?" he queried.

"Oh yes, I know him," Joe answered wearily. "It's old Gogg."

He gazed at the mendicant for a long minute.

"You han't got noddings on me, Comradt," faltered the old man. He seemed to sense the accusation in Joe's glance. "I haf—"

"You have panhandled every Socialist in New York," Joe snatched the words from him. "You—with your Awakener! Why, you've been peddling that same copy for two months. It's two months old."

Harry laughed boisterously as he verified it.

"You're right, Joe," he chuckled. "But how does the old gink make anything if he never sells it?"

"Easy! That magazine's a stall. If Gogg mooched openly, he'd be pinched, so he pretends to sell magazines. It's the old shoe string stunt. You try to take the magazine, if you buy it, and notice the holler he will make."

He laughed coldly as he faced Gogg once more.

"You're a fine figure to represent the Awakener. Why, that Awakener bunch'd murder you, if they knew you were working the stem in their name."

The old man stood silent, blinking dully down through his glasses. His face wore a wooden stolidity: only a flicker of his lips—almost imperceptible—betrayed the biting barb of the words. With affected deliberation, he waited until Joe had finished. Then his hand halted a moment from the stroking of his beard and reached down for the magazine on Harry's knee.

"I will haf to be going, comradts," his voice sounded in a hard croak. "I will haf to go."

With a wicked wink, Harry grasped the magazine securely and thrust it in his pocket.

"Don't hurry, Gogg," he grinned.

Joe broke in again.

"Of course you want to go. You don't like the truth, do you, Gogg? I notice that none of you moochers do."

"Gif me dot magazines," demanded the old man, a metallic bitterness stealing into his voice.

Harry grimaced.

"Get the rest of the sermon, Gogg," he chuckled, waving his hand at Joe.

"Yes," Joe stormed on, "I'm not through yet. I'm going to tell you the straight stuff, Gogg, and

if you're a man, you'll listen. This mooching at Socialist meetings has got to stop. You and your ilk are driving men away in disgust. I won't have it. What good are you? You don't pay dues in the party, you don't help us in the local, but you trail around our meetings like a jungle buzzard, trying to beg a living from the comrades. Harry and I and hundreds of others are out in these war times, risking our liberty to soapbox in these streets, and you come along and throw mud on the name of Socialism by bumming our crowds. You mangy old stiff, I'd clean up on you right now if you weren't so old and rheumatic. You need some direct action—you damned old 'fink'!"

Joe's voice broke off in an earnest roar. Curious groups began to gather around the overturned box.

Old Gogg continued to balance himself indifferently. He shifted his weight from foot to foot and his eyes seemed to find interest only in the folded magazine in Harry Rifkin's pocket. It was as though the words and gestures of his accuser floated past him unfelt—wraths of sound which his mind refused to meet. And as Joe ended he reached forward again to take the precious "Awakener." Then he suddenly stiffened. The final word had driven home.

"Fink"! A flood of passion welled tumultuously in his mind. Memories, long asleep, surged up and stung him. Old loyalties—a lifetime of beliefs—quivered at the accusation. His lips twitched and an angry scarlet flushed to his saffron cheeks. He—a fink!

"It iss a lie," he quavered thickly. "A damned lie. I am a goot Socialist. I haf been in the partei many years—in Chermany und in New York. Now I haf no money. I haf no longer a red card."

His eyes blurred and his voice hoarsened with anger.

"Don't you dare repead dot I am a fink. You are only a poy. Yes-s. I was out mit my coat off, fighting de battles of Socialism before you was efen borned."

The young men laughed scornfully. Gogg's anger had none of the saving touch of dignity. It was grotesque and clownish like himself.

"I don't care what you did fifty years ago," Joe rejoined. "It's right now I'm talking about. You're mooching Socialist crowds. You're going to quit."

"Nein! Nein!" Gogg protested. "I sell dese papers. If somedimes mein friends gif me moneys, it iss mein peezness. Und it helps the partei, yet. We must teach these working stiffs to finance their own game. Yes-s. It iss mein tactics."

He nodded and fell to stroking his beard again. Joe roared scornfully.

"Teach the working stiffs to finance their own game—eh?" he scoffed. "Who ever told you that you was their game—hey? You crummy old bum!"

Joe was choking with indignation. With a sudden impulse, he sprung up from the box, grabbing the tattered magazine from the pocket of his friend. A quick movement and he stripped it from top to bottom, and thrust the torn leaves into the shaking

hands of the mendicant.

"Beat it!" he shouted. "Beat it! Back to the Bowery where you belong. I'm going to start a meeting here, and you'll do no more mooching if we watch you in this crowd."

With a heavy push, he started the old man down the street. For a moment, Gogg resisted, his stupid old face working apoplectically, his mind whirling with the urge to reply, to lay bare his soul before this "comrade" who would drive him away from the meetings of Socialists. And then something fouled within him and, clutching the torn sheaves of his magazine, he plodded dismally away. In the distance, his bent back lined itself stiffly but waningly against the background of gay stores—a racked, gutted old body slinking with its deformities into the cold shadows.

On the outskirts of the group, a man with silvering hair and kindly eyes had watched the sordid incident. Now he turned to watch the disappearing form until it was swallowed in the crowds.

"Poor old man!" he murmured. "Poor old man!"

The assertive-looking woman who accompanied him glanced up sharply at his words.

"But the boy was right," she corrected. "Joe Allen is a revolutionist. He is all for the cause, and he will not allow sentiment or age to hinder it."

The man nodded reminiscently.

"Quite true, of course" he agreed. "Joe was right. But I could not help thinking of Karl Gogg as he was twenty-five years ago. He was no beggar then."

"Well?" she questioned.

"He was the best of us. You have read of the Graham Square Riot?"

"Where the Socialists first won free speech?"

"The same. It was the fight which gave us the first right to agitate. And it was a terrible struggle. Well, it was old Gogg who won that fight."

She echoed the name incredulously.

"Old Gogg?"

"Yes—Karl Gogg."

She screwed her lips in surprise and stared with altered eyes toward the place where the warped figure had so lately disappeared. After a moment, she spoke, her voice strangely softer.

"Those old fellows—what grand fighters they used to be." And then she repeated the words.

"Poor old man! Poor old man!"

Way over on Eighth Avenue, Whitey Hoffmann has his saloon. Perhaps it might better be called a club. Here gather a nightly group of stodgy, blond figures—workingmen mostly—middle aged and heavily jovial. Around the single row of tables they have their foaming tankards and they speed the evenings in tortuous talk, solving the problems of the universe in throaty, German voices. Strangers seldom come here and the atmosphere is easy with mutual trust.

Beyond a swinging door there is another room, and meaty odors of soup, of stew and of goulash drift out from time to time to the outer bar room. Here is another line of tables, greasy and bare, and

here Whitey Hoffmann serves his famous "Merchant's Lunch." The customers pass easily from room to room through the door which always swings open.

In this rear room, before a plate still steaming with the remains of soup, sat a hunched, bowed figure. On the table before him was an open newspaper flung aside after slow perusal. In the pocket of his seedy black coat bulged a bundle of folded periodicals. It was old Gogg.

For more years than he allowed himself to count, Whitey Hoffmann's had been Gogg's home. Here he ate the meager scraps which sufficed for his nutriment. And downstairs, in the warm furnace room of the basement, on an old cot which tipped precariously against a supporting wall, was his bed.

Tonight Gogg was strangely silent. Ordinarily he joined in the controversies which raged in the outer bar room. Always he spoke of Socialism and, when combatted, his snarling, nasal voice would quaver out like a rasping, cacophonous rip saw. But tonight he was alone. Under the absurd glasses, his eyes wore a brooding blankness and he seemed crushed and subdued, as though some spring of life had snapped within. From time to time, his heavy breathing deepened into an audible groan. And these fitful groanings seemed to form themselves into one invariable sound—"Fink."

Through his slow, wounded mind the years of the past began to review themselves.

It was not by intent that Gogg had become a beggar. Unemployment, hopelessly prolonged by employers who balked at his hideousness; a slow eclipsing of his place among the Socialists as age and poverty advanced; a shifty endeavor to combine a livelihood with his beloved propaganda by becoming a peddler of periodicals; stage by stage he had drifted down until desperation had forced him into mendicancy. And so the new generation of "comrades"—the Joe Allens and the Harry Rifkins—had grown up to know him only as a familiar wreck, hovering with ready palm on the tails of the party meetings. But with habit, the edge of shame had worn away and the truth had come to him again like a bombshell from the pale past, to stir the dessicated chambers of his pride.

And that pride had once been so unspotted. Time was, in those old, early days, when Karl Gogg had held a place in the inner councils of the Socialists—a place won by the boldness of his agitation and the tirelessness of his energy. Those old days were filming out before him—the strikes and the battles for unionism—the raided meetings—the cold scorning of the native workers—the long months in prison—the desperate struggles for the right to speak—and last, and keenest of all, that unforgettable day in Graham Square when, for a moment, stammering, shabby old Karl Gogg had loomed in the gaze of the city as the one leader of the Socialists whose courage won the struggle. A warm glow stirred him. These young comrades—they did not know, but he remembered.

And now again—

He seized the open evening paper from the table and devoured it with squinting eyes. Yes—there it was; Graham Square. The old spot! Again, as in days of the past—

The bitter hours flitted away. One by one, the voices in the bar room grew silent as the drinking groups dispersed. The strange silence of midnight succeeded the clamorous din of the day and early evening. Soon the bartender, making his final rounds, seized the bowed shoulders of the stricken old man, and with rough but not unkindly summons, warned him of the hour. Old Gogg raised himself upright, his drawn face mercifully darkened in the shadows, and shuffled to the basement door. Feeling before him in the black silence of the stairway, he found his way to the furnace room and sunk down on the sagging cot. And there he lay, through the gaping night, open eyed and sleepless—thinking dully of the of the past—of Graham Square—and of tomorrow.

The bitter brewage of hatred was slowly mounting in New York, intoxicating the mad mobs with the fevered fumes of war. Day by day it grew stronger and day by day, the propaganda of the bold Socialist youths became more precarious. Finally came a day of explosion and, for a moment, the streets of New York witnessed European scenes of red riot.

Joe Allen was the storm center. Lurid handbills had announced the demonstration. Columns of newspaper invective had heated the mood of the hostile mobs. Counter-violence was in the air. Among the older leaders of the party there was a mad and sickening scramble to call the meeting off. But one Socialist was unshaken.

Leading his determined little group of demonstrators, Joe Allen sallied out to Graham Square, weighted under a great pennant which screamed, "FREE SPEECH." The lithe, nervous bodies of the Jewish youths, the queer, incongruous grace of the half dozen girls who marched beside them, the glowing faces of the two college boys who had come from Columbia, the fearless insouciance of the rugged western men—lumber jacks and strayed miners—bringing up and stiffening the rear, gave the little procession a touch of dramatic menace. They moved through the streets silently—sensing, and yet ignoring, the veiled hostility of the sidewalk throngs. Groups sprang together on the crossings as they passed and, from time to time, uniformed men taunted them with shameful epithets, or corner gangsters mobilized themselves and followed mockingly behind.

"We'll be slaughtered today, Joe," warned Harry Rifkin, halting his eternal flow of badinage to gaze uneasily at the mocking faces which ringed them.

"Well, what of it?" snapped Joe. "We've got to fight. Good God! Are men going to give up their liberties and their freedom of speech for the fear of the hoodlums and stool pigeons?"

His voice rang passionately, almost hysterically. "Here's one little boy that ain't," Harry boasted,

and then, with a mock heroic waving of his arms, he began to spout:

“For how could men die better than by facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of—”

Joe’s stern voice broke in:

“Oh can that old stuff! Why don’t you be serious?”

With a grimace at a smiling girl behind, Harry broke off, but in a moment, he was off on another thought.

“What did that bull tell you back there, Joe?”

“Why, you can imagine, I suppose.”

Joe’s voice became contemptuous.

“Well?” Harry persisted.

“He told me to turn the parade back. That a squad of officers were waiting at the square and that if I attempt to speak, I will be arrested.”

Harry whistled.

“And you’re going to speak, Joe?”

“I will speak till Hell freezes over.”

They turned a corner. The square was just ahead now. It rose up before them, black with jostling, curious throngs—raucous with the sound of voices. A bandstand in the center of the square was heavy with clinging human figures. Bluecoated police had thrown themselves about the stand and they stood—tense and menacing—swinging their heavy night sticks in sullen threat. The paraders neared the square and a ripple of cheers, quickly quenched, spoke of the partisans who awaited them. They entered—the crowd parting deliberately to let them pass. And here, as well as in the street, they gazed into faces black with hatred and into features, distorted and sinister. The murmur passed down the thin line: “It is a trap!”

Suddenly, the morale of the paraders seemed to snap. Two or three figures began to waver. The parted crowds, through which they walked, opened before them like a hideous shell, ready to close and crush them in the end. A sudden spasm shook the marchers, the center of the column seemed to crumple and, with wild, staring eyes, a group of the paraders halted to peer ahead. A jeer from the crowds completed the confusion.

