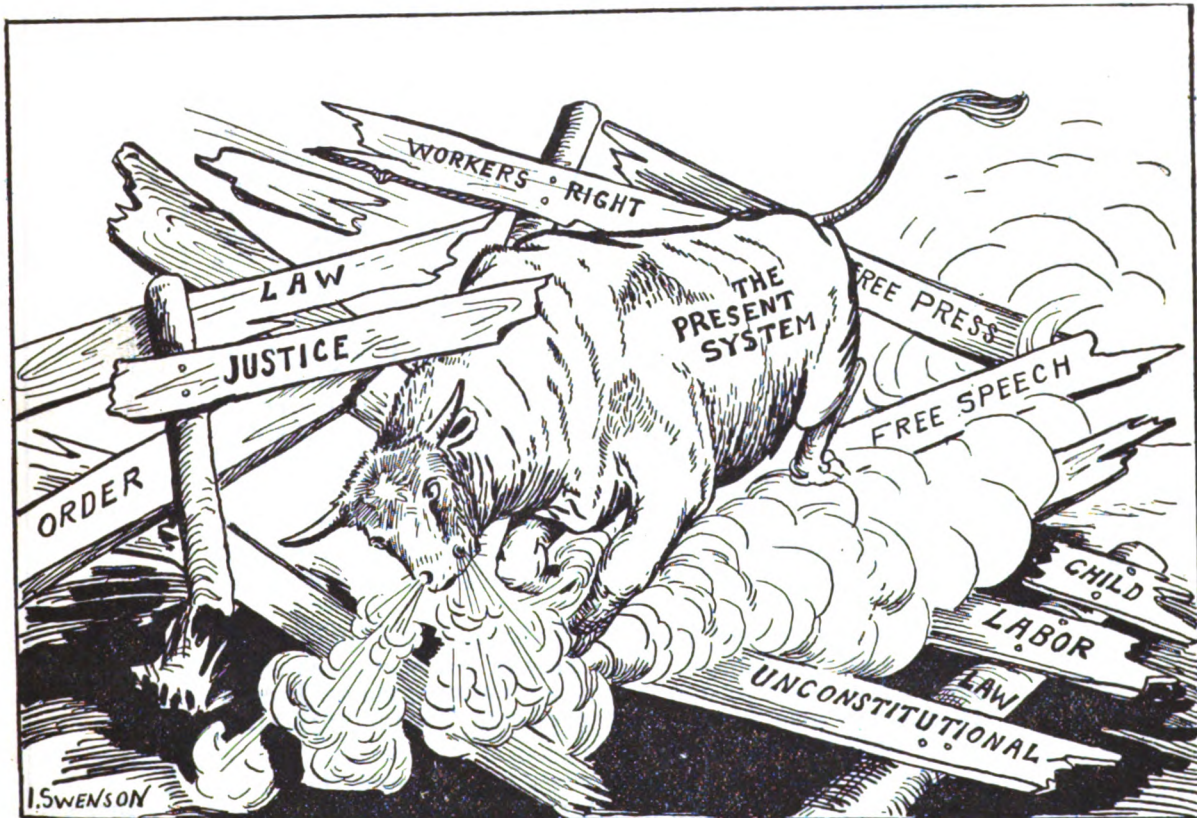


The **One Big Union** Monthly



BREAKING DOWN THE FENCE THAT PROTECTS HIS LIFE



:: PRICE FIFTEEN 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.

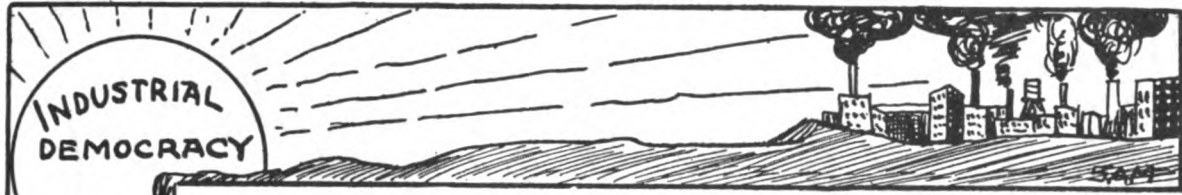
The conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an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

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

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

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

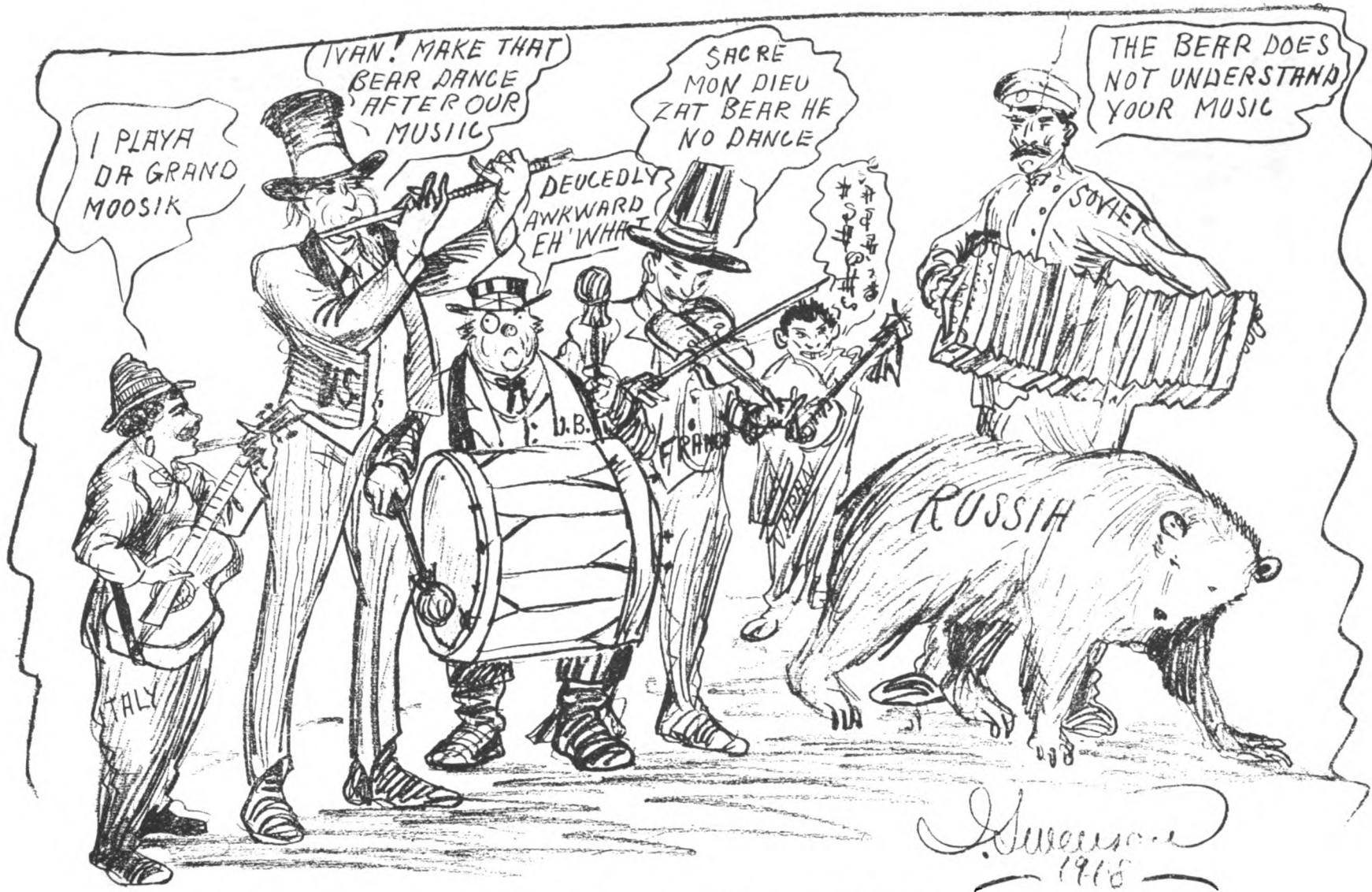




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THE BEAR THAT WOULD NOT DANCE

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

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An Industrial International

"Industrial Workers of the World" No Longer a Mere Name

In the review of I. W. W. activities during 1919, which appeared in our January issue, we stated:

"The General Executive Board of the I. W. W. has adopted a recommendation for the joining of the 'Third International'. This has, however, never been acted upon by a convention, and, as the Third International is largely a political one, more or less sincerely endorsing industrial unionism, the probabilities are that a purely industrial international will develop out of our international connections in the near future."

That "future" was nearer than we suspected when we wrote those lines.

In the February issue of "The One Big Union Monthly" Fellow Worker George Andreytchine has a translation of a message from the Russian Industrial Unionists, which he presents under the heading of "A call for a Proletarian International". This message is, in our opinion, of stupendous importance, and a different heading would to us appear more appropriate. We would name it **"A call for an Industrial International."**

We reprint herewith in full the call or invitation above referred to:

"The Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions invites all economic organizations based on the real and revolutionary class struggle for the liberation of labor through the proletarian dictatorship to

solidify anew their ranks against the international league of brigands, to break with the international of conciliators, and to proceed in unison with the Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions toward the organization of a truly international conference of all socialist labor unions and veritable revolutionary workers' syndicates.

"We beg all economic labor organizations that accept the program of the revolutionary class struggle to respond to our call and enter into direct touch with us."

"The Bureau of the Central All-Russian Council of Industrial Unions: Glebov, Koselev, Lozooski (Dridzo), Loutovinov, Osol, Storozhenko, Tomski, Schmidt, Shaknovski."

The main significance of this call or invitation may be summarized in the following points:

1. It is a call for a new international, and we may call it the Fourth International.
2. It is a call for a purely economic or industrial international, being a call from a central industrial union body to all other industrial union bodies of the world, and "revolutionary labor unions," to unite in one organization.
3. It does not invite political bodies.

While the Third International to which the call was issued by the "Communist Party" of Russia, or the so-called bolshe-

viks, remains chiefly a political international, this new body which we are invited to join is an **Industrial International**.

Should we join it? Like the girl in the song, we are inclined to say "yes" on the spot.

Not that we are fully satisfied with the call, or its phraseology. It leaves out one essential point. It says nothing about using the union as an organ for the carrying on of production and distribution. But as the industrial unions of Russia are formed for that very purpose, even if they do not yet fully function as such organs, we take for granted that this most important point is considered self-evident.

As will be seen this call has taken the form of a rallying cry to all militant economic organizations of workers to unite for the purpose of liberating labor through the proletarian dictatorship. We have no reason to believe that it is meant that the unions should abdicate from power, surrender industrial democracy and put some communists or bolsheviks over us as dictators as the case is in Russia. What is meant with the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is probably the rule of the workers through their unions. If we thus interpret "the dictatorship of the proletariat" it agrees with the I. W. W. program, for our purpose is to organize all the people into their proper industrial union, whether they be workers with hand or brain, and then we expect to use those unions as our administrative as well as our productive and distributive organs. This means the anchoring of all power for all time to come in the deep ranks of the useful members of society. This certainly will be a dictatorship of the workers through their organizations.

Of course, even before reaching this final stage the unions will be so powerful as to actually be able to dictate all public measures, thus establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat for the present. A sample of such dictatorship through the unions we have in Italy. The Syndicalist Unions of Italy have recently made null and void paragraphs 246 and 56 of their penal code, which prescribe various penalties for per-

sons preaching what is called, hypocritically, criminal syndicalism. Recently the Government of Italy arrested the agitator Malatesta, but was forced by the Syndicalist Unions to release him within a few hours.

This is a sample of dictatorship of the proletariat though the organized workers are an insignificant minority. That is the kind of "dictatorship" the I. W. W. believes in as far as the present is concerned. But we do not fancy having a dictatorship exercised over us in the name of the proletariat by the leaders of American bolshevism, such as Fraina, Reed, Ferguson, Carney Ruthenberg, Stoklitsky and others. The signers of the call cannot possibly have meant the latter. If they did we would have to ask to be excused from joining. We believe in self-government for the workers.

As for making "the dictatorship of the proletariat" a permanent institution, that is out of question. If we are not greatly mistaken the purpose of the world revolution is to abolish the conditions which make proletarians. We wish to remodel the world so that there shall be no more proletarians, so that the very word "proletariat" shall fall into disuse for lack of human beings to apply it to. It would, consequently be nonsense to clamor for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a solution of the social program, unless we allow the word "proletariat" to include all the useful workers with hand and brain.

The trouble is, the "proletariat" includes at the present time so many undesirable elements that it would be dangerous to turn over the power to them. It includes the criminals, the gunmen, the population of the red light district, the ignorant mass in general, or the so-called "scissor-bills". This mass forms the majority. To make them dictators would be disastrous.

The proletarians are fit to exercise a dictatorship only through their industrial unions, that is as useful workers, and it is in this sense that we understand the invitation from the industrial unions of Russia and would be inclined to accept it.

This interpretation, however, would mean that the distatorship by the Communist Party in Russia is to be superseded as soon as possible by an industrial union administration. As the bolsheviks themselves claim that this is their aim, this interpretation will probably meet with their approval.

For that reason we greet with joy the prospects of an Industrial International. It

will make "The Industrial Workers of the World" a living reality.

It will mean the carrying out of our program faster than we expected. It will no longer be a case of converting individuals and writing out a membership card in the I. W. W. to each one. It will be a case of millions voluntarily combining. What remains to be done is to find the form for co-operation.

The Shop Stewards' Movement and the I. W. W.

At a National Conference of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, held in London, England, on January 10th and 11th, 1920, it was unanimously decided, after hearing the I. W. W. representative, George Hardy, that the National Executive Committee should "take steps to link up with the I. W. W."

This event, which probably has been passed up, as not worth noticing, by the capitalist and the conservative labor press, is an event of great importance.

Coming as it does at the same time as the invitation to an Industrial International, sent out by the Industrial Unionists of Russia, it points towards a speedy realization of our fondest dreams, the organization of the world's workers in industrial unions on a world basis, to take over production and distribution.

Great events sometimes pass by unnoticed, simply because they are too great to be understood by the unawakened minds. This is one of these unheralded world events which signify the advent of permanent and thoroughgoing changes in the world's social structure in the near future.

To the average bourgeois mind these events are meaningless and uninteresting. A few grasp the significance of them, and they immediately reach for their gun, like the bandit disturbed in his sleep. Like the woman who wanted to sweep out the ocean, these bourgeois bandits try to check world movements with violence against a few individual spokesmen of these movements.

Ignorant savages as the bourgeois are they would try to avert destiny by fighting the forces of economic evolution by the crude method of murder and prison.

The idea of international co-operation between the workers for the purpose of continuing production and distribution after the collapse of capitalism is the dominating idea of our age. Those who obstruct its path are ignorantly wrestling with natural forces who can as little be checked by them as the Mississippi or the Amazon rivers can be stopped from flowing.

But in trying to obstruct these natural forces they cause suffering untold to millions, the same as they would do by trying to dam up the Mississippi and the Amazon rivers and prevent them from running towards the sea.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 will hold their semi-annual convention in Sioux City, Iowa, in the I. W. W. Hall at 16 Jennings St., beginning April 19th.

Matters of great importance to 400 and the general organization will come up before this convention. All members of 400 should make it their business to attend.

John Sandgren, The Editor of the One Big Union Monthly will speak on Sunday, April 18th, in Sioux City on the subject: "Is the working class of America prepared to meet the coming crisis?"

NOTICE to the Members of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500.

The General Convention of the L. W. I. U. No. 500 will be held on the 26th of April, 1920

JOHN PATTERSON

The Political Socialists as Saviors of Capitalism

On Saturday, March 13th, the news reached us simultaneously of the step-down of the "socialist" government of Germany and the accession to power of a Socialist government in Sweden. When George Ebert, President of the German "Socialist" Republic, and Bauer, his Prime Minister, hurriedly took to the road and left the warm chairs of power empty, to be occupied by the junkers, the "Socialist" Hjalmar Branting of Sweden was just sitting down in another warm chair of power, having been made Prime Minister of Sweden and boss of a cabinet of social democrats from top to bottom. Just as the German Social Democrats stepped in a little over a year ago and saved capitalism in Germany, even if it had to be done by murdering Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and thousands of workingmen, just so the Swedish Social Democrats are now stepping in and saving capitalism in Sweden.

In both countries the Social-Democrats have for years fought the idea of taking over production and distribution through the unions, with the result that in both countries the workers today stand unprepared to abolish wage slavery and to become their own masters.

The only method by which the German and the Swedish capitalist class could save itself from the fate of the Russian capitalists was to turn society over to the political socialists. By this means they hope to have saved private ownership and their privileges for some time to come.

In Germany, having used the Social Democrats as a bulwark against the revolutionary masses and as a scapegoat to sign the humiliating peace treaty, the junkers now again feel strong enough to retake the reins. The Social Democratic politicians are desperate and cry for a general strike of the workers. These fugitive politicians are the same ones who have during all these years denounced direct action and particularly the general strike. "Generalstreik—Generalunsinn," (General strike—General nonsense), they said. But now, when it has been proven that it was political socialism that was all nonsense, they scream to the

masses to come to their rescue by means of a general strike. Why should the masses sacrifice their blood and put them back into power? The papers inform us that the miners of the Ruhr district (I. W. W.) have refused to strike. Can you blame them?

If they strike, let them strike for some nobler cause than saving Social Democracy.

Besides, the German workers have perhaps learnt by this time that wage slavery can be abolished only by taking over the shop and that this can be done only through industrial organization.

Social Democracy in power has proven its incapacity to solve the social problem. They were simply bourgeois politicians masquerading as "revolutionists". The fraud is discovered. The red flag has been torn off these rascals. The German workers realize that they have been duped all these years. The junkers profited by the disillusionment of the masses and drove their false leaders away, but only to put on the yoke of wage slavery more securely. They openly confess that their main object is to guard Germany against "bolshevism", that is, to save private property, which Social Democracy was too weak to protect in the long run.

We may consider the story of Social Democracy ended in Germany.

The workers will come into their own in Germany in a near future, but it will not be under the yellow banner of political socialism and not under the black banner of the barricades, but under the red banner of industrial organization.

Prophecy is at best a thankless task, but we dare say that the rule of Branting soon will take the same course as in Germany.

The social problem demands a solution, and the workers are not long going to allow such bunglers and fakers as the political socialists to stand in their way. Capitalism cannot and shall not be saved even by such bogus champions of the working class.

The Collapse of Capitalism

In these columns we have frequently used the term "the collapse of capitalism". We see signs of this collapse in every strike and in many other phenomena of today.

Recently the expression has been taken up in many places, or facts have been presented, to show that such a collapse is impending. We wish to call the reader's particular attention in this connection to two articles in this issue, namely "The Impending Great Crash," by Justus Ebert, and "The Passing of Cripple Creek," by Mary E. Marcy. The former article gives the views of two of America's most noted financiers on this question, practically supporting our theory of an impending collapse. The other article points out very distinctly that capitalism is sick unto death when gold, the basis of its financial structure, no longer can be produced at a profit.

Capitalism is inherently wrong. It is based on a wrong calculation. It is like a mighty tower or a skyscraper built without due regard for the strength of the materials used. It is illogical. It can not stand the test of time. It is bound to end in a colossal bankruptcy and general social disaster.

To the pre-war industrial capital has now been added the immense war capital. We are required to create interest on both of them, which in the present weakened condition of the world is an impossibility. The capitalist class is trying to get a bigger share than ever of the product of our toil by raising the prices of everything, in order to obtain that interest. Failing to get it that way, they are resorting to more desperate measures. They are trying to escape paying taxes. A recent Supreme Court decision, inspired by high finance, we dare say, relieves shareholders from paying income tax on dividends which are paid in stock. Thus the capitalists have with one bold stroke rolled the burden of taxation off their shoulders to a great extent, making it necessary to place it on other shoulders.