The strapping westerners pushed resolutely forward to save the advance. Joe, in the van of the procession, thundered and cursed in futile rage. For a moment, it seemed that they might rally. Then the gangsters acted.

Seeing the confusion of the Socialists, the hooligans suddenly rushed upon them. In an instant, all along the gravelled path, the scene transformed itself into a battle. The marchers were set upon by stocky men who seemed to sprout from nowhere. Oaths and passion-torn voices stabbed the air. Women’s screams shrilled out in the clamor. The clumsy figures of the police bounded forward to join in the fray.

Caught between the struggling bodies, Joe gritted himself with a desperate determination. He would speak. Only thirty feet away, the stand loomed over

him. To gain the stand, to throw off the clinging attackers, to hurl out the few bitter words of passion which he could utter before the dead hand of force could gag him, this was the sudden goal which formed itself in his mind.

To think was but the prelude to the act. With a sudden super-human plunge he dove through the arms of the policemen and gained the stand. He leaped to the top and his voice rang out in a single word:

“Comrades!”

That was all. In an instant, they were upon him—a crushing weight of men who bore him down and pummelled him until his voice gasped away to silence. Once he called out, in the vain hope of assistance:

“Help! To the stand!”

But no one came and he fell. A heavy hand snatched from his fingers the red flag which he had waved. A scornful, cackling shout of exultation rose through the square, as the little crimson flag fluttered down on the steps. The Socialists were beaten. The fighting gradually flickered out.

The police and the bullies, crowded on the band stand steps, were too busy with their shouting to notice a thin, bent, bearded figure which suddenly slunk past them and bounded to the rostrum of the stand. Nor did they notice when he leaned in a quick and furtive jerk and snatched the red flag once more from the ground. Only when, throwing back his long black coat with its paper-jammed pockets, he suddenly raised the flag high above him and lifted a shout in a cracked and shaking voice, were they aware that opposition still rose beside them. Then, with a howl of hideous rage they were upon him. It was old Gogg.

Lingering in the front columns of the crowd, waiting palpitatingly to witness the splendid defiance of the boy who had cruelly rebuked him, old Gogg had blinked in the horror of the sick scene before him. And it had all seemed strangely familiar. He had seen the trap crushing the feeble marchers, he had seen Joe Allen going down helplessly in his final attempt. The brutal shouting of the mob had stirred him until his old body quivered with passion, while his memory shot back over the wasted years to a day like this, a quarter of a century passed. And somehow, he felt that the drama he witnessed was not new—that it was but a dream. Here was the same square, there the same bandstand, the same cause to struggle for, the same lowering, hideous crowds which seemed to step out of the setting of the past. Yes, and here also was he, the same Karl Gogg, called by the same shriek of crisis. A mighty throbbing began to shake him. A dim fearful purpose wavered in his mind.

And then Joe’s summons reached him. Joe, who had spurned him from the cause. Joe, who would now know for all time, the rich fires that slumbered in his shrivelled old heart.

“Help! To the stand!”

Feet of passion bore him forward. He saw the

little red flag cast to the ground. The chains of his restraint snapped asunder. An electric thrill seemed to bring youth once more into the warped body of the veteran and it drove him forward. The years dropped down suddenly from between and Gogg found himself living over once more the unforgettable drama of twenty-five years ago.

When the crowd spied him though, they did not cheer. Their voices became jeering and scornful. A coarse laugh roared through the square.

Old Gogg was little built to play the role of hero to a sullen crowd. Perhaps a younger and a straighter man might have held them for one desperate moment, hushed by the sheer devotion of the deed. But they gazed at Gogg and they saw only a hideous old man, with a silly, tattered coat, a greenness of stockings. They saw the form with its yellow-brown shrunken trousers, the gray, wagging beard and the staring, glazed eyes, covered with the flashy cap. And they laughed.

But Gogg did not heed their baying. A rapt light had come into his face. His hands clutched the beloved red flag.

Then he spoke.

His words were not loud but in this supreme moment they took on a shrillness that travelled over the black-massed throng. His German tones cut out like the rasp of an axe:

"I am von off the Socialists. Dis iss mein flag. I will vafe it until I die."

His voice trailed off and was swallowed up in a murderous shout that welled and thundered into pandemonium.

"A German! A German!" they screamed. "Lynch the damned German!"

Heavy men were now upon him; they had seized the shuddering old body, they were stripping off the dusty old coat; they were kicking and beating him in a mad, blinding fury. The hate lust was upon them.

When they finished, old Gogg lay silent. His threadbare clothing was shredded and his old body lay bared and bruised. His thick lensed glasses were broken, and the glass was pounded into his faded old eyes. His gray beard was red now with a warm, soft something which dripped slowly to the ground. But he did not move, for in the heat of the agony, his heart had suddenly grown cold.

Now that it was over, the captain of the police hurried to the front. The hoodlums had quickly scattered; the shapeless mass lay in a lone hideousness.

He gazed at it a moment and then turned it carelessly with his foot until the battered old features lay upright. Under his breath, he grumbled that this should have happened while HE was in charge. But when he saw the features, he gave a start of recognition. His eyes narrowed with surprise.

"Old Gogg!" he uttered. "Who would believed it."

And after a moment he pronounced the epitaph: "That damned old bum!"

A Message to the Deportees

William D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., serving a 20-year sentence in the federal pen at Leavenworth for being loyal to his class, has sent these few farewell words to his fellow workers who will be deported to the lands of their birth, as follows:

"The members of the Industrial Workers of the World now held at Ellis Island awaiting deportation, need no sympathy, though, many of them have suffered long, dreary, weary months of imprisonment.

"They will go back to the lands of their birth, hearts easy and conscience-free of any wrongdoing. When they came to the United States they believed that this was a free country. The pulse of each of them were beating high as the boats upon which they made the voyage entered port. They laughed and sang, with tears streaming down their faces, as they neared the shore line, in anticipation of the good times they were going to have in this, the country that was to be their home and the home of their children-

"They found, through bitter, cruel, experience, that this was not a country of homes and children; that here only the children of the Indians are free from toil. For the immigrant there is nothing but the tenement house and a ferocious struggle for existence. The highest court in the land legalizes the employment of child labor. At first they could not understand why babies had to work; but they soon learned that the family wage was a necessity in order that all might live; even then many died, especially the little ones, for want of the common needs of life—sunshine, air, milk, ice, coal, clothing.

"Everything was controlled by the profiteers.

"They began to understand that even freedom has a price. The price to them now is deportation. Not one of these men has violated any law or committed any offense against society.

"As members of the Industrial Workers of the World they have pledged themselves to stand with their class to abolish wage slavery.

"Those responsible for this violation of American principles will live to thank the exiles they now scoff at and abuse for the ideas of real liberty that they uphold. One great American said: 'The world is my country; man is my brother; to do good is my creed.'

"Each one of the exiles will carry with him wherever he goes the message of Industrial Freedom.

"So, with words of cheer and best wishes, we bid them farewell.

"WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD."

Russia is being built on revolutionary-industrial premises and all the vestiges of Bourgeois misrule are gradually being undermined and thrown into the unfathomable depths of bygone history.

Are You Prepared to Manage Industry?

IN case of a collapse of capitalism, resulting in chaotic conditions, like those which prevailed in Russia, later in Germany and England and shortly in France and Italy, and finally unavoidably in our own United States, the workers must take hold, control and manage their respective industries. We can do so and avoid the dangers of reaction. To the extent that the workers are organized we will succeed, with the least of friction.

The textile workers of the Industrial Workers of the World are organizing technical boards of each subdivision: Woolen, silk, cotton, knitting, etc. We call upon all former members, as well as new members, who have experience in office work and executive ability, also all others who are workers, to assist us in this work. (By workers, we mean all those with experience in any connection with the industry, except corporation board of directors and stockholders.) We want your knowledge to help map out the management and all the intricacies of production and distribution.

Capitalism is swiftly sliding out of existence, and with the same swiftness must the workers take possession. With the assistance of our industrial union we can alleviate the pangs of the birth of the new society.

The Workers' Woolen Management.

We have the records of all the machinery, their capacity in production, the raw material required per year to clothe the population of the United States, the different classes of raw material suited for different classes of product, the different factories suited for producing these classes of products, facilities for distribution, all raw material warehouses, where located, etc.

With the abolition of private ownership we are prepared to so classify the production that textile workers will produce enough to clothe the whole population of the United States by the use of only 50 per cent. of the present labor power, both brain and physical.

The Central Executive body (or Soviet) have

Gompers is soon coming home. His report on the yellow international he was going to form will be a treat. We are glad he stayed so long in Europe. Now the European workers who have been slow to believe our description of Gompers and his A. F. of L. have learnt to know them intimately. When Gompers leaves, there will probably be staged a kissing and embracing farewell by his fellow yellows, but back of them, deep into the industrial hells of the continent, there are millions of grimy European workers who smile and smile as they may be expected to do at the greatest joke of the century.

We are reliably informed that there is a strong movement on foot for the organizing of the Negro workers in this country into unions.

carefully worked out plans to increase the output of woolen cloth at least 40 per cent., with the machinery at present in vogue. It would be giving away efficiency plans to the mill barons to give out the details here.

All these (Soviet) plans are the results of thought on the part of class-conscious I. W. W. textile workers, who have worked all their lives in the industry with absolutely no ambition to better themselves under capitalism at the expense of the workers. But the time is near at hand when the workers will demonstrate their ability to manage industry according to improved methods such as the world has never seen, when capitalism shall have caused its own overthrow.

We are relying on the most intelligent element among the workers for success. The mob element will swing the way the intelligent element concentrates and directs the mass action. Membership in our factory local and general Soviets is open to those who will express and exercise their talents in our industrial union.

Right now is the time for all workers who formerly entertained any ambition to serve their master well. Now is the time for every ambitious worker to line up, learn the A. B. C.'s of the class struggle and make common cause with his fellow workers in their economic endeavors to supplant the existing capitalist mismanagement of industry.

The existing bottom stratum of the workers will not line up for the simple reason that it requires intelligence and courage to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its program of industry by, for, and of the workers. The bottom stratum will have to be educated by the class-conscious, organized workers until they acquire the average intelligence of the workers of the New Era, the Industrial Democracy.

Textile workers, the I. W. W. offers you the full social value of your labor power. Ask anybody where radicals congregate.

I. W. W. job delegates are always on the job.

—A. G. in "The Rebel Worker" of New York.

When Gompers comes home he will go into politics, it is officially announced. Seeing that the A. F. of L. is about to go to pieces they have to shuffle the cards a little to keep the dupes from thinking independently. It is not going to be a separate political party, but the candidates of the old parties are going to be subjected to the "acid test" of the A. F. of L. The program as announced is as limp as a dish rag, but so are the principles of the A. F. of L. Anything to keep the workers down.

We want somebody to write a study on the prospects of organizing the Negroes. Someone closely acquainted with the race and its problems.

A CALL FOR ACTIVITY

March 30, 1919.

Fellow Worker:

What are you doing towards the building up of the One Big Union? By asking this of you we do not mean to infer that you are doing nothing, neither do we expect by asking the question that you will jump out and do the impossible. But we hope by asking the question you will naturally in turn, ask it of yourself and figure out from your knowledge of the conditions in your locality, just how much you could do. We leave the local conditions to you.

There are several things that this office would like to have you do: We would like some co-operation in getting the widest possible circulation for the Bulletin. This can be done in several ways. First, you can get a bundle of them and distribute them yourself, or you can send in addresses from your locality, of workers whom you think will want them, or of workers not yet members, to whom you think it will be a means of education. Or you can send in the addresses and distribute them also. The Bulletins are free. However, do not send in any addresses that are not permanent, as it is impossible to tell when they move. These workers can be reached better by the distribution method.

You can also send in news, such as reports of job conditions and local items that you think will be of interest to workers in other localities. This is important to a good Bulletin, because, it will give the workers in one locality more heart to know by reading the Bulletin, that workers in other localities are also active.

By far the most important thing you can do is to get busy on the job with supplies and credentials. The delegate on the job now is necessary, because, at the time of writing peace has been declared, and the problems pursuant to this event can only be met by a strong revolutionary organization, such as the I. W. W.

Many Fellow Workers do not like to take out

credentials unless they see a chance to do a land office business. This is a mistaken idea of the Delegate System. Because, where the workers can be reorganized en-masse, they generally organize themselves. Where the delegate is needed most is on the jobs, where, after hours, he can talk and agitate to those other workers who do not yet see the light. If a delegate sells only two dollars' worth of stamps a month, that is far better than having no supplies and selling nothing. And if there was a delegate on every third job in the country, how long would it be before every unorganized worker who travels from one job to another would be lined up? Figure it up for yourself, and if you figure it the same as we do, you will have credentials and supplies as soon as you can get them.

The Job Delegate is the most important part of the organization. **NO DELEGATES, NO ORGANIZATION: LOTS OF DELEGATES, BIG ORGANIZATION.** If you are on a hostile job and have to whisper, then whisper; maybe after awhile if you whisper enough you can talk right out loud. But in any case be a delegate. Don't leave it to someone else. Always bear this in mind—that the capitalist class doesn't care a damn what you believe in, just as long as you don't get active.

Now, Fellow Worker, think this over and keep the question at the opening of this letter constantly in mind. Give us some co-operation, and as a copy of this letter will reach many more fellow workers beside yourself and we get a little assistance from each, plus yours, you can figure out that it will not be very long before we will be far ahead of our present day situation. Answer this letter and tell us how many Bulletins you can handle. If you are getting Bulletins and want more, let us know. Also make it a point to let us know of any change of address.

Yours for Industrial Democracy,

F. H. BOHN, Sec'y-Treas. No. 573.

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Break in the Dyke

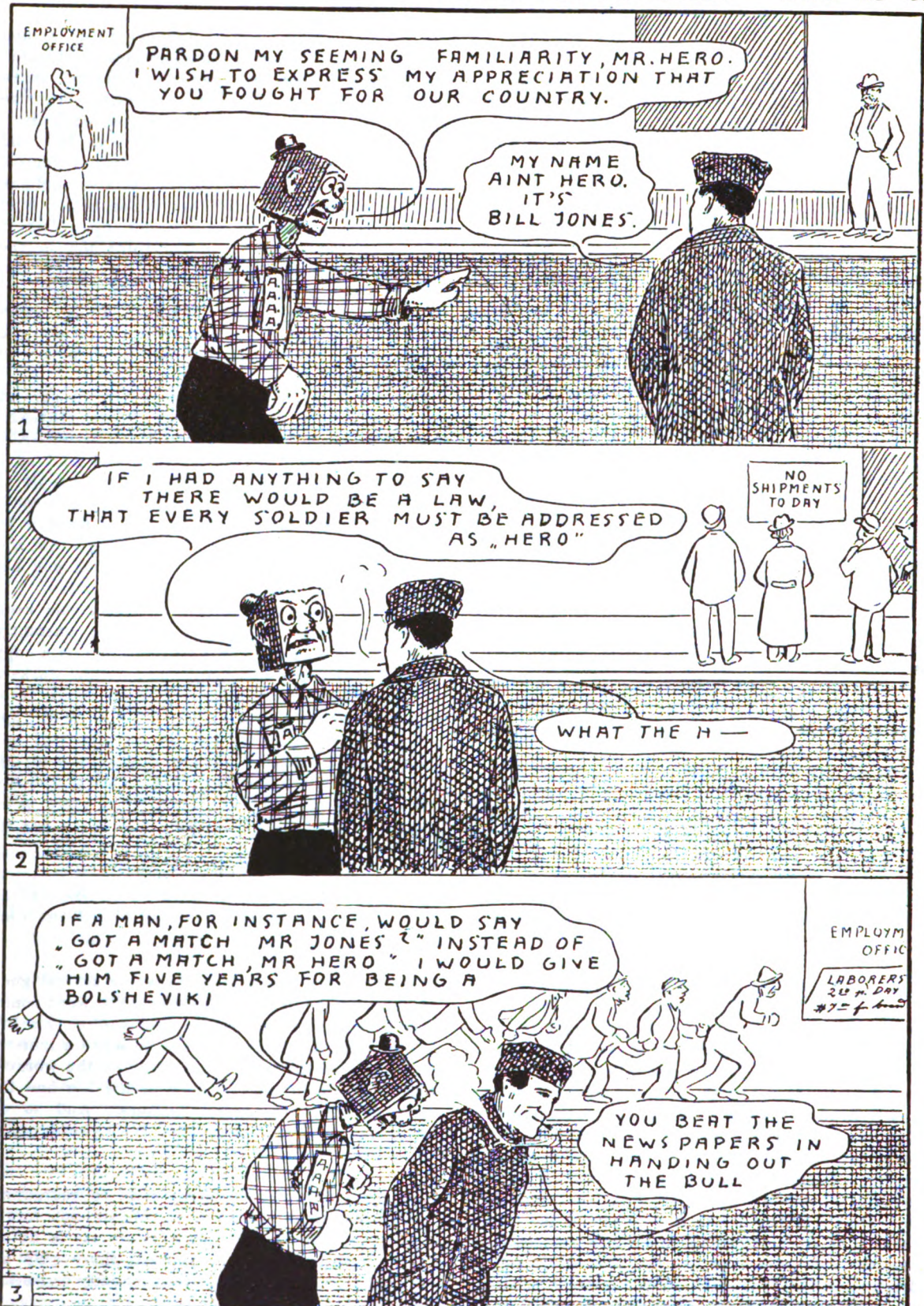
Hungary gone Bolshevik; German-Austria dangerously restless; Germany itself talking openly of the possibility of rejecting the Allied peace terms and joining forces with Russia; news from the Polish house of cards bearing every evidence of careful censoring and sifting; Rumania and Jugoslavia uneasy and uncertain; the Ukraine passing over to Leninism; Egypt and Korea in revolt; Spain under martial law; Italy full of murmurings; such are the salient items in the news of the recent days. The Reds throughout the world are jubilant. Just so, they assert, would the Revolution begin, the proletarian revolution international in character world-wide in scope.—The New Republic.

The One Big Union Monthly wants several good articles on the various industries. We want somebody to write up the agricultural worker, his life and his industry. Somebody else to write a true-to-life picture of the lumber industry and the workers therein. Still another to show us the life and the trials of the construction workers. And so on throughout the list of industries. With photographs, if possible.

* * *

If you know of any better plan to reorganize society than that of the I. W. W. do not forget to let people know of it. It is your duty to do so. But be sure to first make yourself thoroughly acquainted with the I. W. W. Read its daily or weekly press and its other literature.

MR. BLOCK:—He is a



member of the A.A.A.A.



AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL

By E. E. McDONALD.

(A Detention Prisoner on Ellis Island.)

THE radical movement in America is in a position where its members must observe at all times the motto: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

We must subordinate our differences concerning the matter of tactics to the matter of fighting the machine of capitalism, with its ever-increasing oppression, in its endeavor to crush the awakening working class.

So long as the ranks of labor stand divided, quarreling over the matter of tactics, so long will the persecution of its class-conscious members continue, be those members I. W. W., Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, or otherwise. In other words, it is a case of "united we stand, divided we fall."

When one sees an article in a radical publication abusing some faction of the radical movement, one wonders what sort of a radical the writer of the article is, because he is trying to divide the ranks of labor by arousing antagonism where solidarity must exist.

What difference does a person's opinion on the matter of tactics amount to, when weighed against the ultimate good he is striving for? Why attack our comrades of other opinions, as the capitalists attack us all, when we are all striving for the same thing—the abolition of the wage system?

Here on Ellis Island, with its conglomeration of workers of all nationalities and all shades of opinion, three facts are brought forcefully to one's attention. They are: the international character of capitalism; capitalism's impersonal attitude toward its rebellious slaves, and the need of solidarity in labor's revolutionary ranks.

Wherever, or whenever, capitalist institutions are threatened by the working class, the masters, regardless of quarrels, become a unit in suppressing the workers. The masters make no distinctions between races or creeds, or between the organizations which threaten their institutions and their power to exploit the working class. They mete out the same punishment to the Socialist or the Anarchist as to the I. W. W. or Syndicalist. They are equally intolerant of all because all are organized, each in his own way, to expropriate the expropriators and emancipate the workers from wage slavery.

Two Chinese I. W. W. were deported to China a short time ago, because they threatened the masters' supremacy; several English, Swedish and Norwegian members of the I. W. W. were served the same dose; several members of the Union of Russian Workers are prisoners here, awaiting deportation, besides I. W. W. members of various nationalities; all are radicals, and represent all shades of opinion. One little comrade, Mollie Stimer, is an Anarchist, with a fifteen-year prison sentence hang-

ing over her youthful head because she circulated literature opposing allied intervention in Russia. Out on bail pending appeal to the U. S. Circuit Court she again took up the fight for her class, which resulted in her arrest and transportation to Ellis Island to await deportation to Russia. Her sex and youth did not matter, nor did it matter that she can hardly speak Russian and all her relatives and her parents are in this country. No, nothing matters to capitalism except its institutions of robbery and its property. Anyone who interferes with either must pay for such interference. Age, color, creed, sex, or nationality makes no difference; interference is a crime and capitalism is international and impersonal.

That the worker is interfering with the sacred institution of property is cause enough to justify capitalism in its most violent acts of persecution; then, why should we who are trying to abolish this "sacred" institution make any distinction between persons with opinions at variance with ours, so long as our goal is the same—the destruction of property rights? The question of tactics should be no ground for unreasonable attacks upon each other; nor should the question of what we will do after property rights are abolished interfere with our solidarity. Let us leave this attacking to the capitalist class and then use their own weapons on them in a united effort to abolish their rule, based on property rights. After that what petty differences may exist between us can be settled peacefully among ourselves.

No one can predict exactly what conditions may exist after the overthrow of capitalism, so we shall have to let circumstances guide our actions to a great extent anyway; but we do know that right now we are all under the iron heel and are all struggling to get out from under it; so let us bury the hatchet, shake hands, and unitedly attack, or rather counter-attack, the common foe—capitalism and capitalist institutions—in its own impersonal and international way.

An attack by one member of a revolutionary group upon a group holding a different opinion as to tactics and final result, should be regarded by all as an attempt to foster a feud between comrades.

If a person considers his way of attaining a thing superior to another person's way of attaining the same result, he should advocate his method in a reasonable manner and not resort to abusive and scurrilous attacks as is so often done; let him bring out both sides of the question involved, present them for examination by all concerned, and then we shall have unity in our ranks, and reason shall prevail as it should among those who are trying to maintain their right to hold an opinion of their own, and the right to voice that opinion.

"I AM A WOBBLY"

By ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR.

Yes: I'm ready,
 I haven't gone and done it
 It has gone and done me.
 What has?
 The war.
 The class-war, I mean, of course.
 It has cleaned me out
 Not only of dough, but of doughnuts
 As well, including the holes.
 I am financially broke, busted, bankrupt
 But mentally enriched, I mean.
 That is, I have for the experience of being
 Held up, robbed, plundered, flouted, insulted
 Searched and kicked out of town,
 Something to show for it besides
 Dust on the seat of my pants
 And a black eye.

I went down the ladder from the top rung
 To the bottom one,
 I stood precariously leaning against nothing but
 blue sky
 And hastily beat it downwards
 Until I reached terra firma
 Where I now stand grasping
 The hands of fellow Wobblies
 Instead of the slimy rungs
 Of the bourgeois ladder of fame and fortune.

From Capitalism thru Socialism to
 Industrial Unionism
 Characterizes my trip.
 True, I wasn't a capitalist at all,
 Except in my mind.
 I was only another one of those
 Petty bourgeois who thought
 He was rich until the mortgage came due.
 Then quickly I turned sore and joined
 The Socialist Party just for spite
 But I found out that I didn't spite anyone
 Except myself.
 I didn't capitalize Socialism
 And sell it to the politicians
 The preachers, or the pamphleteers;
 Perhaps I wasn't cute enough
 Or too much of a rebel
 Or something:
 Anyhow,
 I didn't make a cent out of Socialism
 And it didn't make a monkey out of me.
 I didn't quit coming down towards the earth;
 I hit the soil a hard bump
 I fell amongst the real dirt
 And here I am to stay
 Among the fellows who fight
 For better conditions right now
 For the unskilled laborer,
 The unemployed guy,
 The tramp, 'bo, outcast.

The man who needs help right now
 Instead of the one who has his belly full
 Of schnapps and lager beer and pretzels
 And shouts for a world safe for democracy
 Under himself as justice of the peace
 And his wife for janitor of the public service
 station.

He surely won't go to work for wages
 Join the Wobblies and get sent to jail
 For agitating on the job.
 He isn't a revolutionist at all—
 Only a bluffer
 Playing safety first.
 It really seems, my brothers,
 That a man must take a chance
 If he wants to make a place for himself
 In history.
 If he is an inventor, he must try out
 His own invention like Darius Green
 Or his famous successors, the Wrights,
 Et al.
 If he is a scientist he must stand
 Behind his discourses like Darwin did
 In the face of the ridiculing world,
 Or like Haeckel, who, 'tho a Hun
 Is some sun-of-a-gun after all
 When it comes to backing up his
 Materialistic monism.
 If he is an artist in paints, marble, sounds
 Or words
 He must portray the world as it is
 In the midst of the throes of the class struggle.
 To do this effectively, he must keenly feel
 Those throes first. He must play a part
 In the fight.
 He must be a real revolutionist.
 There is only one sort of revolutionists now;
 Viz., the Wobblies.
 Not the Bolsheviks, who are only advanced
 Politicians
 Playing for the support of the ignorant
 Peasant proprietor
 And getting it.
 Not the German Socialists, minority or
 Majority group—more politicians.
 Politics, like religion, is master-class
 Camouflage
 To hide the low tricks of the big skin-game
 Called capitalism.
 Not the trade unionists who are only
 Capitalizing their trade and playing
 Freeze-out to the unemployed.
 Not the English Socialists, Fabians,
 Or the American ones either.
 All have an axe to grind—
 From Shaw with his plays and books
 Down to Simons with his tricky
 Palaver

All for sale at the very highest
Market price.
None of these are heroes. None of them
Is willing to suffer martyrdom
For the cause,
Like Bill Haywood, Frank Little,
Joe Hill and a host of other I. W. W.'s
Alive and dead, in and out of jail.