Taxation does not interest us much, but this case is of interest to us, as proving that the collapse of capitalism can be staved off

only by measures so desperate that they may be compared with the last desperate stroke of a defaulter about to be caught.

All around us capitalism is cracking. It has practically laid away all pretense of honesty and decency, no longer caring to refute those who expose the big swindles, but merely trusting that the mass will pay no attention to it.

The Hearst papers have recently openly charged that 600 millions of dollars were stolen in connection with the aircraft program. Everybody knows it is so, but nobody seems to care.

In turning back the railroads to private ownership the government did so with a deficit approaching a billion dollars. This is openly called a big theft by the same press.

There are investigations galore involving public men in shady transactions with profiteers. Attorney General Palmer's name is thus mentioned with those of the sugar profiteers, and Food Controller Hoover's name is mixed up in a giant scandal in flour and bread profiteering, while former Treasurer and railroad administrator McAdoo is frequently mentioned in connection with air-craft and lumber scandals of the Northwest.

The close observer cannot fail to discover a general recklessness equal to general pillage and plundering. And this proves better than anything that the capitalists themselves have lost faith in the permanency of capitalism. They behave as a host of irresponsible bandits who have just conquered a town. They know it cannot last, and they do not care. They make hardly any pretense of respectability.

They will defend themselves and their booty to the limit and after that—good night.

The collapse of capitalism is imminent. It is the gravest danger of our age. It will become an irremediable disaster unless we hurriedly get our industrial unions ready to take over production and distribution.

The Centralia Verdict

The jury has rendered its verdict in the case of the eleven men who were held for murder in connection with the shooting of rioting paraders in Centralia, Wash., on the 11th of November. Seven have been found guilty of murder in the second degree. Three were acquitted and one declared insane.

The verdict is nonsensical. The jury must have become crazed by the terroristic display made by capitalistic forces controlling the prosecution.

If there ever was a plain case of self-de-

fense this was one. The case against the men was built up by artificial means, and the verdict misses the mark.

The real murderers in the case are the attacking forces. They were bent on murder when they broke open the I. W. W. hall. They were murderers when they dragged Wesley Everest behind an automobile and kicked and beat him nearly to death, finally hanging him and riddling him with bullets.

The purpose of the prosecution and its



"SIR—I HUNG MY BUDDY FOR YOU!"

backers is to shield these murderers and those "higher ups" who prompted them from the start and who are prompting them now.

In the eyes of the world the seven I. W. W. men are innocent, and all the people know in their innermost heart that they are being made martyrs of. All the world knows the criminal purposes of the capitalist class in general and the lumber trust of the Northwest in particular. Nobody is deceived by the verdict of the jury, although very few dare speak right out, for fear of offending the powerful enemy.

The case will, of course, be appealed through the state courts of Washington, but in addition this case should immediately be placed before the jury of all the workers of this country.

Without waiting for word from any central source, protest meetings should be held in every town and city and resolutions be adopted expressing the sentiments of the workers.

The case should immediately be taken up by the workers of all foreign countries in order that they may exert the greatest possible pressure on our American capitalism.

To save these seven men and restore them to liberty is not a purely American cause; it rests upon the workers of all countries. We will have to make an international issue of the Centralia case.

It will be one of the first jobs of the proposed Industrial International.

While giving all possible attention to the appeal and other legal procedure, we should remember that verdicts and sentences and the outcome of appeals merely reflect the strongest economic force. In order to get the verdict we want, we will have to see to it that we have the requisite economic strength, and that we can get only through industrial unions.

There is no way of saving our seven fellow workers except by organizing. If we fail in that respect, we have sacrificed them to the monster of capitalism.

Waiting to be Bailed Out

In the jails throughout the country there are hundreds of I. W. W. members waiting for you to bail them out, so they can be of some use to the movement. Only recently the Defense Committee received a letter from a well-known fellow worker in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, in somewhat bitter tones asking if we had forgotten them.

Just try to place yourself in the position of one of these men. They have been admitted to bail and they have time and again been assured that we would do our very best for them. But there they are, still pacing their cells, like animals in a cage, waiting, waiting for the guard to bring the message that they are free once more. But for hundreds of them the days run into weeks, the weeks into months, and the months into years, and still no word.

The Defense Committee has done its utmost, but it must acknowledge that in spite of it the work of securing bail is slowing up. The Defense Committee feels that too much reliance has been placed on a few commit-

tee men in the large cities. There is a limit to what a committee can do. The work of securing bail for our members will have to be taken up with greater force locally in every city and town. The personal friends and acquaintances of the prisoners will have to step in and help. With a couple of thousand cases on hand the organization is unable to give each individual case the attention it deserves.

The prisoners themselves could help out and relieve the situation by writing friends and acquaintances and setting them in motion, independently of the Defense Committees.

On the other hand we hope that every reader of this magazine will consult his own conscience and ask himself whether he or she has done everything for the prisoners that could reasonably be expected. If you have no cash or property yourself, perhaps you are acquainted with some good people that have. Approach them, state the desperate case and invoke their aid.

By doing this you will do the I. W. W. a

double favor. You will release our men from jail, thereby adding to our effective working strength, and you will release the energies of numerous members who now vainly cast about for bail and make this energy available for organization work.

The organization work is to some extent being interfered with by the defense work. If those individuals who are not actively

engaged in organization work would throw their personality into the work of securing bail, it would be a great help.

For further information on bail and defense matters communicate with Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer of the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

The Gruesome Story of American Terrorism

Lest we forget.

In our March number we published a partial list of the arrests made of I. W. W. members 1917-1919. That list covered 679 cases.

Herewith we publish another partial list covering 318 recent cases of arrests in the Northwestern District.

As the reader will notice we are already up to about 1,000 cases.

In following numbers of this magazine we hope to be able to publish the lists of the California District Defense Committee, the recent cases of the Middle West and the

East. Anyone reading these lists and noticing errors and omissions will do us a favor by writing down the correct details and sending them in to the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Local Defense Committees and Secretaries should immediately send in complete lists with all known details to General Defense Committee, so that we may publish same, thus getting as complete a record as possible that may be checked up and corrected while it is fresh in memory.

PARTIAL LIST OF I. W. W. PRISONERS IN THE NORTHWEST.

MONTESANO, WASH.

- Nov. 11, 1919.—Roy Becker, Bert Bland, O. C. Bland, Eugene Barnett, Bert Faulkner (released), John Lamb, James McInerney, Loren Roberts, Elmer Smith, Britt Smith, Mike Sheehan, first degree murder, trial in progress. (Verdict now rendered. See article "The Centralia Verdict".)
- Nov. 13, 1919.—John Bradshaw, Emil Boetcher, George Drobic, Joe Hemhelton, Stanley Hewett, Otto Kiblis, Anti Koes, Ernest L. Lehto, Hjalmar, A. Leo, George Miller, August Mackula, Sidney L. Scott, Elmer W. Salina, criminal syndicalism; convicted, sentence not passed.
- Feb. 9, 1920.—John Filander, Paul Lindholm, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set.
- Jan. 28, 1920.—W. E. Hall, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set, out on bail.

SEATTLE, WASH.

- Feb. 12, 1920.—Gust Anderson, held for investigation.
- Jan. 26, 1920.—Don Boiko, held for investigation.
- Jan. 19, 1920.—Sam Bush, Christianson, criminal syndicalism.
- Jan. 19, 1920.—J. J. Extelle, state vagrancy, sentenced to 43 days on state vagrancy.
- Nov. 16, 1919.—A. L. Emerson, criminal syndicalism, tried police court, case being appealed. John Gornovsky, Vasil Gornovsky, criminal syndical-

ism, held for deportation.

- Jan. 29, 1920.—Lee Harlan, open charge. Frank Hemen, sentenced to 30 days. Fred Henning, held for deportation.
- Jan. 1, 1920.—Perry Kimball, criminal syndicalism, out on bail, trial February 19th. Jas. Koponoff, held for deportation. Wm. Moody, criminal syndicalism, trial Feb. 20.
- Dec. 26, 1919.—Alex Norberg, criminal syndicalism, sentenced to 30 days and \$100 fine.
- Jan. 28, 1920.—Kenneth McLennon, criminal syndicalism.
- Feb. 12, 1920.—Cap McLaughlin, held for investigation. Wm. Pahof, held for deportation.
- Jan. 26, 1920.—John Parich, sentenced to 30 days. Peterson, criminal syndicalism, trial February 19.
- Feb. 12, 1920.—Sam Robinson, held for deportation.
- Nov. 17, 1919.—Ed. Ross (or Gregor), held for deportation. A. J. Smith, held for deportation.
- Jan. 15, 1920.—Max Sherburg, held for deportation. H. Sokol, A. Swanson, Ed. Swanson, criminal syndicalism, sentenced to 30 days.
- Feb. 4, 1920.—Oscar Wick, held for deportation. M. A. Winkler, sentenced to 30 days.
- Feb. 12, 1920.—H. Wilson, held for investigation.
- Jan. 31, 1920.—Van Wingarden, held for deportation.

Jan. 2, 1920.—Dan Mahoney, Pete Smith, Earl Hanson, criminal syndicalism, trial February 19.

Nov. 15, 1919.—James Bruce, Thomas McKinley, J. J. Extelle, Perry Murphy, criminal syndicalism, convicted, case being appealed, out on bail.

YAKIMA, WASH.

Nov. 13, 1919.—Chester Gibson, Pat Boyd, William Ferguson, James Collins, Mark Skomo, W. E. Riley, Nelson Folkner, criminal syndicalism, trial February 18.

BREMERTON, WASH.

Nov. 15, 1919.—P. Bader, criminal syndicalism, convicted, being appealed.

EUREKA, CAL.

Wm. Wilson, E. Wallace, Harry Williams, held for deportation.

John Golden, Chas. Lessie, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 1 to 14 years. Mori, Pechi, criminal syndicalism, plead guilty.

RITZVILLE, WASH.

John Hanson, criminal syndicalism, convicted, sentenced 6 months to 1 year, serving sentence.