This is the day of show-downs;
No real man but knows he's got
To declare himself on one side or the other—
For justice or against it.

Everyone with an ounce of brains
Knows just what a big skin game
The capitalist system is.
He's got to stand for it or against it.
If he stands for it, he's done for as a man
Of any importance in this world.
If he stands against it, he's got to line up
With those who are making the biggest fight
against it.
And these are the Wobblies,
There's no doubt about that.
So, by gum, I say it again:
I am a Wobbly,

Sign me up quick.
I'm not working now
But I've got the price of a card
So go to it and put me down
And later I'll try to dig up
Enough to subscribe for the papers,
One Big Union, for instance,
The New Solidarity, The Industrial Worker,
The California Defense Bulletin,
And as many others as I can afford
Even if I don't get them regularly
Thru the mails,
I understand the reason why I don't
And I'll kick like a bay steer
When robbed of my rights.
I can get all the sloppy dope I want
From the best(?) of the radical bourgeois sheets
Down to the worst;
But I'm tired of slops,
I want good, clean, healthy food,
Food for a sound mind in a sound body
(As near as one can have one nowadays)
And the only place I can get such pabulum
Outside the classics (old stuff!)
And the scientific press (hard stuff!)
Is in the Wobbly papers (hot stuff!)
That's the kind of stuff I want, you bet.
I like it.

THE ORATORS OF DISCONTENT

(Being Their Reply to Henry Ford and Others.)

By COVINGTON AMI.

We have not knelt at Mammon's shrines, we have not bowed to gold,—
The Spirit of the Living Truth we never yet have sold.
We have denied the Pilate judged the Great Blasphemer right,
That Caesar is the fittest in the Adoni's sight.

We have not tricked the Words of Right to serve, like slaves, the Strong,
We have not made the mother tongue a vehicle for wrong;
We have not come from profitings on battlefields and marts
To lecture the despairing on "the evil in their hearts."

From Lucifer to Liebknecht we have marched ahead of time,
And we have paid the penalty in every land and clime;
We paid it with our tortured nerves, with lips all white and mute,—
We paid it on Golgatha and we paid it out in Butte.

We have paid it in soul-loneliness, where'er the exile dwells,—
We've paid it in Siberias and in your prison hells.
All the roads that lead to freedom, all the paths that turn from caves,
Are builded on the Dreamers' hearts, on rebel workers' graves.

The Capitalist and the hireling Press are unable
to find any argument against the One Big Union
scheme. So they just tell lies about it.

Under the pinch of economic conditions the con-
servative of today often becomes the radical of to-
morrow.

The One Big Union Movement preaches the gos-
pel that all working men are related to one another.
It is the last word in solidarity.

The worker invented machinery to lessen his toil,
but the master seized and worked it to lessen his
wages.

Fighting Among Ourselves

By JACK CARNEY.

SOME radicals spend more time fighting the I. W. W. than they do fighting the master class. When I arrived in America I was prepared to judge the radical movement as I witnessed it in action, not by its pamphlets and the speeches of its members. I walked into the I. W. W. local and saw thirty men sleeping on the floor. These self-same men were busy during the day organizing the workers, yet in the cold weather they were content to sleep on the floor. Why was it? Can you not see in that action the stuff that exists only in real men? I did. I admired those boys for it. Their faith in the International was real. It was not the rendering of mouth-service, it was the giving of everything they possessed.

Take the organizers of the A. F. of L. and contrast the spirit of most of its organizers.

During the Mesaba strike, I went to union after union and appealed for funds. Trade unions with big treasuries donated five and ten dollars, while I. W. W. waitresses gave as much as whole unions. Why do the I. W. W. do this? Is it because they

want to fool the workers? No, my friends, it is the expression of a courage and devotion to their class that the critics of the I. W. W. are not capable of.

Those I. W. W.'s in prison are real men, and some day you will give them credit for what they have done. They do some things that we would not do, because we have not their spirit. They prefer riding on freight trains instead of spending money on Pullmans. They are playing their part in the social revolution. Disagree with them, but never play the game of your master. Stand by the I. W. W. and show the masters that you are for solidarity. A revolutionist must first of all be possessed of a real class-conscious spirit. You have to have the spirit first. Many intellectuals have the knowledge, but they have not the spirit. That is why they are so easily bought up by our masters.

We shall need the I. W. W. and all workers, so let us have more tolerance amongst ourselves. If there is any fighting to be done, you know who your enemy is!—"Truth."

The Story of the I. W. W.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

CHAPTER THREE.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

Fifteen years ago, the Western Federation of Miners occupied a position in the labor movement, as anomalous as that of the I. W. W. of to-day. Standing apart from the main movement, the American Federation of Labor, it was, nevertheless, a source of inspiration and an object of admiration to all other unions. There was the same militant courage, the same solidarity of action, the same uncompromising conception of the class struggle. While De Leon and his co-experimenters of the S. T. & L. A. were theorizing over how unionism could be made revolutionary, the western unions were actually building a union which was revolutionary. And this union was not a skeleton organization, it was a job organization which conducted long and bitter industrial struggles, which obtained a wide spread job control, which clinched the argument for industrial unionism by the rich showing of its results.

Unlike the S. T. & L. A. or the I. W. W., the W. E. of M. was not the result of a carefully diagrammed theory. It was a spontaneous growth. It sprung up in response to the necessities of the western miners. Its form was developed in the heated emergencies of those desperate western strikes. Its tactics emerged, one by one, in response to the challenge of its needs. Had there been no socialist movement in existence, the W. F. of M. would probably have drifted into its revolutionary viewpoint, just the same. And, although Syndicalism, with its industrialism, its sabotage, and its militancy, had been in existence for ten years in France, it is questionable whether any member of the W. F. of M. was even aware of this fact or influenced by it

in any way. The W. F. of M. was the product of a condition and not a theory.

This condition was a peculiarly sectional one. To the staid and static respectabilities of eastern life, the western portion of the United States presents a glaring contrast. Here life, is uncouth, ebullient and individualistic. The instincts of the westerner are essentially primitive and lawless. This is true, not only of those who are of western birth, but even of the easterners who immigrate into the west. There is a peculiar wizardry in frontier environments which can be escaped by none. In the artificialities of urban life, man can transform nature to his own pleasing; in the wilderness or on the mountains, man must conform to nature's stern requirements or die. All of his effete artificialities are stripped from him. Each man must learn to stand upon his own feet if he would stand, at all. The natural necessities of the west have bred up a strong and courageous race. Individualism runs strong in them. They breathe freedom in the very atmosphere.

There is also an element of adventurers in the west. The western mines are filled with the surplus outpourings of eastern industrial life. There is the city worker who has revolted against the fettering bondage of his life and has "disappeared." There are eastern miners who have been blacklisted after leading unsuccessful strikes. There are wanderers who have plunged themselves into the wilderness in order to live down the regrets of their memories. All these adventurous characters, who had struck their trail into the vast west in order to find freedom, suddenly discovered that, amid these primitive surroundings, the modern industrial system is not only found, but is found at its worst. The result of that discovery was an explosion. It was natural

that the liberty-loving western pioneer should react to such a discovery with all the passion of his nature. Out of the disillusionment of his slavery, the western miner revolted and his revolt belched forth that giant among unions, the Western Federation of Miners.

"Big Bill" Haywood, in his inimitable way, tells the story of the formation of the W. F. of M.

"We were born in jail," he says, and adds, "we are proud of our birth. We were the children of an injunction. It was the first injunction ever issued in a labor controversy and the doubtful honor of being the father of injunctions, rests with Judge Beattie of the Federal District Court of Idaho. That injunction was issued during a strike in the Coeur d'Alene in the panhandle of Idaho in 1892. The miners went on strike to prevent a reduction of wages and the mine owners, violating all laws, brought in thugs and hired gunmen from foreign territory, and there was a pitched battle between union and non-union men. A few were killed on each side and during the fight a mill was blown up and the soldiers were sent in and 1200 union men were arrested. They were placed in what the authorities were pleased to call, a 'bull pen.' That particular bull pen was a hurriedly-erected two-story structure, built out of rough lumber. There, those 1200 men were crowded in and held, most of them, for a period of seven months. During the early weeks of their incarceration, they were not permitted to leave that building, not even to answer the calls of nature. They became diseased and vermin-infested and many, many of them died as a result of that cruel imprisonment.

Among the number were fourteen, who were arrested for violating the injunction I have referred to. They were sent to Ada County Jail, and by the merest coincidence, occupied the same cells that Moyer, Pettibone and myself lived in for so many weary months, commencing some fourteen years later. And it was while those fourteen men were within the gloomy walls of that prison that they conceived the idea and formulated the plan of federating all the miners of the west or amalgamating all the miners of the west into one general organization.

As soon as they were released, they called a convention. It was held in Butte, Montana. And on the 15th of May, 1893, the Western Federation of Miners was born."

The new W. F. of M. had no intention, at the outset, to develop into a general labor movement. On the contrary, it early affiliated itself with the A. F. of L. As a component part of the A. F. of L., it confined itself to organizing, solely, among the metalliferous miners. This jurisdiction included the gold and silver miners of Colorado, Nevada and Colorado and south-east Missouri; and the zinc Montana and northern Michigan; the iron miners of Minnesota and Michigan; the lead miners of Colorado and South East Missouri; and the zinc miners of south-west Missouri. In all these fields, the W. F. of M. soon developed a membership.

The first great test of strength was in the first Cripple Creek strike in 1894. After a desperate struggle, the union emerged successful. An eight hour day and a minimum wage of \$4.50 per day was established. The prestige of the W. F. of M. was spread broadcast through the mines. Then followed a series of strikes, some of them won and some of them lost, but all characterized by the same wild, unrestrained bitterness which has made the W. F. of M. famous as the 'fighting union.' There was probably violence on both sides in these strikes. The mine owners honeycombed the ranks of the union with spies and agents-provocateurs. Armies of gunmen and private detectives were held in readiness, at all times, to be rushed into any camp which

flared up in industrial revolt. But, despite opposition, the W. F. of M. grew.

The second strike in the Coeur d'Alene, in 1899, was perhaps the most spectacular because of the brutality which it engendered. In the course of the strike, another mill was blown up. Troops were called for. The militia of Idaho was away in the Spanish-American War. So a regiment of black federal soldiers were sent in at the request of Gov. Steunenberg. Another bullpen was erected, more horrible than the first. It was a low, rambling structure built only one story high. Men slept on the bare ground, or on rough boards, there was no flooring and the whole place was foul and putrid. It was surrounded by a fence of barbed wire, eighteen or twenty strands high. On the inside of that enclosure, over a thousand union men were imprisoned. And outside there were a thousand negro soldiers, unrestrained in their brutality. To add to the bitterness of their imprisonment, the miners realized that their homes, wives and sisters were helplessly at the mercy of these black hordes. For months they were held there in the bullpen while the strike was broken. But, although it is catalogued as a defeat, this Coeur d'Alene struggle engendered an immemorial bitterness.

The work of organization proceeded, with increasing success. The mine owners consolidated to crush out the W. F. of M. The culminating fight occurred in the attempt to win the eight-hour day. The minds of the W. F. of M. members were obsessed with the idea of political action during the early days of the union. This expressed itself by the endorsement of those candidates, usually Democratic, who seemed to be most favorable to the workers. By this means, the miners were able to control the legislature and executive of the state of Colorado in 1899, to the extent of having an 8-hour day bill enacted into law and signed by the then Gov. Thomas.

Of course, the mine owners offered a violent resistance. After the passage of the law, however, the fight would probably have been dropped had it not been for the attitude of the largest owners. Several of the small employers were on the point of putting the 8-hour day into operation when the American Smelting and Refining Co. (Smelter Trust) appealed the law to the Supreme Court of Colorado. On July 17, 1899, Chief Justice Campbell rendered a decision declaring the 8-hour day law, unconstitutional. He grounded his decision upon the technical point that the legislature of Colorado was not empowered to pass legislation of that nature.

A storm of indignation burst over the state, an indignation that was all the more accentuated by the suspicion that the court had been tampered with. A constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to pass such a law was submitted to the voters of Colorado at the election of 1902. It carried by the enormous majority of 46,714 votes. The miners regarded this vote as being as sacred as a referendum. Both the Republican and Democratic platforms had pledged their candidates to enact such legislation, in the event that the amendment carried. But when the legislature convened, it frittered away the session without passing the promised law. If the belief the the Smelter Trust was engaged in a wholesale campaign of bribery had been a suspicion before, it had become a certainty in the minds of the miners now. Balked in their political hopes, they fell back upon their economic power. A general strike for an 8-hour day was called for all the miners of Colorado.

In the terrible struggle which followed, the union was completely wiped out. Gov. Peabody showed himself to be a servile tool of the Guggenheims. Martial law was established throughout the regions of the strike. Friendly sheriffs and local officials

were superseded. A state militia, hastily recruited from the ranks of company gunmen were rushed to the mines. These state troops were commanded by Gen. Sherman Bell, one of the most depraved characters whom the western labor movement had ever encountered. Men were arrested by the wholesale. The right of habeas corpus was dismissed by Bell with his famous jocularly, "We will give them post-mortems instead." Miners were deported from their homes and driven from the state. It was a reign of terror such as the labor movement has never seen equalled except in the most recent strikes of the I. W. W. The union was not broken: it was literally exterminated. The bosses remained on top.

Out of the terrible intensities of this fight were born the instincts which the W. F. of M. passed down to the I. W. W. All of the chainless passions of frontier life were evoked. Tricked in their political victory and throttled in their general strike, the miners reached out for another weapon with which to renew the contest. They had been beaten in Colorado despite the fact that the miners had stood solidly with them. Would it have happened, they asked themselves, if the entire working class of Colorado had been organized, similarly, with them? Did not the cause of their weakness proceed from the fact that their solidarity was a solidarity of miners only? What was needed, to be invincible, was a union which organized every trade, skilled or unskilled, into one gigantic mass organization. The conclusion was reached that the W. F. of M. must be expanded so as to include the entire working class.

It was obvious that the A. F. of L. could never be expected to become such an organization. The Western Federation of Miners had seceded from the A. F. of L. in 1896. Each succeeding year had seen it drifting further away. The W. F. of M. had worked out an entirely unique mode of tactics.

First, it had abolished the contract system. In the A. F. of L., all unions were in the habit of entering into agreements with the employers and clinching these agreements by a written time-contract which, in many cases, prescribed penalties for its violation. The W. F. of M. scorned this contract system. In their view, a contract was merely a chain by which the union fettered the mobility of its action. By the contract, the boss had everything to gain, the worker everything to lose. The boss was always free to repudiate his contract whenever he saw that the union had become too weak to enforce it. On the other hand, the union was voluntarily tying up its strength for a term of years, regardless of the opportunities to raise its wage scale, which might slip by during that period.

Moreover, in an organization like the A. F. of L., separate unions would thus sign contracts which would expire at different dates, thus preventing a simultaneous or general strike. When one union was released by the expiration of its contract and could go upon strike, all the others would be forced to work and thus help to defeat it. From the standpoint of practical tactics as well as of revolutionary ethics, the contract system was indefensible.

The W. F. of M. had again broken the bond of precedent by becoming an industrial union. It united the man who used the pick and shovel and the man who used the machine. It included the engineers, the machinists, the mill and smelter men and all other workers in and around the mines. To the A. F. of L. such a form of unionism was unthinkable. In the A. F. of L., these kindred trades were all divided by an iron-clad system of craft autonomies. The W. F. of M. recruited its membership in accordance with the joint product that they produced. The A. F. of L. organized them according to the tool that they used. These two concep-

tions of unionism presented a complete contrast to each other.

These innovations of the W. F. of M. may seem irrelevant to the reader, but they lie at the very heart of the distinction which was later fought out between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. It was the W. F. of M. which first emphasized this distinction.

The lessons of defeat inspired the miners with a desire to create a yet higher form of unionism. Gradually, there grew up a sentiment which clamored for the creation of a new union, patterned after the W. F. of M., but embracing all industries. An experiment in this direction had already been made. In 1898 there had been formed the Western Labor Union. This was a union of unskilled labor and western in its jurisdiction as its name implies. From its inception, it was bound to the W. F. of M. by the closest bond of intimacy. It was a shadow of the older and larger organization.

The W. L. U. attained a considerable membership. It directed its activities toward the cooks and waiters and the lumberjacks. Among the latter, it recruited a large membership in Montana and northern Idaho—districts where the miners were already predominantly W. F. of M. In districts where the W. L. U. and the W. F. of M. were integrated together, many of the small local unions of A. F. of L. bodies began to co-operate with them locally. As the movement grew stronger, it gained courage. It decided to go east and fight the A. F. of L. in its own strongholds. The Civic Federation had been formed in 1901. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison had been lured into this infamous organization and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. were howling with rage. Gompers' stock of popularity had sunk to its lowest minimum. The time seemed ripe to form a great drive to create a new American labor movement.

The year 1902 was the most significant year in the pre-I. W. W. period. Both the W. F. of M. and the W. L. U. held their annual convention of that year on a simultaneous date in Denver. To the W. L. U. came Frank Morrison, general secretary of the A. F. of L. He bore an invitation to the unions of the W. L. U. to affiliate with the A. F. of L. In case they refused, he conveyed the threat that, otherwise, his organization would rush a swarm of organizers into the west and form rival unions in every industry. Stung by his tone, the W. L. U. not only refused to affiliate but returned the challenge by changing its name and jurisdiction to the American Labor Union. Elaborate plans were laid to go east and fight the A. F. of L. The W. F. of M. got behind the new A. L. U. and supported it with all its energies.

Another interesting development of the 1902 conventions was the endorsement of socialism. Edward Boyce, president of the W. F. of M., presented a resolution, endorsing the platform of the Socialist party and recommending a widespread distribution of its literature among the miners. The resolution was enthusiastically carried. The new A. L. U. took similar action. This resolution rallied many of the Socialist Party members to the support of the unions. It also gave them a revolutionary ideal which eventually, dictated all of the subsequent developments. Apart from its form and aggressiveness, the western movement was not materially in advance of the S. T. & L. A. at this period. Both were pro-political although one endorsed the S. L. P. while the other recommended support of the S. P. Both tacitly accepted the theory that socialism could only be obtained by political action and that the industrial unionist point of view had not yet been attained.

After these 1902 conventions, the leaders of the W. F. of M. were, almost without exception, mem-

bers of the Socialist party. Its actions were shadowed by the socialist ideal to an increasing extent. But it was not the thin, intellectual socialism of the east. It was a socialism of militant and proletarian stripe, born of the workshop and mine and colored by the traditions of the desperate western past.

But the W. F. of M. began to advance beyond the political action stage. It awoke to the mighty potentialities of unionism. It began to glimpse the fact that unions can perform a mightier social function than the mere sordid wage struggle. They hold in their grasp the possibilities of re-creating the world. Out of the ovum of unionism, almost anything could be developed. As indicative of this new conception, we see William D. Haywood advancing the proposal to the 1902 convention that the W. F. of M. should employ its surplus treasury to purchase mines. These would be managed co-operatively for the benefit of the union members. Thus was advanced the first suggestion that the revolutionary union could be employed to operate industry by displacing the capitalist, Daniel McDonald, president of the W. L. U., had made a similar proposal to his members and had endeavored to inaugurate a great cooperative movement, patterned after the famous English model. But he suggested that the cooperative should be owned by the union, thus making the union the nucleus of a new society. Although neither of these proposals were adopted, they were significant of the spirit of the western movement during that period. Both the A. L. U. and the W. F. of M. were consciously groping toward a higher conception of unionism.

But the A. L. U. did not succeed in its efforts to reach the east. In the west, it experienced a steady growth. It developed into a class-conscious and revolutionary body. Under the strong editorship of Thomas J. Hagerty, its official organ, the **Voice of Labor**, became the most militant publication in America. Despite its slow growth, many people believed that this was the organization which was destined to become the great revolutionary rival of the A. F. of L.

The contemporary developments in the A. F. of L. were quite favorable to this belief. At no time, was the narrow craft spirit more in evidence in that union than during these years. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers had just been thrown out of the A. F. of L. for trespasses upon craft jurisdiction. The United Metal Workers left the A. F. of L. at about the same time. The Brewery Workers were seething with dissatisfaction. A new union, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, had grown up outside of the A. F. of L. and had been refused admission. Industrialists believed that the time was ripe for a great industrial union, on a nation-wide scale, capable of uniting all these forces which were working separately toward the common end. Socialists lent their influence to this propaganda. In the east, De Leon was trying to create a sentiment for its coming.

But the American Labor Union did not prove itself strong for this task. In the minds of the other individualists, it was too provincial and western in its attitude. A movement must be undertaken upon a much broader scale. Day by day, the industrial union grew stronger. It seemed as though the western mountaineers of the W. F. of M. had started the momentum of a real industrial revolution.

In September of 1904, the general convention of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen was held. This was a strongly socialistic union which had already abolished craft lines in its industry. The editor of its official organ, the Brauer Zeitung, was William E. Trautmann, one of the most enthusiastic advocates of a new union. Great hopes were aroused that, at this convention, the

Brewery Workers could be induced to secede from the A. F. of L. After an exhaustive debate, the convention finally voted the proposal down, on the ground that the American Labor Union lacked the potentiality of becoming a real national organization. Many of the industrialists felt that, had there been a stronger industrial union movement in existence, the convention could have been captured.

Acting upon this belief, a group of industrialists met in private conference, a few weeks later. A letter was drafted and a selected list of 36 industrial unionists were invited to attend a larger conference in Chicago on January 2, 1905. The wording of this circular letter will give the reader some insight into the vagueness which characterized even the initiator of this conference.

"We invite you to meet with us at Chicago, Monday, January 2, 1905, in secret conference, to discuss ways and means of uniting the working people of America on correct revolutionary principles, regardless of any general labor organization of past or present and only restricted by such basic principles as will insure its integrity as a real protector of the interests of the workers."

This letter was signed by six names: William E. Trautmann, editor of the Brauer Zeitung; George Estes, president of the U. B. of R. E.; W. L. Hall, general secretary-treasurer of the U. B. of R. E.; Eugene V. Debs, former Socialist party candidate for the presidency; Clarence Smith, general secretary-treasurer of the A. L. U.; and Charles O. Sherman, general secretary-treasurer of the United Metal Workers Union. Thomas J. Hagerty of the A. L. U. and Isaac Cowen of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers were also present at the conference, although their names were not used in the summons.

The January conference was completely successful. Twenty-six of those invited were in attendance. Only two definite refusals were received, one from Max Hayes of Cleveland and the other from Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee. All the others expressed themselves as being in complete sympathy with the formation of a new union, either by attendance or by a letter of support.

To give an idea of the representative character of this gathering, the list of those who attended will be instructive.

Daniel McDonald	President of the A. L. U.
Clarence Smith	General Sec'y-Treas. of the A. L. U.
Thomas J. Hagerty	Editor of the Voice of Labor
Charles H. Moyer	President of the W. F. of M.
William D. Haywood	Gen. Sec'y of the W. F. of M.
John M. O'Neil	Ed. of the Miners' Magazine
M. E. White	G. E. B. member of the A. L. U.
W. G. Critchlow	Gen. Sec'y of the International Laborers' Union
Joseph Schmitt	Editor of the Bakers' Journal
John Guild	Member of the Bakers' Union
W. Shurtleff	Secy. of the International Musical Union
W. L. Hall	Gen. Secy.-Treas. of the A.
Frank McCabe	1st Vice-Pres. of the U. B. of R. E.
W. J. Bradley	3rd Vice-Pres. of the U. B. of R. E.
J. E. Fitzgerald	4th Vice-Pres. of the U. B. of R. E.
George Estes	Pres. of the U. B. of R. E.
F. D. Henion	Member of the U. B. of R. E.
Thomas De Young	Member of the U. B. of R. E.
Dr. A. J. Swing	Member of the A. F. of M.
Charles O. Sherman	Gen. Secy.-Treas. of the U. M. W. U.
C. G. Kirkpatrick	Member of the U. M. W. U.

William E. Trautmann Editor of the Brauer Zeitung
 Frank Krafft Member of the I. U. of
 United Brewers Workmen
 W. J. Pinkerton Member of the Switchmen's
 Union
 Frank Bohn Org'zer of the S. T. & L. A.
 A. M. Simons Editor of the Int. Soc. Review
 Mother Jones Of the U. M. W. of A.

The general basis of principles upon which the new union should be formed, were discussed and agreed upon. A temporary organization was effected and a call for a general constituent convention was issued. This call was embodied in a manifesto which emphasized the salient objects of the conference. A temporary office was opened in Chicago and the manifesto was sent broadcast throughout the labor movement. The committee worked with feverish intensity to make the coming convention a success. Everybody believed that they stood upon the **threshold** of the real labor union of the future. It was under these favorable auspices, that the I. W. W. was born.

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

Bulletin No. 1.

With this will be found the Financial Report for the month of March. The report shows the Domestic Workers' I. U. to be in a fairly healthy condition considering the short time since its reorganization. We are now prepared to forge ahead; with the unstinted co-operation of all the members, the H. R. & D. W. I. U. can be made an important factor in the Industrial Union movement.

How successful we shall be in this depends on YOU. You can do your share by sending in at once for credentials and supplies and by distributing leaflets and pamphlets, for it is education that is the backbone of the I. W. W.

15,000 leaflets have been distributed in the last three weeks and a new Domestic Workers' leaflet will be in the field soon; there is also a large number of Hotel and Domestic Workers' pamphlets on hand. All delegates should have these.