VANCOUVER, WASH.

Nov. 17, 1919.—Mike Hennessey, criminal syndicalism, sentenced, 1 to 10 years, case being appealed. Leo Brooksheir, Robert McAdams, criminal syndicalism, convicted, case appealed.

WALLA WALLA, WASH.

Nov. 16, 1919.—O. Kowalchuck, Dan Stewart, Joe MacCaskill, criminal syndicalism, trial February 23.

J. Kennedy, deportation, released.

CHEHALIS, WASH.

Feb. 3, 1919.—Francis M. Heston, Harold R. Johnson, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set.

OLYMPIA, WASH.

Nov. 17, 1919.—Frank Hastings, criminal syndicalism, convicted, sentenced 4 to 10 years, case being appealed. Elias Matson, criminal syndicalism, convicted 2 to 10 years, case being appealed, out on bond.

PORT ANGELES, WASH.

Nov. 16, 1919.—John Pico, criminal syndicalism, convicted, sentence not passed. James Parker, criminal syndicalism, trial February 18.

NEWPORT, WASH.

Dec. 29, 1919.—C. E. Payne, criminal syndicalism, trial set for February 17, out on bond.

LAGRANDE, ORE.

Nov. 13, 1919.—Dannis Kelleher, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set.

CONDON, ORE.

Nov. 15, 1919.—Wm. Johnson, criminal syndicalism, convicted, case being appealed.

PASCO, WASH.

Jan. 22, 1920.—A. Shoemaker, criminal syndicalism, trial set for February 17th.

ELLENSBURG, WASH.

Nov. 14, 1919.—Harry Adams, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 6 months to 5 years in Monroe Reformatory, case appealed. Max Mashner, Waldon J. Terrien, James Rogers, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 1 to 5 years, case being appealed. Ovid Richards, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 1 to 5 years, case being appealed, out on bond. Fred Suttle, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 5 to 10 years, case being appealed. Stanley Zamanski, criminal syndicalism, convicted, case being appealed.

TILLAMOOK, ORE.

Nov. 18, 1919.—Eugene B. Audrey, Gus Hershe, Steve Rososhan, criminal syndicalism, trial set for March 22, 1920.

CENTRALIA, WASH.

Nov. 12, 1919.—Chas. Brown, Simon Hill, Thos. L. Lassiter, criminal syndicalism, hearing on February 24, out on bond.

PORT TOWNSEND, WASH.

Nov. 12, 1919.—Ed. Espelin, criminal syndicalism, convicted, being appealed.

PROSSER, WASH.

Nov. 16, 1919.—J. Callahan, Ed. Lidbery, Wm. Murray, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 6 months to 1 year, serving sentence.

Nov. 18, 1919.—F. A. Brown, C. T. Neilson, criminal syndicalism, convicted, case being appealed.

WENATCHEE, WASH.

Nov. 17, 1919.—Olin Brisky, Ed. Calgan, Ernest Conklin, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 2 to 5 years, case being appealed. John McDonald, criminal syndicalism, not tried with others account illness. Andy Nelson, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 2 to 5 years, case being appealed. E. J. Mara, Leo Ostrom, criminal syndicalism, convicted, 5 to 10 years, case being appealed.

EVERETT, WASH.

Geo. Samuelson, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set.

Walter Smith, criminal syndicalism, date of trial not set, out on bond.

TACOMA, WASH.

W. S. Kelly, Moody, held on open charge.

Jan. 19, 1920.—Kirby, released.

Nov. 11, 1919.—W. Randall, violation Espionage Act, convicted, case being appealed.

R. E. Eddy, violation Espionage Act, convicted, case being appealed.

Nov. 12, 1919.—A. Gross, violation Espionage Act, convicted, case being appealed.

SOUTH BEND, WASH.

Nov. 13, 1919.—Joseppi Kousinen, Matt Gosella, Emil Gustafson, Elmer Gollikkinin, John Hill, John Nauka, Otto Pyykkinen, Otto West, Jack Louma, criminal syndicalism, trial set for March 9. Sam Jaffe, criminal syndicalism, trial set for March 9 out on bond.

TACOMA, WASH.

Nov. 16, 1919.—Alfred Pettilla, H. Baker, Tom McLelland, E. C. Highland, Geo. Matson, Tom Brotovich, W. S. Aday, John Maggi, Frank Johnson, James Dunlavek, Robert Jones, Ed. Bayliss, C. H. McGovern, Joe Margret, John Erickson, Bob Nichols, Frank Saunders, Swan Lembeck, J. W. Ellis, J. Colville, Geo. L. Allard, J. Poutt, J. F. Erickson, Gust Larson, Alex Wehkaliska, Alex Macki, M. Lampi, Tony Tolich, Pete Lane, John Harju, Ludwig Foreman, M. Lundquist, Frank Saari, M. O'Shea, Gus Connell, Oscar Olson, G. Gunderson, John Iverson, W. Randle, B. Linan, Andrew Davidson, H. Moore, Valentine Ranta, Otto Hill, Joe Jackson, A. Dugan, A. Jacobson, Pat Ryan, Fred Jackson, A. Kronen, I. O. Anderson, Alfred Buvik, Oscar Ostrum, W. A. Webb, Alex Olson, Alex Tolum, A. C. Beard, Swan Hansen, Chas. Jones, J. E. Rannie, James Shea, Jack Berg, L. Chappell, L. A. Carlson, criminal syndicalism, hearing on motion for new trial February 21. Twenty-eight of the above fellow workers were released and charges dismissed against them.

PORTLAND, ORE.

Nov. 12, 1919.—F. Briley, Joe Clark, W. Coffee, vagrancy, 2 to 6 months. Tom Burke, criminal syndicalism. W. A. Browning, Espionage.
 Dec. 15, 1919.—Jas. Cunningham, criminal syndicalism. Tom Evanoff, Vasil Goslett, not indicted.
 Nov. 15, 1919.—John Efimoff, criminal syndicalism.
 Nov. 12, 1919.—Walter Doughty, Richard Henig, James Howell, Geo. Hanson, W. F. Lyon, Terry McGovern, Pat McGovern, J. O'Connor, Henry Powell, W. H. Rockwood, Elmer Randolph, Arthur Quinet, Harry Seleseksi, L. A. Sorrlie, Jack Taylor, Tom Waldon, criminal syndicalism. J. Feldkirchmer, Saksi Heikkelio, O. Jensen, Ed. Kramp, John Larson, John Henanen, H. Nelson, A. Soleidell, E. Shorman, John Patterson, vagrancy, convicted, 2 to 6 months. W. H. Kopping, Jas. Laudy, criminal syndicalism, out on bail.
 Neil Guiney, John Patterson, deportation. Henry Kay, F. Smith, espionage. John Knowles, Lambo Mitsiff, James O'Brien, J. E. Williams, criminal syndicalism.
 Dec. 15, 1919.—Geo. Mincoll, not indicted.
 Jan. 25, 1920.—Thos. Speaker, criminal syndicalism.
 Jan. 20, 1920.—Joe Horton, criminal syndicalism. Out on bail.
 Jan. 27, 1920.—P. V. Varney, criminal syndicalism.
 Dec. 1, 1919.—L. M. Wingerden, criminal syndicalism.

SPOKANE, WASH.

Jan. 24, 1920.—J. A. Griffiths, criminal syndicalism.
 Jan. 22, 1920.—Carl Haug, Emery Sairazen, violating injunction, 90 days in county jail.
 Permanent injunction was issued against the following members, and all others not known to

the court, on January 3, 1920: John Grady, Andres Hope, Dan Pelican, Curtis Bean, John S. Johnson, Chas. Pulver, Gus Davidson, Ed. Kuvapa, Murdock Stewart, J. M. Frank, Henry Mackie, Frank Watson, John McCrea, Tom Wilson, Adolph Gudahl, Frank Heino, Dan Paul, Winifred Bato, Fred Johnson, Guy Power, Daniel Burke, Victor Kivinen, Varnon Salonen, Alack Dubay, Alex MacDonald, Victor Turja, Ed. Gunderson, Sam Williams, Thos. Hauke, Sid Burns, Charles Olson, Herbert N. Anderson, Erickson Jackson, Ira Pope, Chester Brown, Jacob Ketola, Chas. Reuter, Douglas Donaldson, David Laury, L. Treehouse, Abram Grym, Ira White, Joe Hart, Alfred Nyquist, O. N. Alman, Stanley Hovey, Edward Fletcher, Roy Blatchford, John Jones, O. K. Quast, Wm. Dirks, John Laitila, Joe Swanty, Jack Gillis, R. E. Massey, John Guskie, Thomas Murphy, Nick Winiky.

The foregoing list comprises the names of workers in the Northwest District who are now in the toils of the law and marked for the vengeance of the bosses. The bare list showing the present status of these hundreds of cases is overwhelming proof of the big task before the Northwest District Defense Committee. It is of supreme importance that each and every one of them be defended to the uttermost—not alone the Centralia cases but each and every one, just as thoroughly.

The intention of the bosses is clearly to break up the organization if they can, but signs are not wanting that they will not be able to make criminal syndicalism stick unless we weaken. No argument is required that more money is needed. Just now the committee particularly needs funds for immediate expense. Many persons have small amounts up in the Bail and Bond Fund. Such of these as can see their way to do so are requested to endorse their receipts over to the Northwest District Defense Committee and send them to the Bail and Bond Committee, Box W., Ballard Station, Seattle, Washington, and it will be immediately turned over to the defense.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
 JOHN ENGD AHL,
 Chairman Northwest District Defense Committee.

You think it is about time these arrests were stopped—don't you? You have an impulse to do something to stop them—haven't you?

Obey that impulse. It is a sacred inspiration from the unseen powers that work upon man.

But what shall you do?

Our answer is: Increase the economic power of the working class until it becomes greater than the economic power of the capitalist class. Then the scales of justice will tip our way.

Go forth and build up an industrial union in your industry.

That will stop the arrests. Do it today.

California and "Criminal Syndicalism"

The Jaggernaut of Capitalist "Justice" at Work.