Several new Domestic Workers' branches have been formed within the past month, namely, in Detroit, Mich., Baltimore, Md., Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles, and two new branches in Chicago. The newest Chicago Branch has job control in several restaurants and has demanded a minimum wage of \$15 per week and the 8-hour day with six days per week.

New York City and Butte, Mont., are also showing good results. Among the Finnish Domestic Workers they are especially active in raising funds for the Defense of the Class War Prisoners.

We would like to see every member of the H. R. & D. I. U. with one or more of the new Organization Stamps. These stamps are issued for the purpose of providing an organization fund for the General Organization to organize in industries that have been heretofore neglected, and for convention expenses.

Financial Report H. R. D. W. I. U. No. 1100, I. W. W.

March, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

Initiations	\$139.00
615 Due Stamps	307.50
Assessments	5.00
Buttons	9.50
Literature	8.45
Credit on acc't Cash bal.	93.95
Misc. Donations	85.26
Duplicate .....	.25
Total Receipts	\$648.91

EXPENDITURES.

Thos. Whitehead, per Capita	\$150.00
On acc't Literature, etc.	50.32
Wages & Commission Br. Sec'ys & Delegates	49.16
Mileage	1.90
Held on hand by Branches	103.17
Exp. Acc't Relief	19.70
Main Office salaries	51.00
Rent, Light, Heat	5.00
Stationery & Fixtures	57.05
Postage, Express & Wires	1.53
Misc. exp., adv., printing, etc.	34.00
Total Expenditures	\$522.83
Cash on hand	126.08
	\$648.91

RECAPITULATION.

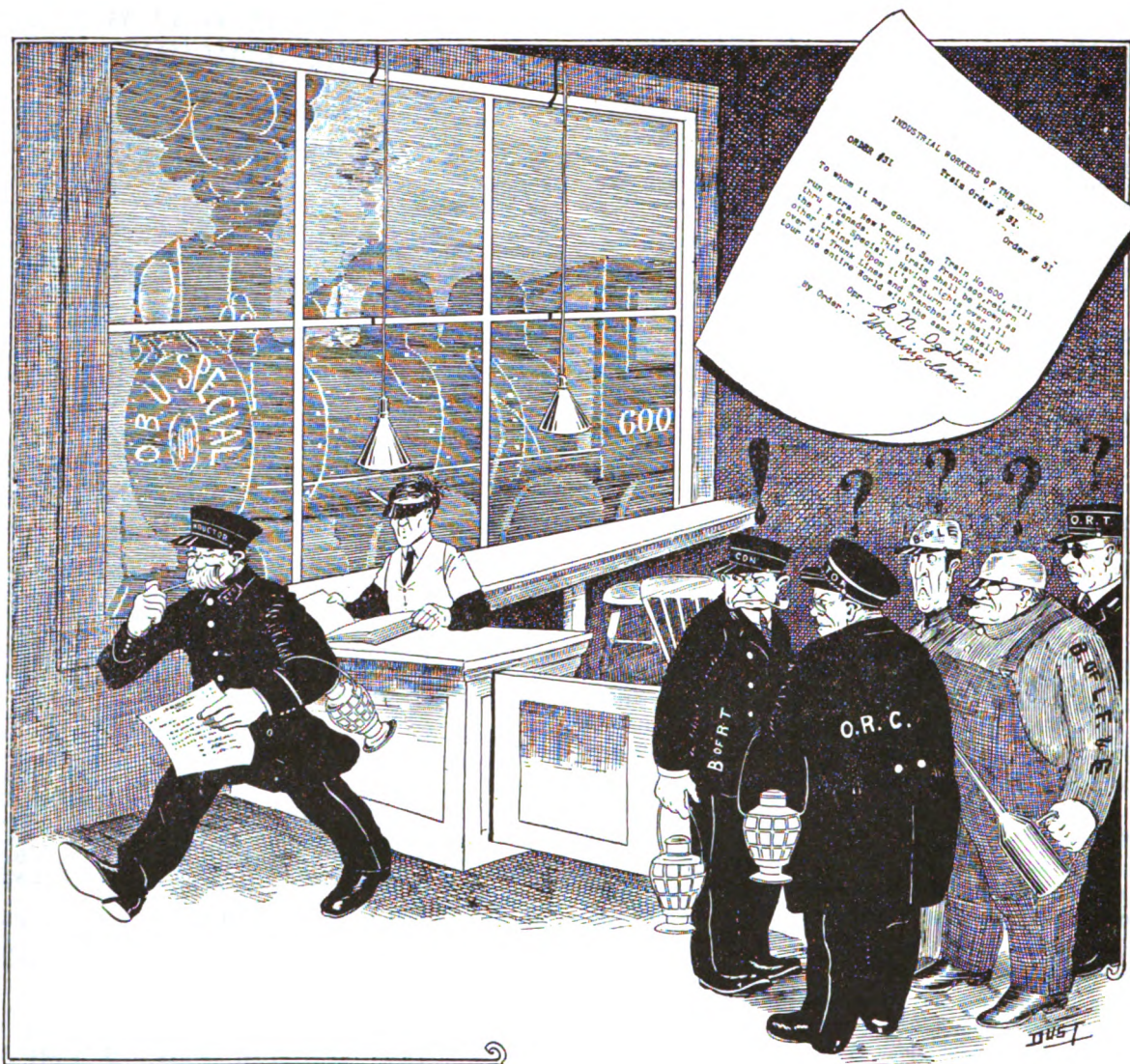
Total Receipts	\$648.91
Total Expenditures	522.83
Cash on hand, April 1, 1919	\$126.08
ERNEST HOLMEN.	
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union.	

A "mysterious" general strike has broken out in Rome, Italy. The whole mystery was probably that the workers struck without giving notice, a thing which the exploiters do not consider fair.

* * *

There are 9,871 different industrial occupations in the U. S., says C. T. Clayton, Industrial Training Division of the Department of Labor. Over 90 per cent of these are without an apprentice system. There are 240 different classifications of industry and one half of the men engaged in them need training. A great many of our industrial occupations overlap to such an extent that a few days special training could fit any one of them to any position.

Says a deportation prisoner on Ellis Island: "We do not fight actual deportation, but we fight on the principle that the charges placed against us are based on prejudice and untruth. We object to go to Europe and arrive there under a cloud.



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

Bulletin No. 9.

Chicago, Ill., April 9, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

With the arrival of the summer months, many jobs have opened up. Sentiment in all parts of the country is steadily growing for the Industrial form of organization. This promises to be the banner year for the O. B. U. R. R. Workers in all parts of the country are dissatisfied with their conditions, also with the craft form of organization. By every member of No. 600 taking out credentials we can make No. 600 one of the largest

and strongest Industrial Unions in the I. W. W. All members that are in a position to do so, should write for credentials.

The work of the General Defense is being carried on with a great deal of success. All the members who were arrested in the raids at Kansas City, Mo., have been released.

The appeal on the Chicago case has been granted. The bail for thirty-seven of the defendants has been placed at \$240,000.00. Many members are trying to raise the bail. We expect to get eight or ten out on bail this week.

Funds are still needed to carry on the work of the General Defense. So do not forget the defense stamp.

Any member who has any property that can be used as bail, or have any friends that have property, should send a description and location of said property to Otto Christensen, 19 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. He is handling the bail on the cases.

Remember the General Organization Stamp.

Write for Credentials Today.

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

Act. Sec.-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.
1001 West Madison St.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT R. R. W. I. U. No. 600,
I. W. W.**

March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

27 Initiations	\$ 54.00
198 Due Stamps	99.00
Relief Stamps	6.00
Organization Stamps	23.00
Day's Wage Stamps	5.00
General Defense Stamps	5.50
Buttons and Pins	1.25
Literature	23.40
Papers	10.40
Subs. to papers	3.00
Donations	4.00
Branch and Delegate accts.	11.88
Cr. G. O. monies held for No. 600 from Dec. 1, 1917	51.26
Brought forward Jan. 1, 1919	1.00
Total Receipts	\$298.69

DISBURSEMENTS—

Charge Per. Deposit for dues.....	\$ 1.50
Gen. Hdqts., Literature	3.50
Gen. Hdqts., Papers B. O.	10.00
Gen. Hdqts., O. B. U. Monthly, B. O.	2.00
Gen. Hdqts., Subs., Papers	2.50
Delegates, Comm., Literature & Initia- tions	9.72
Organizers' wages	9.00
Relief paid out	1.50
Mileage	8.48
Main Office Wages	105.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc.	31.60
Postage, Express, Wires	22.24
Branch accounts	17.55
Cr. for cash adv. from G. O.	51.26
Allowance Ind. Unions on supplies.....	17.50
Held on hand by Ind. Unions	15.00
Printing	75.62
Pd. to Ind. Unions on Reports	2.50
Total Expenditures	\$386.47

RECAPITULATION—

Total Receipts	\$298.69
Cash on hand March 1, 1919	243.57
Grand Total	\$542.26
Total Disbursements	386.47
Cash on hand April 1, 1919	\$155.79

**CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, MAIN
OFFICE, R. R. W. I. U. No. 600.**

March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

Mar. 1, Delegate X23, Report	\$ 9.00
3, A. Walquist, Report	3.00
4, C. N. Ogden, Branch Report.....	3.30
Delegate X138, Report	2.30
6, C. N. Ogden, office report	1.00
7, F. H. Bohn, No. 573 acct.	2.50
Delegate X44, Acct. ....	.50
C. N. Ogden, Office Report .....	.60
8, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	2.00
10, Delegate X3, Report	19.88
Delegate X103, Report	3.00
Delegate X51, Report	9.90
11, Delegate X3, Report	1.50
C. N. Ogden, Branch Report	2.25
12, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	7.00
14, Delegate X47, Report	1.00
15, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	13.00
17, Delegate X3, Report	7.31
18, C. N. Ogden, Branch Report	2.00
Delegate X103, Report	2.00
19, Delegate X47, Report	4.50
Delegate X9, Report	16.00
Delegate X50, Report	5.00
20, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	5.05
24, Delegate X151, Report	8.25
C. N. Ogden, Office Report	3.00
Delegate X138, Report	2.75
25, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	3.00
28, C. N. Ogden, Office Report	1.50
29, Delegate X45, Report	3.00
31, Delegate X50, Report	8.50
Total Cash Receipts	\$147.59

DISBURSEMENTS—

Mar. 1, C. N. Ogden, wages	\$ 21.00
4, A. Newman, subs. to paper	1.00
5, Main Office, Postage	10.00
8, C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
Int. Prtg. & Typesetting Co., 10,000 leaflets	47.00
10,000 stickers	20.37
10, G. O. Literature	3.50
11, C. E. Payne, sub. Sol.	1.50
15, C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
17, Spravednost Prtg. Co., 1,000 hand bills	5.00
21, C. E. Payne, Papers B. O.	10.00
22, C. N. Ogden, wages	21.00
24, Main Office, postage	10.00
28, S. Csulay, wages organizing	9.00
29, C. N. Ogden, wages.....	21.00
Int. Prtg. & Typestg. Co., Ballots A. W. I. U. No. 400 on Dec. Re- ports	3.25
31, O. B. U. Monthly B. O.	2.00
F. H. Bohn, Pro Rata Exps., Ham- mond Br.	6.25
Total Cash Disbursements.....	\$236.37

RECAPITULATION—

-Total cash receipts	\$147.59
Cash on hand March 1, 1919	243.57
Bal. forward from Dec. 1918.....	1.00
Grand Total	\$392.16
Total Expenditures	236.37
Cash on hand April 1, 1919.....	\$155.79

C. N. OGDEN,

Acting Sec'y-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.



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

Bulletin No. 29.

Chicago, Ill., March 31.

Fellow Workers:—

Since the last Bulletin went out the Attorneys working on the Chicago case have made application for bail for one group, and before this week is over an application will have been filed for all the others.

The reason for the application for one group first was that the men mentioned in the application have the clearest grounds on which the Court will act.

Application will be made for bail in the Wichita case for all concerned by Vanderveer and Moore this week, and the case of the boys who were arrested and sentenced to serve eleven months and 29 days on a vagrancy charge in the Kansas City raids will be argued before the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri this week; the hall at Kansas City is closed awaiting this decision.

The Auditing Committee of three members of the Organization Committee is now auditing the books of the main office of the A. W. I. U., and their report will be out by the end of the week; they have also counted the ballots which were out to decide where and when the spring convention would be held, and they make the report that the convention of the A. W. I. U. will convene at Sioux City, Iowa, April 21, at 10 A. M.

As many members as possible should attend this convention; no doubt there will be many changes to be brought up and discussed concerning both the A. W. I. U. and the Organization in general; those who cannot attend and who have any points that should be brought up should send same in writing to either this office or to James Kelley at 316 Jennings St., Sioux City, Iowa.

All members who have carried credentials during the winter months would do well to write in to the main office and send a statement of the supplies on hand so that they will know that they are starting out in the spring with a correct understanding as to how their account stands at the main office.

Spring work has opened up all over the country and reports are coming in from Idaho, Montana, and other parts of the West, that monthly men are wanted with wages from \$40.00 to \$70.00 per month.