On May 5th, 1919, the State Legislature of California passed what is known as the Criminal Syndicalism Law, as an emergency measure. It went into effect at once upon the signature of the Governor. Immediately there was started a campaign of arrests for alleged violations of said act.

The first arrest occurred on May 22nd and since that time there have been 98 arrests of members of the I. W. W. and also numerous members of the Communist Labor Party and the A. F. L. of which we have no data.

On Feb. 1. the status was as follows:

Los Angeles—Thirty arrested, cases all pending, on two indictments.

Bakersfield—Five arrests, four dismissed, one pending.

Sacramento—Two arrests, case pending.

Redding—One arrest, case dismissed.

Yreka—Three arrests, cases all dismissed.

Oakland—Nineteen arrests, one conviction, case of one pending and balance dismissed.

San Francisco—Five arrests, one conviction, one acquittal, one hung jury and two cases pending.

Eureka—Eight arrests, two conviction, two dismissals, two pleaded guilty, and two cases pending.

Stockton—Twenty-five arrests, two convictions, two dismissals, two pleaded guilty, and two cases pending.

Up to March 5th there has been a total of seven convictions, and the jaggernaut keeps right on. The sentences are 1-14 years. Among those convicted is Miss Anita Whitney, a woman of education, talents and social standing, who has devoted her energies to the defense of those accused under this law.

On March 11th there is a trial in Los Angeles, when 27 cases come up. On March 12th two cases will be tried in Sacramento; on April 16th, one in Oakland; on April 22nd, one in Bakersfield. And so on.

Two more arrests have recently been made, namely in San Bernadino, making a total of even 100 since the passing of the law in question.

It is the organization that is on trial in California. Over \$10,000 have so far been spent on these cases, but the heaviest drain is right now, with all these trials going on.

The treasury of the California District Defense Committee is empty, and the General Defense Committee is unable to meet all calls for assistance.

Now is the time to help, and help heavily. Small sums are welcome, but there must be many of them.

Send contributions direct to Louis H. Brown, Secretary, California District Defense Committee, Box

845, Stockton, California, or to Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

OUR PRISONERS

In our March issue we published a partial list of I. W. W. prisoners, 670 in all, asking our readers to supply the General Defense Committee with names and facts in other cases, in order to later make a complete record of them.

The following is a sample of the answers obtained:

Cleveland, Ohio, March 8th, 1920
O. B. U. Monthly, Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Workers:-

I see that you are starting to publish the names of all the jailed and convicted members of the I. W. W. in your magazine so I thought I would send you the names of two fellow workers whose case I am sure you have not got on your records of jailed members.

Gust Alonen with fellow worker Carl Paivio was indicted in New York City, September 1919, charged with criminal anarchy and on the 28th of November 1919 they were convicted and sentenced to from four to eight (4-to-8) years to the New York State prison and after the prison term they will be deported to their native country which is Finland.

Both Alonen and Paivio have been members of the I. W. W. for many years and looking up to their record you will find that they have both been very active in organizing the workers of their nationality into the "One Big Union".

Carl Paivio at the time of his arrest was a member and delegate of No. 573. Alonen has been a job delegate for many years and a very active collector of funds for the general defence of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Hoping that you will also publish their names in the Monthly's next issue. Carl Paivio is serving out his sentence in the penitentiary at Auburn, N. Y. and Gust Alonen is serving sentence in a prison called "Clinton" at Dannemora, N. Y.

I am yours for the One Big Union

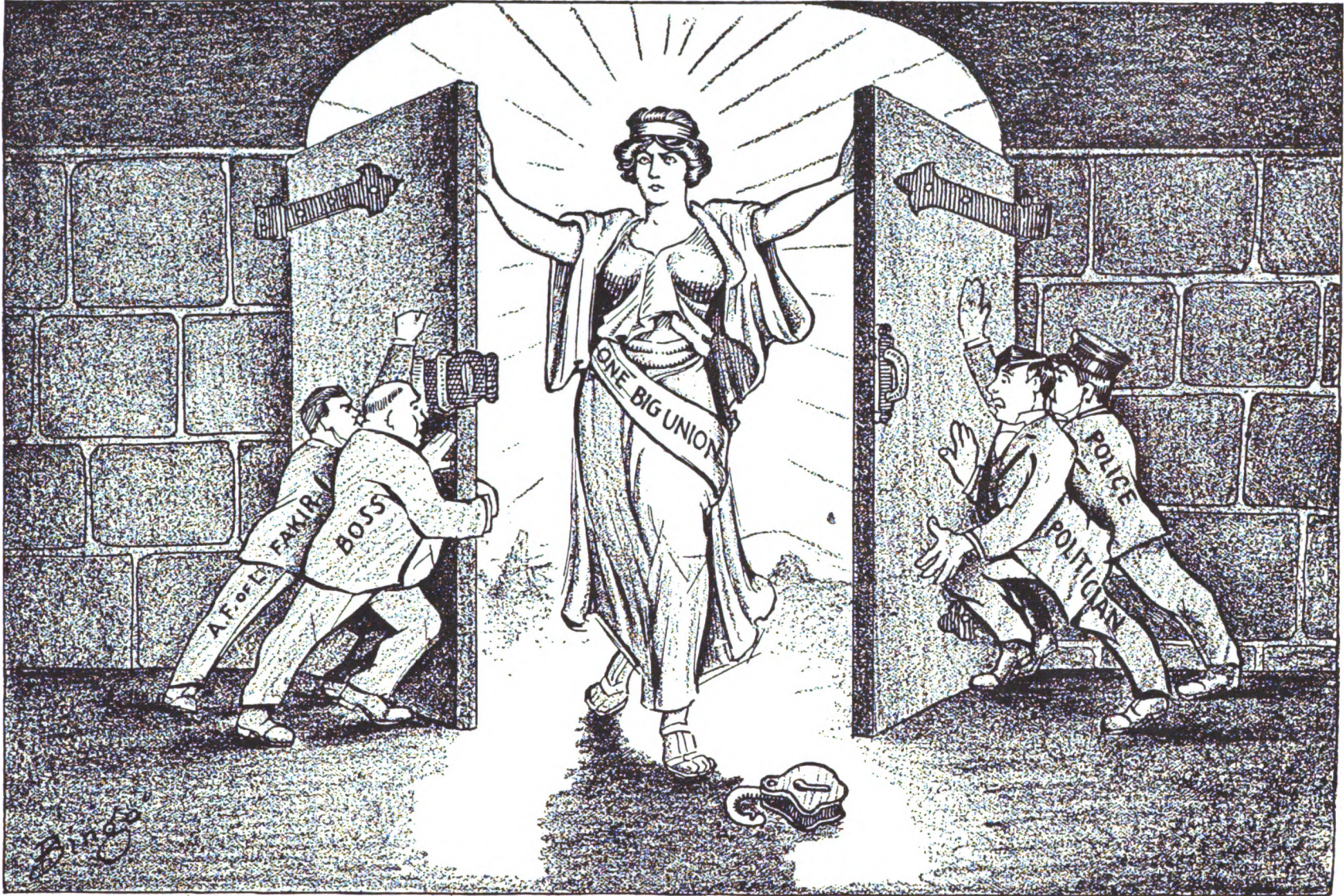
JOHN VESA

I see you are trying to keep a record of all arrests, so I will give you mine, as I see you had no account of it.

I was arrested Sept. 28, 1919, on a charge of inciting to riot. Released on \$5,000 bonds. The case has not come to trial yet.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
ROLAND STEVENS,
433 Farmont Place, Fort Wayne, Ind.

This is the kind of information we solicit. Address your communications to Wm. D. Haywood, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



COMING TO THE RESCUE

Bourgeois Culture in America

By Henry Van Dorn.

I.

There appeared recently in one of our big middle-western dailies an article on proletarian and bourgeois culture in Russia. It purported to show how under the Communist regime a great number of illustrious scientists, writers and artists have been imprisoned, exiled, executed and persecuted in every way imaginable for no crime whatever except that of possessing superior brains and belonging to the "intelligentzia." The worst of it seems to be that these monstrous acts of injustice resulted from a theory on culture entertained by Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education, and subscribed to by an ever-growing school of literary and art critics, that culture, in any of its aspects, is nowhere found to be impartial and unbiased, but that, in all modern communities, consciously or unconsciously, it acts the part of a hand-maiden to the ruling class, whether that class be the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Consequently, having seized the reins of power in Holy Russia, it became incumbent upon the workers to exterminate bourgeois culture and to build up a new culture that would meet the needs and aspirations of the Workers' Commonwealth. Whether the process of extermination has been accompanied with as much suffering and mental anguish as the counter-revolutionists claim for it, remains to be proven by future historians, but that the building-up process has been a tremendous success is amply evidenced by the prodigious dissemination of common education and technical knowledge through the opening-up of countless new schools, universities, museums, theaters, conservatories and art institutes, as well as by the quickened interest in science and art experienced by Russia's seething millions since the overthrow of capitalism.

In this article I intend to prove the correctness of the above theory by showing that American "culture," so-called, is 90 per cent capitalist propaganda and only 10 per cent truth and art, that wherever it promenades under the mask of morality and wise and kindly counsel to the uninstructed it requires but the keen edge of straight thinking to cut away the mask and reveal its true features, and that in the last analysis it is always found to be individualistic, anti-social and destructive of the common welfare. Motion pictures, pulpit, stage and platform, newspapers and magazines, institutions of art and learning, one and all they are made to do the bidding of grasping, brutal capital. Many and ingenious are the ways devised for making the gullible populace swallow the bitter pill of capitalist propaganda. Comical indeed, but oh, how tragic in their consequences, are the schemes concocted to keep the mind of the average citizen busily engaged all of the time on matters of no importance, in order that he may have no spare moments left in which to do his own thinking. But let me illustrate.

I have before me the January number of Scribners' Magazine, a staid and respectable publication, printed for sober-minded, safe and sane people. The place of honor in this issue is occupied by an article on "Roosevelt and Labor", sub-titled "In Favor of Unions but Against Violence", wherein are recorded and favorably commented upon the sage writings of the hero of the Big Stick. The "great American" is in favor of labor unions provided that they stand on tiptoe and gasp for breath every time that the capitalist raises his eyebrows. Clearly, this is capitalist propaganda of the rankest kind, is printed for that very reason and will fool nobody. Therefore let us move on.

On page 115 we come across something infinitely more subtle. It is the first of a series of twelve papers entitled "Guide-posts and Camp-fires," and is written by Henry van Dyke. Now, Henry van Dyke is a venerable old preacher and scholar who has written any number of books on the higher life, the upright life, righteous living and sanctified dying, God and nature, health and beauty, the lamb of Jerusalem and the second coming of Christ. He has seen a thing or two in his time. Furthermore, he has the prestige of age and erudition, nor would anybody accuse him of being in the direct pay of J. P. Morgan & Co. He could get a hearing where Teddy couldn't get a sniff of fresh air. So let us see what the old bogy has to say.

First he expatiates on the excellent qualities and diverse virtues of guide-posts and camp-fires. We will pick no quarrel with him on that score. Here the lumber-jacks and jungle-stiffs will be in hearty accord with him. A camp-fire is indeed a thing to gladden the heart of any weary traveler on the thorny and dangerous path of life—both literary and figuratively speaking. But when he refers to "the vast palatial hotel where sovereign democracy flaunts its new-found wealth" as a camp-fire, we object. Democracy, genuine democracy, and vast palatial hotels and the flaunting of new-found wealth are not birds of the same feather and should not be mentioned in the same breath. It is a careless slip on van Dyke's part which betrays him in advance for what he really is—an unconscious capitalist apologist. This notwithstanding his fine language, good nature, and protestations of love, kindness and geniality. "The cat is out of the bag", we say to ourselves, "from now on we will keep our eyes peeled; the old rogue is trying to slip one over on us."

So, when later on he complains about "the violent extremists of the Right and the Left, who revile and buffet us alternately when we try to push ahead and when we stop to think," and finds fault with both the Radicals and the Conservatives, thereby trying to assume an air of impartiality, we know that he is endeavoring to fool both himself and his readers. But he can't fool us. We know that he is

solid for the Conservatives, and our opinion is fully justified by a continued reading of the article.

He proceeds to write in an easy and leisurely manner about facts and memories, about today and yesterday, and about "a hope of something better in the long tomorrow: . . . a city in which the rights of property shall be safeguarded chiefly as essential to the supreme right of life." He loves to show off his erudition, his Latin and his French: Refined little mean-nothings that constitute so integral a part of the parlor mannerisms of our decadent, parasitical leisure class.

And at last we come to what the whole thing has been leading up to: "Communism, agrarianism, proletarianism, anarchism, have all had their day, and it was a bad day—in Athens and Sparta and Rome and Jerusalem and Paris. Why give them another day?" Later on he implores the reader to "devise some better mode of inducing the lazy to work, and of restraining the clever and industrious from claiming exorbitant gains. That is what we need, as surely as two and two make four."—Ah ha, so this is the burden of his song! "Don't bother your head about communism," he says, in effect, to the workers, "it's been tried out before and it's no good. If you are lazy go to work, only don't let the wise guy get away with all your jack and everything will be fine and daisy. Amen!" First-rate advice, indeed, for a master to give to his slaves.

Of course, the ignorance of history and economics revealed in the passages quoted above is profound and appalling. Furthermore, being ignorance unknown and unacknowledged, it is arrogant and utterly hopeless of rectification. But that makes no difference to the capitalist. The thing has been "put over" by a man who by reason of his past record commands the respect and attention of a considerable part of the population. That is the only thing that matters. That is also the sole reason why the article has appeared in print.

In another passage Van Dyke says: "I do not mean to be drawn into a discussion of the bold brutalities of the Bolsheviks in Russia, or the sneaking villainies of the I. W. W. in America. These lie outside of the region of literature. They are not to be met with essays and orations, but with laws and guns." This is certainly as scurrilous and as vile an attack as has ever been made upon the two bravest and most courageous bodies of men and women in the annals of history.

II.

From the preceding article we see how, disguised under the cloak of an inoffensive-looking essay written with quaint literary charm there may lurk a vicious attack on the constructive and progressive forces operating in society today. The worst of it is that Van Dyke is in earnest about it. He is that most valuable asset of the vested interests: an unconscious capitalist apologist. Therefore, taking him as representing a definite type of anti-social forces, it will repay us to inquire into the circumstances that have made of him a defender of capitalism.

Van Dyke started out in life as a preacher, a pro-

fession favorably looked upon by the powers that be because by impressing upon the minds of their flocks the ideas of sin, advancement by virtuous living and a reward in the world to come, thereby taking all responsibility for social ills off the shoulders of society, where it belongs, and placing it on the shoulders of individuals, which prevents harmonious cooperation and creates strife for personal supremacy, the preachers make it so much easier for the industrial overlords to keep the masses in subjection and to get away with their own exorbitant share of this world's goods. Being endowed with the "gift of gab" Van Dyke wrote an armful of books on righteous and natural living, the implication being that anybody who will follow his precepts of moral and physical uprightness will find for himself a place in the sun. Of course, such teaching, being purely individualistic, is honey on the lips of the capitalist, for it makes for discord and lack of unity of purpose among the masses of the people. So we see that all through his long life Van Dyke has been, indirectly, a faithful servant to the powers that be, and by reason of such service has acquired for himself a home and possibly a snug little fortune.

But, notwithstanding his honesty of purpose and integrity of character, being a man possessed of a one-horse power intellect, he cannot see that the only reason why he has a home is because he has been helpful in keeping countless thousands of working people from acquiring homes. He feels that his good fortune has come to him through his own personal efforts, but somewhere in the back of his head he has a hazy notion that these efforts were inextricably bound up with the present economic structure of society. And that is the reason why he defends the capitalist system—freedom of contract, the sacred rights of private property and the whole damn works—"And if our camp is attacked by brigands, we shall have our guns ready." It would certainly be a side-splitting spectacle to see the old boy out on the front porch with an old rusty fire-piece under his arm, ready to defend his "hearth and home" against an imaginary horde of "long-haired, lantern-jawed" Bolsheviks.

III.

Now let us take up and examine The American Magazine, February issue. First we come across an article by Robert W. Babson, president of the Babson Statistical Organization, entitled "What These Strikes Cost You In Money." He submits a formidable list of figures, all leading up to the point that during the past year the workers have lost on account of strikes many millions of perfectly good "regular working days" and about a quarter of a billion in wages, while the employers have lost about a tenth as much in profits. Before we go any further let us remark right here that the statistics must be unreliable, since anybody who understands the rudiments of capitalist economics knows that the profits lost would amount to at least as much as the wages lost. He also elaborates on the enormous indirect losses caused by strikes.

The article is written from the point of view that

the only thing that matters in this world is dollars and cents. That is the point of view of the employer of labor, and the article is thus revealed as being but another piece of capitalist propaganda. We I. W. W.'s maintain that the only things that matter for the workers are decent living conditions, the conservation of life and the enjoyment of happiness. These things cannot be attained unless the workers organize in an economic organization strong enough to make the employers yield to their demands. Hence strikes, the only weapon of coercion that the workers possess with which to compel the capitalists to come across. The number of working days and dollars lost in this process of forcing the industrial overlords to their knees does not matter. We have always ahead of us a whole eternity of days to draw upon. Besides, days are not given to the children of men by the gods of destiny to be wasted on dreary, monotonous toil—for that they are far too precious. Oftentimes we see that a much needed holiday comes to the workers in the guise of a strike.

No strike is ever lost. Even if the immediate material demands are not obtained, it develops among the workers a sense of solidarity, self-confidence and self-direction. Since they will have to "run" society anyhow in the future, they might as well get a few lessons in running things while capitalism still exists, even if "the thing run" is nothing but a strike. Another advantage gained by strikes is that they often induce the employers to resort to brutal and stupid tactics in order to break them, such as the employment of gunmen, troops, finks, murder, violence, the blacklist, and so forth. These tactics impress so much more vividly upon the minds of the workers the monstrous injustice of capitalism, and make them so much more determined to rid civilization of that nightmare of iniquity.

Another good feature of strikes is that by curtailing production they postpone the coming of our periodical industrial crises, which are caused by an overproduction of commodities.

There are four other articles in the magazine setting forth the point of view of the employer of labor. I will not waste any words on them as they are crude, undisguised attempts at bourgeois propaganda.

On page 59 we come across something choice. It is an article on "The Greatest Delusion in the World," written by Dr. Frank Crane. You've heard of the gentleman, haven't you? His "editorials" appear in all the leading newspapers and magazines in the country. He has been writing them every day for the last ten years, as he himself avers. An ex-preacher, same as Van Dyke. One of the most highly-valued assets of the American bourgeoisie. His stock-in-trade, did you say? Wise and kindly advice to blundering humanity.

Yes, Doc Crane is a corker. He sure delivers the goods. So let us see what he's got up his sleeve this time.

The sub-title of the article is: "Millions suffer

from it. Are you one of the number? I refer to the fool idea that work is an affliction." The whole lengthy article is devoted to impressing upon the reader that work is an essential condition of personal happiness, that everybody ought to do work of one kind or another, that the truly unhappy people are those who have no allotted task to perform, but that unfortunately a great many people suffer from the delusion that work is an affliction. He condenses his ideas on the subject in the following four terse expressions: 1. That work is the reason why we are born. 2. That contentment is a by-product of work. 3. That the scorn of all decent people should follow the idlers. 4. And that even heaven is not going to be an everlasting meeting-house, nor an eternal rest. . . .