Men are wanted at Garrison, North Dakota, with the same wages as stated above, and a few Gas Engineers can also get located at the latter place with wages from \$75.00 to \$150.00.

Ditching is now in full blast through Iowa, and wages in most cases are about \$5.00 per day; you can get located at Webb, Spencer, Sheldon, Jefferson, and also at Rock Rapids and up through Minnesota.

Throughout Nebraska and Kansas there is a little farm work going on but not much demand for men yet.

There is not much activity in the Oil Fields; there is less work going on than usual at this time of the year and lots of men looking for work.

* * *

Money is badly needed this time to carry on the appeal of the Chicago case as well as the other cases yet to be tried, so it is up to every member to dig in and do his share; organization stamps should be sold at this time also to meet the expenses of the coming convention.

Best wishes, I am, yours for the O. B. U.,
 MAT. K. FOX,
 Sec'y Treas. A. W. I. U., No. 400.

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

March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

76 Initiations (1 A. F. L. Card).....	\$ 150.00
General Defense Stamps	114.00
1452 Dues	726.00
Relief Stamps	122.00
Gen. Org. Stamps	94.00
Day's Wage Stamps	22.00
Sioux City Smoker Proceeds	32.05
Mpls. Br. Contents of Jail Box	11.21
Misc. Donations for Defense	12.00
Buttons	10.30
Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc.....	281.82
Subs. to Solidarity	2.25
Subs. to O. B. U. Monthly	15.00
Misc. Subs.	2.00
J. Terrell, Donations to Hall	9.00
Moneys paid on acct. by Secs. & dels.	353.03
Press Fund	24.00
F. Bohn, Joint Office Exps.	36.38
Personal Deposits, cancelled check ...	30.72
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues.....	1.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Dues	105.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Initiations.....	50.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Initiations.....	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues	5.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Dues	52.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Initiations	6.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues	17.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues	2.00
G. R. U., Dues	24.00
G. R. U., Initiations	2.00
Total Receipts	\$2,314.76

DISBURSEMENTS—

Personal Deposits	\$ 14.00
Headquarters, Per Capita	22.50
Headquarters, on acct. supplies	484.50
Comm. on literature.....	26.80
Literature, Bulletins, etc.	70.01
Subs. Industrial Unionist	1.50
B. O. Calif. Def. News Bulletin	1.75
Misc. Subs. ....	.75
Solidarity B. O.	100.00
Dist. & Br. Secs. Wages & Dels. Com.	599.85
Mileage	36.19
Moneys held by Br. Secys. & Dels....	372.23
Main Office Salaries	252.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. (Branches)....	220.80
Stationery & Fixtures	9.50
Postage, Express, Wires	77.75
Allowance on reports from other I. U.	165.00
Joint Acct. Exps. for month of March	63.75
Fred Bohn, Org. Exps.	6.25
Jas. Kelley, Picture Frames	10.00
James Ward, Pro Rata Exps.	5.75
Misc. Exps. ....	.54
Relief, A. M. Blumberg	10.00
Relief, H. Bradley	5.00
Workhouse Relief, Mpls. Br.	4.00

Total Disbursements

\$2,560.42

RECAPITULATION—

Total Receipts	\$2,314.76
Cash on hand March 1, 1919.....	1,658.09
Grand Total	\$3,972.85
Disbursements	2,560.42
Cash on hand April 1, 1919	\$1,412.43

CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, MAIN OFFICE, A. W. I. U. 400. March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—

Mar. 1, Delegate No. 88F, Report	\$ 41.50
3, Wm. Dixon, Report	5.00
Delegate No. 2009, Report	19.00
4, C. Gibson .....	.27
B. Ryan	1.75
5, Delegate No. 231F, Report	2.00
Bob Nelson .....	.75
Delegate No. 18F, Report	11.70
6, W. Conradi, Subs.	6.00
7, C. O. Meyers	5.00
T. Whitehead, acct. No. 573	4.25
8, Delegate No. 845, Report	10.01
Delegate No. 290F, Report	10.50
Delegate 2F, Report	28.54
10, John Eininger, Report.....	5.00
Ben Eaves, Report	10.50
Harry R. Ryan, Report	3.00
11, J. Slightam, Report	5.00
Bob Nelson, Report	2.00
Aug. Walquist .....	.25
12, Delegate No. 184F, Report	23.15
Delegate No. 182F, Report.....	68.97
Delegate 178F, Report	2.00
Delegate 123F, Report	5.00
14, Delegate 2F, Report	64.90
15, Delegate 124F, Report	1.00
16, John Edenstrom	3.00
17, Delegate 178F, Report	19.20
18, Delegate 3F, Report	50.00
Delegate 182F, Report	19.77
19, N. E. Bennett, Report	2.00
Bob Nelson, Report	1.50
Delegate 2000, Report	1.00
Delegate 184F, Report	10.35
20, Delegate 161F, Report	5.00
M. O'Malley .....	.25
Delegate 108F, Report	10.00

21, Delegate 2000 .....	.25
Delegate 34F, Report	1.00
Delegate 2090, Report	14.50
C. F. Bentley, Report	3.02
22, Delegate 2078 .....	.50
Delegate 2128, Report	14.50
Delegate 2F, Report	71.05
24, Delegate 290F, Report	26.00
C. Nelson .....	.95
Delegate 2000 .....	.25
Delegate 2000, Report	17.88
Delegate 90F, Report	2.00
25, W. Conradi, Report	3.00
26, Delegate 108F, Report	10.00
Delegate 2056, Report	5.00
Delegate 2054, Report .....	.25
Delegate 15F, Report	5.00
Delegate 3F, Report	50.00
27, C. N. Ogden, acct. No. 600, Report	2.50
J. Fahlstrom .....	.25
Delegate 16F, Report	5.00
28, Delegate 2091, Report	17.25
Delegate 2040, Report	3.90
Delegate 123F, Report	25.00
Cancelled check Oliver Weaver....	30.72
31, Delegate 184F, Report	13.25
Fr. Bohn Joint Office Exps. for	
months of Feb. and March.....	36.38
Delegate 13F, Report	9.00
M. K. Fox Office Receipts	13.08
Total Cash Receipts	\$840.59

DISBURSEMENTS—

Mar. 1, Int. Prtg. & Typesetting Co.	\$ 10.00
Jeannette Wosczyński, wages	21.00
Mat K. Fox, wages	28.00
Walter Sheridan, wages	28.00
Walter Sheridan, on acct.	50.00

4, M. K. Fox acct. postage stamps	
received during February	2.25
R. A. Williams, Calif. Def. Bull.	1.75
6, John Lee, Balance of personal	
deposit	14.00
8, Int. Prtg. & Typesetting Co.	46.25
Jeannette Wosczyński, wages	21.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
M. K. Fox acct. H. Bradley.....	25.00
11, Pedro Aguilar acct. Los Angeles	
Branch	50.00
14, T. Whitehead acct. relief stamps	150.00
15, M. K. Fox acct. J. Cronin.....	25.00
T. Whitehead acct. supplies	200.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
21, M. K. Fox, acct Postage Stamps	35.00
22, Jeannette Wosczyński, wages	21.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
24, Fr. Bohn acct. L. Mellis pro rata	
org. exps.	6.25
25, New Solidarity acct. B. O.	100.00
28, M. K. Fox acct. A. Bare	30.00
29, M. K. Fox acct J. Fisher	25.00
M. K. Fox, wages	28.00
Jeannette Wosczyński, wages	21.00
31, Joint Acct. Expenses for month	
of March	63.75
Total Cash Disbursements.....	\$1,086.25

RECAPITULATION—

Total Cash Receipts	\$ 840.59
Cash on hand March 1, 1919.....	1,658.09
Grand Total	\$2,498.68
Total Cash Disbursements	1,086.25
Cash on hand April 1, 1919.....	\$1,412.43
MAT K. FOX,	
Sec'y-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.	

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

Bulletin No. 30.

Chicago, Ill., April 7, 1919.

Fellow Workers:

Since the bulletin went out the attorneys working on the Chicago cases have made application for bail for one group. Bail in these cases has been reduced to \$15,000.00 down the line to \$1,000.00. Applications have been filed for all the others.

The reason for the application for one group first is that the men mentioned in the application have the clearest grounds on which the court will act.

Application was made for bail in the Wichita case for all concerned by Vanderveer and Moore last week. The boys arrested in the raids at Kansas City, sentenced to serve eleven months and twenty days on a vagrancy charge, were all released last week.

Money is badly needed to carry on the appeal of the Chicago cases, as well as the other cases yet to be tried, so it is up to every member to dig in and do what he can to carry on same.

* * *

The \$1.00 General Organization stamp is for the purpose of helping pay the expenses of delegates to the General Convention of the I. W. W., and it is up to each and every member to get one or more of these stamps in his book.

Work is opening up in all parts of the country, and whenever a member knows of a job that is in progress, he should send the information to the nearest branch, or to the General Office. The information should include wages, conditions, and as much information as possible, and it will be put in the bulletins.

* * *

Notice to All Secretaries, Stationary Delegates and Delegates.

Turn all Days Wage, all fifty cent General Defense Stamps in at once, so that same can be turned into General Headquarters and then No. 573 will be given credit for same.

All duplicate cards must be issued from the General Office of No. 573.

* * *

JOB NOTES.

Perkintown, N. J. ..Building a town site. All kinds of construction work. Wages 45 cents per hour. Eight-hour day. Conditions fair. Several Wobs on job. Twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, Pa. Shipment free.—Del. E-81.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

F. H. BOHN,

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

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, C. W. I. U. No. 573,
I. W. W.
March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—	
202 Initiations	\$ 404.25
1934 Dues	967.00
Relief stamps	153.00
Gen. Org. Stamps	65.00
Day's Wage Stamps	4,977.50
Buttons	30.50
Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc.	304.35
Monies paid on acct. by Branch Sec'ys & Del.	3,960.00
Misc. Donations for Defense.....	2.40
Subs. to Solidarity	2.70
Misc. Subs. ....	.15
Monies refunded, Misc.	36.85
Monies refunded, Seattle for office desk	12.50
Monies refunded, No. 500 for Fil- ing cabinet	15.00
Monies refunded, No. 573 Raffle....	204.75
Monies refunded, No. 573 Smokers	295.29
Monies refunded, Donations to re- lief	24.86
Monies refunded, Seattle Strike Committee	100.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400 Dues	16.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 Dues	11.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 Initiations	2.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 Dues.....	2.50
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700 Initiations	4.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700 Dues.....	6.00
M. W. W. I. U. No. 800 Dues.....	5.00
M. W. W. O. U. No. 120 Dues.....	2.00
G. R. U. Dues	1.00
Total receipts	\$11,605.60

DISBURSEMENTS—

Thos. Whitehead, Per capita.....	\$ 515.00
Thos. Whitehead, on acct. supplies	5,624.37
Literature	126.25
Subs. to papers	54.32
Br. Sec'y & Del. Wages and Com- missions	771.55
Mileage	162.13
Monies held by Br. Sec'y & Dels.	3,238.06
J. Engdahl, Jail relief stamps	4.00
J. Engdahl, Seattle Relief Kitchen	13.20
Turned over to J. Bartling	4.41
Main office salaries	365.85
Rent, light and heat, etc.	285.21
Stationery & Fixtures	89.91
Postage, express and wires	55.49
Allowance on supplies	59.63
C. W. I. U. No. 573 raffle expenses	94.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573 smokers ex- penses	250.69
I. Schwarts to Doyle for publicity	125.00
H. Brown, printing leaflets	5.00
N. Y., C. C. C.	20.00
Joint Office expenses	36.38
Miscellaneous expenses	38.09
International Ptg. & Typesetting Co.	14.25
Total Disbursements	\$11,952.79

RECAPITULATION—

Total Receipts	\$11,605.60
Cash on hand March 1, 1919.....	2,609.25
Grand Total	\$14,214.85
Total disbursements	11,952.79
Cash on hand April 1, 1919.....	\$ 2,262.06

CASH RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURES, MAIN
OFFICE, C. W. I. U. No. 573.
March, 1919.