While many of us will probably disagree with Dr. Crane as to the reason for our birth, at least to the extent that work is not the only factor that enters into it, and while possibly others of us will not be in the least interested whether heaven is run on the day-work or on the piece-work system, to say nothing of the Taylor system of Scientific Management, we must nevertheless admit that in the main the position taken by Dr. Crane is a sound one. Work is a necessity and a blessing both to the individual and to society. The only happy people are those who have found the kind of work that by their natures they are best fitted to do, and who are doing it to the best of their abilities. One of the articles of faith of the Industrial Workers of the World is that "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." One of the reasons why we are organizing is that some day we may be powerful enough to put to work all the loafers, shirkers, gamblers, pimps, brokers and real estate sharks who at present infest the face of our fair earth.

IV.

It is only very seldom that a normal-minded person will find cause to disagree with Dr. Crane's teachings, looked upon in their personal bearing to the individual men and women who read them. Over and over again he advises people to be industrious, studious, kind, loving, considerate, truthful, self-confident, persevering, to get plenty of sleep, good food, fresh air and exercise, not to overeat, not to gamble, not to dissipate, and so on. And now let me especially note and emphasize that the same kind of advice, both in prose and in verse, with characteristic variations here and there according to the peculiarities of the author, and written by such men as Henry Van Dyke, Herbert Kaufman, Bruce Barton, H. Addington Bruce, Walt Mason, Arthur Brisbane, Edgar A. Guest, Ellis Newell Dwight, and by a number of others not so well known, is printed every day in hundreds of newspapers and magazines over the length and the breadth of the land, and is thus offered for daily consumption, morning, noon and night, to America's many millions, to the young and the old, male and female, rich and poor.

We must admit that practically all of it is very good advice, and that a great many people would be

much better off in every way if they would, or could, follow it. But if such be the case why have I in another place labeled it bourgeois propaganda, and called it anti-social and destructive of the common welfare? This question brings us to a consideration of the technique of that propaganda.

All these articles contain noble sentiments and an element of truth. But they never do more than skim the surface of things. A half truth is worse than a lie. The thought uppermost in most people's minds is: How can I better my economic condition, how can I obtain a better and ampler livelihood for myself and my family? The bourgeois propagandists know this, and so they answer, in effect: Be industrious, be self-confident, be honest and persevering, and you will get out of the mire of economic dependency, you will make five thousand, fifty thousand dollars per year, you will crawl up over the bent backs and drooping heads of those who do not take our advice, thereby shoving them still further down into dependency and despair, and at last you will find yourself among the chosen ones of the earth. To bear out these promises they print whole-page advertisements of courses in memory culture, executive ability, salesmanship, money making, creative evolution, oratory, etc., offering at \$5.00 or \$10.00 per throw to turn all those lucky mortals fortunate enough to take them either into railroad presidents, heads of insurance companies or right hand men to Messrs. J. P. Morgan and Elbert Gary. Leave the common herd, say these ads, come up here in the heights where the sun shines all the time, where cream and honey spout from water fountains and where \$100.00 bills grow on all the trees and telegraph poles.

That is the reason why the advice of Crane and Van Dyke and Walt Mason is music in the ears of the capitalist. It makes for the elevation of a few at the cost of the many. If John Smith through his perseverance and will power elevates himself from a \$1,000 per year clerk to a \$50,000 per year efficiency engineer thousands of other obscure John Smiths will have to work so much harder and will be robbed so much more in order to make that \$50,000 for John Smith, the efficiency engineer. If through his persuasive manners and business ability Bill Brown becomes a successful real estate man, he will make life miserable for hundreds of other Bill Browns by taking their cash away from them and burdening them down with worthless lots and other property. And that is the reason why such teaching is anti-social and destructive of the common welfare.

What the I. W. W. wants to do is to lift up the whole mass of the working people, instead of one individual here and another one there. This can only be accomplished by welding the workers together in a revolutionary, industrial organization. In discord lies weakness, in solidarity lies strength. Therefore, the I. W. W. is today the greatest moral and constructive force in America.

V.

Wherever we turn we find capitalist propaganda staring us in the face, dinning in our ears, occupying every spare moment of our time. It is thrown at us from the screen, the pulpit, the newspaper, the lecture platform, and from the lips of countless men and women who swarm up and down the highways and byways of this vast land. The best intellectual and artistic forces are marshalled to spread the gospel of the allmighty dollar. Irvin S. Cobb does homage to it in the *Saturday Evening Post*, William Hard and Leonard Wood in the *Metropolitan*, while Hildegard Hawthorne dishonors the name of one of our few really great novelists by writing for the National Security League. That it may not grow stale, from time to time the gospel masquerades under catchy and ingenious phrases. Once it was "preparedness," then "war for democracy," and now it is "100 per cent Americanism." To be honored as a "100 per cent American" one must be an unadulterated, 14-carat, fire-and-water proof, dyed-in-the-wool scissorbill. Anybody who does not come up to specifications is labeled a "Red" or a "Bolshevik" and is pigeon-holed either for deportation, the penitentiary, or the insane asylum.

The motion picture industry plays an integral part in this vast conspiracy of capital to keep the people in ignorance. Life as it really is, poverty, the iniquity of the present social system, are seldom shown. Instead, virtue and industry are invariably rewarded, and the rich and powerful are portrayed as the benefactors of society. Wm. S. Hart and Douglas Fairbanks figure almost exclusively in that sort of stuff. Occasionally a film will be put out making a direct bid for "Americanism," as, for instance, "Everybody's Business," an extremely crude and stupid melodrama, produced under the auspices of the American Legion. On Dec. 17, 1919, the Joint Committee on Education of the United States Senate and House of Representatives adopted the following resolution: "Be it resolved that it is the sense of the Joint Committee on Education of the United States Senate and House of Representatives that the motion picture industry in the United States be requested to do all that is within its power to upbuild and strengthen the spirit of Americanism within our people."—That speaks for itself.

If anybody wants to find out how thoroughly the vested interests control the educational institutions in this country let him read "The Higher Learning in America," by Thorstein Veblen.

The ingenuity and thoroughness with which capitalism attends to it that we shall have no time left over in which to do our own thinking is really amazing. Our minds are kept continually focussed on matters of no consequence. That is where the sensation-mongers of the press and the screen get in their share of the dirty work. That is why the Newberry trial and the murder and divorce cases are reported at such exasperating length. That is why the helpless public is glutted with so many abominable all-fiction magazines. And that is also

the reason why dance halls, baseball grounds and amusement parks are kept working overtime.

Is it any wonder, then, that we are not making faster progress towards Industrial Democracy? Is it any wonder that we find it such a hard struggle to awaken the workers of America to a realization of their power and destiny? They are not intellectual giants, they are susceptible to all the influences around them, and in tone and color these

influences are overwhelmingly capitalistic. But let us not lose heart. Let us keep up our fight for a better world with unflinching courage and an iron determination, and we will win. We are bound to win. The sun of Economic Freedom has risen in the East, and as surely as the beating of the waves in the ocean it will also in the not distant future dawn upon the face of fair America.



STOPPING TO READ THE SIGN BOARD.

The Impending Great Crash

By Justus Ebert

The capitalists of this country are developing a state of mind, as the Christian Scientists would say, such as always heralds an approaching financial and industrial breakdown, and reflects unsound conditions. Some of them take a very pessimistic outlook of the future. Others are evidently whistling to keep up their courage. Chief among the pessimists are such men as Frank Vanderlip and such publications as the *Annalist*, an organ of imperialist finance and commerce published in New York City.

As early as last November *The Annalist* pointed out that the industrial structure of this country had, under the stress of war, been built to meet world demands and that with the coming of peace and the fall in foreign exchange a readjustment of this world structure to normal requirements would be necessary. *The Annalist* was of the opinion that many would be hurt in this deflation; but it believed that the survivors would be benefited, in a capitalist sense.

Frank Vanderlip is not quite so sanguine. In an interview published in the *New York Call* of Jan. 5, he predicts a world famine that will wreck capitalism. He says: "I think that the world is confronted by one of the greatest crises in all history."

This crisis will be due, according to Vanderlip, to European conditions resulting from the war. They include food shortage, principally; physical and financial breakdown, disorganized transportation—all pregnant with revolutionary probabilities.

In this same Vanderlip interview in the *New York Call*, appears the views of R. C. Martens, a former aide of the late Lord Rhondda, food controller of Great Britain. Martens was here to attend a secret conclave of bankers called to consider the world situation. Many such conclaves are now being frequently held, says Martens:

"Europe's food supplies will last, upon the average, until February. After that the crash may be expected any day. And it will be the GREAT CRASH, the greatest disaster that humanity has yet experienced. It will cost millions of lives and bring in its train no one knows what governmental and social changes."

Martens, according to the *Call* interview, added his belief that out of the chaos which will follow the big crash the governments of Europe will be reorganized on a commercial or co-operative basis.

Since the Vanderlip interview, with its Martens' inclusion, the German revolutionary crisis has developed and the rate of exchange has taken a decided fall. One of the domestic results of these two events has been a sudden decline in exports. The warehouses along the Atlantic seaboard are full of goods awaiting shipment on a more favorable exchange basis. Goods shipped abroad are, in some cases, not even unloaded, but are being retransported back to this country to be sold at the higher prices prevailing here. In other words, there is

now, as a result of European conditions, a back wash that threatens to submerge American capitalism via "overproduction," the slowing down of industry, unemployment, soup lines, etc.

Says the *New York Times* of this back wash: "The root of the disorder of the exchanges is that we have too many goods for our own use, and that foreign buyers have too little money to relieve us of them. The alternatives are that we should consume more than is good for us, or that foreign buyers should go without what they ought to have to keep themselves in health."

The *Times*, it may be observed parenthetically, evidently doesn't know what this state of "health" implies, when judged by the Vanderlip estimate of conditions abroad.

Professor J. L. Laughlin, head of the department of economics, Chicago University, also sheds the light of his "brilliant" intellect on the situation. He declares, more profoundly than *The Times*, be it noted, that, "The present drop in the value of British and Continental money is the surface indication of a serious and deep rooted condition." This condition is due to the impossibility of paying war indemnities, owing to economic exhaustion. In a word, the bankruptcy of Austria and Germany; and, as a consequence, France, et al.

Professor Laughlin, however, is not a pessimist. He's an optimist—at the expense of the working class. He sees a remedy for these conditions in an extension of credits to Europe, based on increased production and decreased consumption (saving, lower wages, etc.) of the American workers.