RECEIPTS—	
Mar. 1, T. L. Jackson, Subs.	\$ 2.00
Del. E-253, Report .....	.50
3, Del. E-32, Report	8.00
Del. 12, Report	7.25
4, Del. E-247, Report	19.40
6, Del. 32, Report	4.00
Del. 13, Report	16.00
7, Del. E-14, Report	200.00
Del. E-186, Report	4.15
8, Del. E-211, Report	2.00
Del. E-251, Report	5.32
Office Receipts	6.00
10, Del. E-32, Report	22.30
11, Del. D-124, Report	30.00
Del. E-247, Report	14.54
Del. E-241, Report	1.50
Del. D-207, Report	3.50
Del. E-33, Report	4.50
12, Del. E-247, Report	7.50
13, Del. 207, Report	15.00
Del. D-598, Report	5.00
Del. 431, Report	15.75
14, F. H. Bohn, Re-deposit	2,607.57
Del. E-15, Report	20.00
17, Del. E-101, Report	1,000.00
18, Del. E-226, Report	37.58
19, Del. E-81, Report	16.50
20, Del. E-247, Report	8.00
21, Del. E-251, Report	4.31
22, Del. E-226, Report	7.83
25, Del. E-222, Report	50.00
26, E-230, Report	6.00
Del. E-34, Report	3.50
E-207, Report	15.00
27, Del. E-247, Report	10.15
Del. E-247, Report	11.90
28, Del. E-283, Report	70.10
31, Del. E-222, Report	25.00
A. S. Embree, Storage Acct., No. 800	18.00
A. S. Embree, Pro Rata	6.25
M. K. Fox, Acct. No. 400, Pro rata	6.25
C. N. Ogden, Acct. No. 600, Pro rata	6.25
C. R. Thomas, Acct. No. 300, Pro rata	6.25
Wm. Clark, on acct.	25.00
Total cash receipts	\$4,355.65

DISBURSEMENTS—

1, Hazel Nehling, wages	\$ 21.00
Robt. Weir, wages	24.00
F. H. Bohn, wages	24.00
Thos. Whitehead, wages	24.00
4, Hungarian B. O. for Feb. ....	.60
Subs. to Solidarity	3.00
B. O. Calif. Def. Bulletin	9.50
7, P. Stone, acct. G. R. U. report	5.50
Acct. No. 300 allowance on sup- plies .....	.50
Acct. No. 400 allowance on Feb. Report	4.25
Acct. No. 600 allowance on Feb. Report	2.25
Harry Trotter on acct.	25.00
Telegram to H. Trotter .....	.40
8, Postage Stamps	8.00
Mileage to W. W. White	20.00
International Ptg. & Typ. Co., 5,000 Letter Heads	17.75

Robt. Weir wages	24.00	25. O. B. U. Monthly Acct.	44.40
F. H. Bohn, wages	8.00	26. Thos. Whitehead, Headquarters,	
Thos. Whitehead, wages	28.00	Acct. Supplies	200.00
Mileage and one day's wages, J.		29. Robt. Weir, wages	24.00
Kelley	26.55	F. H. Bohn, wages	28.00
11. F. H. Bohn	1,000.00	International Printing & Type-	
F. H. Bohn	1,500.00	setting Co., 10,000 Hand Bills	20.50
F. H. Bohn	107.32	Mary Weir, Steno. wages	21.00
14. H. Trotter, Bal. Auditing Books	20.00	Office report per F. Bohn.....	11.67
H. Trotter, on acct.	50.01	31. M. K. Fox, Joint Office expenses	36.38
15. Robt. Weir, wages	24.00	T. Touzanika, Acct. Russian	
Telegrams to Portland and Se-		Paper	5.07
attle	1.60	La Nueva paper	3.15
Fred H. Bohn, wages	28.00	Headquarters, two months' rent,	
Mary Weir, wages	8.75	Feb. and March, and Charter	60.00
International Ptg. & Typ. Co.,		Total cash disbursements	\$4,702.84
Application Blanks	14.25		
W. W. White, on acct. wages	20.57		
17. Sub. to Solidarity Month Feb....	36.60		
W. W. White on acct.	20.00		
19. Thos. Whitehead, Headquarters			
acct.	1,000.00		
B. O. Rebel Worker Great Falls	1.50		
20. L. Melis, Adv. Acct. H. Branch	25.00		
22. Robt. Weir, wages	24.00		
F. H. Bohn, wages	28.00		
Telegrams to Towne .....	.77		
J. H. Kelley, on acct.	54.75		
Mary Weir, wages	7.00		

RECAPITULATION—

Total Cash Receipts	\$4,355.65
Cash on hand March 1, 1919....	2,609.25
Grand Total	\$6,964.90
Total Cash Disbursements	\$4,702.84
Cash on hand April 1, 1919.....	\$2,262.06
F. H. BOHN,	
Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem., C. W. I. U. No. 573.	

Industrial Workers of the World Bulletin

The sentiment for the I. W. W. is the greatest in the history of the organization. Urgent calls for I. W. W. literature and organizers are being received from all parts of the country. The only things that prevent a tremendous growth—lack of facilities and finances to meet the situation. Charter applications from all over the country are coming into this office; eighteen for the month of February. This is the answer of the workers to the master class, that they seek emancipation from wage slavery.

The members of the Craft Unions of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario have sent two hundred and forty-two delegates to a convention in Calgary on March 18. A delegate from each of the five provinces was elected as a resolution committee, and among other things they recommended the following, which were unanimously adopted:

We recommend the name of the proposed organization be "THE ONE BIG UNION," and adopted six other resolutions which deal in detail with plans to be adopted to carry out a successful education campaign, and ways and means to finance it for successful initiation of the One Big Union; other resolutions demanding free speech, free press, release of all political prisoners, a six-hour day, five days per week and a General Strike June 1, if the above are not granted, were unanimously carried.

The General Executive Board wishes to an-

nounce that it is holding night sessions on convention matters and suggests that resolutions be sent in by industrial union branches and individual members and they will publish their recommendations in Solidarity.

DEFENSE.

Fellow Worker Bert Williams was sentenced to life in prison on a frame-up charge and was rushed through the courts. His case is being appealed. The powers in California are trying to connect the I. W. W. with the Oakland, California, Bomb Explosion. The Fickert-Mulhall gang, in conjunction with the Frisco Bulletin, are starting a campaign along these lines. The Department of Justice investigators state there is absolutely no evidence pointing towards the I. W. W. in this outrage.

Attorney Fred Moore's motion to quash indictment against Fellow Worker Krieger at Tulsa, Okla., was sustained, but the prosecution was given twenty-four hours to re-indict him. Such is justice in this "Tar and Feather" town.

Attorney Geo. F. Vanderveer's motion to quash the indictment in the Wichita case resulted in the trial being set over until September term of court, so as to give time to have the briefs printed and present same to the Court, who will rule on all points of law involved as to the legality of this indictment. Everything is being done by Vanderveer to have these fellow workers released on reasonable bail.

Vanderveer has taken the Kansas City raid cases to the Supreme Court to see if because you are an I. W. W. is legal reason to be "vagged" and be sentenced to ninety days and five hundred dollar fine to be worked out on the municipal farm in eleven months and twenty-nine days.

* * *

Petro Pieri, who is being framed up on the charge of a threat to kill President Wilson, will be defended by Fred H. Moore.

* * *

There are a number of cases in eastern Washington and Idaho, the trial dates of which have not been set, with the exception in the case of H. Wilter in the Federal Court, which comes up sometime between April 10 and 16.

* * *

In the Seattle Criminal Anarchy cases, Vanderveer has wired for a continuance of one month, by which time he expects to be there to personally handle this case. These cases are the outcome of the recent General Strike in Seattle and we understand that all organized labor is backing the defense in these cases to the limit.

* * *

FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDFD.

The great expense of publishing nine propaganda papers, also pamphlets, which are run strictly on a cash basis, together with the heavy expense of the Chicago appeal and the numerous trials on hand financed by headquarters, relief to the Class War Prisoners and their families, make it imperative that the funds should flow in more steadily if all the activities which we are carrying on at the present time are to be continued, all of which are indispensable for the success and to the interest of the organization.

* * *

All fellow workers and delegates should push to the limit the sale of organization, relief and general defense stamps, and every member of the organization should co-operate in making successful meetings held to raise funds for defense and relief of the class war prisoners.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,
THOS. WHITEHEAD,
 Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

February, 1919.

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS.

Due Stamps	\$ 630.00
Supplies	812.11
Literature	502.05
Subs	1.75
Papers:	
Russian Paper	581.42
New Solidarity	485.68
Italian Paper	109.35
Bulgarian Paper	517.87
Swedish Paper	327.53
Jewish Paper	163.32
Spanish Paper	37.10
One Big Union Magazine.....	90.61

Contributions:

Defense Funds	2,595.25
Relief Funds	1,296.60
Freedom Certificates	150.00
800 Propaganda Committee....	15.71
Organization Fund .....	.50
Assessments	107.70
On Deposit, General Recruiting Union	864.32
On Deposit, General Recruiting and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union	27.99
Funds on Deposit	151.15
Miscellaneous	21.74

Total Receipts \$ 9,189.75

SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS.

Office Expenses:

Rent	\$ 250.00
Light and heat	56.42
Wages	528.50
Supplies	854.85
Printing	1,300.28
Telegraph and Telephone..	62.55
Postage	52.80
Bundle Orders	30.00
Checks and Money Orders returned for signature....	336.70
Deposits refunded	20.71
Repairs and Taxes	30.61
Miscellaneous	27.60
	\$ 3,551.02

General Executive Board Expenses:

Wages	\$ 244.00
Mileage	250.00
	\$ 494.00

General Defense Expenses:

Wages	\$ 333.80
Postage	18.00
Printing	1,250.25
Bundle Orders	3.00
Expenses	84.61
Money Transferred from Funds to Certificate and Ass'm'ts Acc'ts	317.57
Counsel Fees & Expenses....	4,733.52
Relief	1,251.29
	\$ 7,992.04

General Recruiting Union Expenses:

Rent	\$ 100.00
Wages	80.50
Printing	10.75
Supplies	15.46
Bundle Orders	85.04
Init. and Dues collected for Industrial Unions	147.75
Organizing	50.00
	\$ 489.50

Industrial Union No. 800 Expenses:

Supplies	\$ 2.50
Advanced	100.00
	\$ 102.50

Industrial Union No. 600 Expenses:

Wages	\$ 42.00
Advanced	200.00
	\$ 242.00

Industrial Union No. 500 Expenses:

Loan	\$ 40.00
	\$ 40.00

Industrial Union No. 300 Expenses:

Printing	\$ 65.40
Advanced	100.00
	\$ 165.40

Organizing Expenses:

Wages	\$ 159.00
Mileage	58.60
Expenses	65.54
	\$ 283.14

Educational Expenses:**New Solidarity:**

Wages	\$ 131.00	
Supplies	33.25	
Printing	593.08	
Type	11.10	
Cartoons	12.60	
Expressage	112.08	
Subs. and Bundle Orders.....	15.92	
Postage	5.66	
Check returned	17.50	\$ 932.19

Italian Paper:

Wages	\$ 84.00	
Printing	254.14	
Expressage	23.95	
Cartoons	10.00	\$ 372.59

Russian Paper:

Wages	\$ 84.00	
Printing	477.55	
Mileage	17.62	
Expressage	23.97	\$ 603.14

Spanish Paper:

Wages	\$ 84.00	
Printing	142.48	
Supplies	3.18	
Cartoons	3.15	
Expressage	11.98	
Typewriter Rental	3.00	\$ 247.79

Swedish Paper:

Wages	\$ 143.00	
Printing	276.18	
Postage	17.53	
Cartoons	15.50	
Supplies	14.11	
Expressage	23.97	\$ 490.29

Bulgarian Paper:

Wages	\$ 89.00	
Printing	224.41	
Supplies	4.40	
Expressage	15.97	
Postage	1.70	
Mileage	8.50	
Expense	1.00	
Stamps, Subs. and Bundle orders. Other Papers	13.55	
Cartoons	10.50	\$ 369.03

Hungarian Paper:

Supplies	\$ 8.35	
Cartoons	10.50	\$ 18.85

Jewish Paper:

Wages	\$ 15.00	
Supplies	8.74	
Printing	77.72	\$ 101.46

One Big Union Monthly:

Wages	\$ 81.00	
Printing	8.25	
Supplies	5.73	
Cartoons	47.25	
Subs. & Bundle Orders.....	10.00	\$ 152.23

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS \$16,647.17

RECAPITULATION.

Balance Cash on hand February 1, 1919..\$10,699.62
Total Receipts for February, 1919..... 9,489.75

\$20,189.37

Total Disbursements for February, 1919 16,647.17

Balance cash on hand March 1, 1919.....\$ 3,542.20

New Solidarity.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$2,705.36
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 932.19

\$3,637.55

Total Receipts, Feb. 1919..... 485.68

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$3,151.97

Italian Paper.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 957.16
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 372.59

\$1,330.75

Total Receipts Feb. 1919..... 109.35

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$1,221.40

Russian Paper.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 11.10
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 603.14

\$ 614.24

Total Receipts Feb., 1919..... 581.42

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$ 32.82

Spanish Paper.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 456.18
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 247.79

\$ 712.97

Total Receipts Feb., 1919..... 37.10

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$ 675.87

Swedish Paper.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 184.34
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 490.29

\$ 674.63

Total Receipts Feb. 1919..... 327.53

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$ 347.10

Bulgarian Paper.

Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 369.05
Total Receipts Feb. 1919..... 517.87

\$ 886.92

Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 369.03

Cash on hand March 1, 1919..... \$ 517.89

Hungarian Paper.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 6.14
Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 18.85

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$ 24.99

Jewish Paper.

Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 204.05
Total Receipts Feb. 1919..... 163.32

\$ 367.38

Total Disbursements Feb. 1919 101.46

Cash on hand March 1, 1919..... \$ 262.92

One Big Union Magazine.

Balance Due Feb. 1, 1919.....\$ 48.40
Disbursements Feb. 1919..... 152.23

Balance Due March 1, 1919..... \$ 200.63