"The Nation's Business" is also an optimist, somewhat of the same character. (This is not as one would infer from the title, an organ of the national government, devoted to the promotion of the business of national governmental enterprises. No, it is the organ of the National Chambers of Commerce, the biggest capitalist association in the country, embracing all capitalist associations and becoming more powerful than the national government itself.)

"The Nation's Business" flouts the pessimists. It follows the old-time policy in vogue during other and lesser panics, of dwelling on "our basic factors and soundness and ability to weather any and all storms."—A species of spread eaglesism that after-events always proved more flamboyant than real; for panics always come notwithstanding it. History is not likely to reverse itself now when it is going ahead, with more velocity than ever before repeating itself.

"The Nation's Business" "points with pride," to "our agriculture and crops," "our great and practically unlimited and superior natural resources," "our impregnable position as one of the great powers," "our change from a debtor to a creditor nation," etc., etc. These coupled with skill, efficiency, thrift, productivity, great industrial and financial

organization, reinforced by credits to Europe based on increased production and more saving, will save us all from the horrors of the Vanderlipian analysis and the Martenian opinions.

It sounds all very nice, but one wonders why, with more production now than can be consumed without injury to ourselves, as The Times has pointed out, credits are not now granted to Europe? Why wait to give Europe credit until the overproduction caused by the backwash from Europe is further accentuated by the increased production and the decreased consumption of the American working class? Why?

It is to be feared that "The Nation's Business" fails to consider a few other things that affect "our basic soundness." One is the lifting of the Russian blockade by Great Britain. This breaks the American wheat monopoly in Europe, as it enables Europe to purchase Russian wheat in exchange for European machinery and tools essential to Russian industrial development. It further makes European dependence on "our natural resources" less necessary. Russia, as is well-known, is a country of great undeveloped resources. She can supply Europe with much raw material; and a working alliance between her and England seems now underway, to the detriment of a befooled and belated U. S. capitalism.

So it goes. It is to be feared that American capitalism has reached a pass where it must recoil on itself, thanks to the condition of world capitalism in general, thanks, in turn, to the world war. The world structure erected by American capitalism during the war, with its need for readjustment to more normal requirements, as described by the Annalist, cannot be made more stable by still greater expansion, as demanded by the advocates of greater production and less consumption, i. e., more saving, etc. That is obvious!

And it is doubtful if a greater productivity is possible without a technical revolution that will involve more changes and more disorders. For instance, a trade union leader of England says the hope of the world is increased production by the workers. The English workers must produce twice as much as now. The French four times as much; the Germans 18 times as much. How is that possible, with the mechanical means at hand? In this country, the abnormal war production congested the transportation systems of the country. To double that production would break down those systems! What then? "Create new labor displacing methods," you answer. And then, what then?

No, we are afraid that, to use a vulgarism, American capitalism is "up against it, good and plenty." It will be damned if it does and damned if it doesn't. Vanderlip is right: "The world is confronted with the greatest crisis in all history." We are "in" for a period of "hard times," the hardest in all history. Japan, situated, like ourselves, outside of the war district and able to reap rich harvests therefrom, has already experienced a severe spasm. The great crash has already come; it is already here. Will

it result in a communism of capital, or of labor? That is the question which the future will answer, and which the industrial organization of labor will help to answer right.

One thing is evident, namely, that the failure of capitalism to promote civilization, as demonstrated in the late war and its aftermath, tend to make the communism of capital impossible.

P. S.

EUROPE'S INSOLVENCY

Since the above article was written, Mark O. Prentiss has published an article on "Europe's Insolvency", which is every bit as startling in its statements as the Call interview with Frank Vanderlip. Mark O. Prentiss is vice-president of the National Surety Company and chairman of the United States Clearing House of Foreign Credits. His article appears in "The Nation" of February 28.

Prentiss declares, "The United States might just as well write down its loans to Europe as war expense, and give up any hope of recovering either principal or interest. Europe is insolvent today, and its appeals for financial assistance should be recognized in this country as appeals for charity."

Referring to the recent decline in foreign exchange, Prentiss declares:

"Exchange has rallied temporarily, but it will go further down. It is conceivable that exchanges may continue their rapid decline to the vanishing point — that Austrian exchange will follow Russian, and German will follow Austrian; that the exchanges of some of the western countries will follow those of countries east of the Rhine; **that the money of the countries of the world will have absolutely no value in foreign exchange.** And this is a possibility of the immediate future — not a matter of years, but of weeks or months at the most."

In the opinion of Prentiss "repudiation" is the necessary word to use in discussing Europe's first method of getting back to work and straightening out its financial tangle. He shows that Germany, on whose payments of war indemnities so much depends, for instance, "is not worth over \$50,000,000,000 at a liberal estimate, without allowing for the serious depreciation of its railways and other public utilities, nor for its decreased man-power and wealth-producing territories; and its national indebtedness today is about \$55,000,000,000".

France, Italy, Great Britain are also heavily in debt and unworthy of loans on a business basis.

Prentiss shows that the United States as a nation has loaned Europe \$12,000,000,000. Industrial, financial and commercial men "at least another \$8,000,000,000." Further that foreign acceptances held in this country have been renewed so often that they have depreciated from 30 to 60 per cent.

Says Prentiss in conclusion

"Immense quantities of American merchandise have been sent abroad, principally to Europe, on

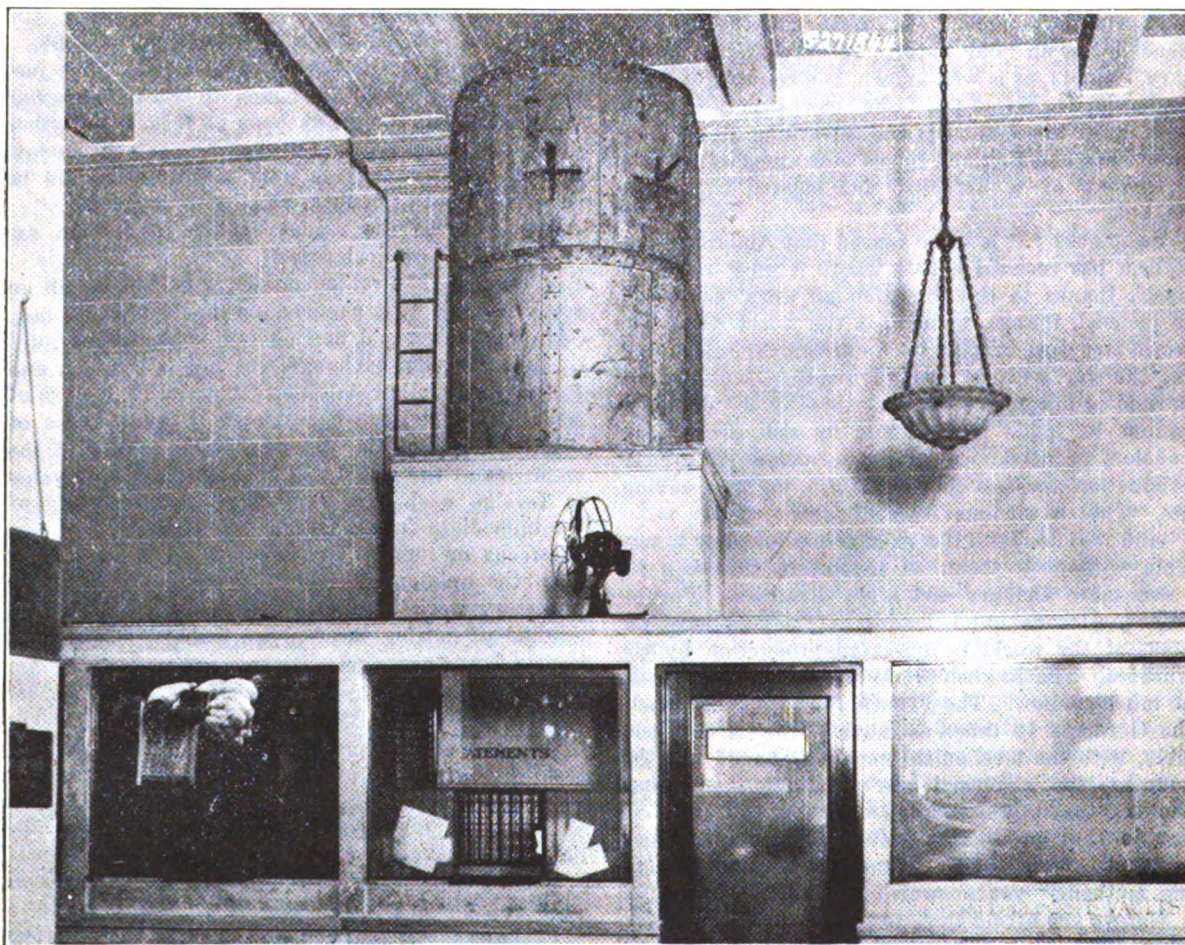
consignment, or placed in warehouses throughout the world, subject to order. Such consignments probably total \$2,000,000,000. One wonders what will happen to our industry when it is called upon to make good at discounted rates of exchange the enormous amount covered by unpaid foreign drafts.

The world is sitting upon a potential volcano that may begin its eruption at any time, with the result that the entire financial structure of the world, as we have grown accustomed to it, may be destroyed. That we in the United States are intensely, yes, vitally, interested in the situation is obvious. We cannot exist the only prosperous nation in a world of bankrupts. Our first duty, therefore, is to help the other countries to help themselves. All economists agree that there is but one solution now: more production and the reduction of expenditures."

It must be that Prentiss does not read "The Nation," the paper in which his article appears. For "The Nation", in an editorial on "Farm Life and Reconstruction", in the same issue in which the Prentiss article appears, reiterates a conviction often expressed before, namely, "There is need of clear understanding that the entire existing system of production is breaking down; that homeopathic remedies will no longer avail".

It looks to us as if Prentiss is trying to apply homeopathy, to "the entire existing system of production".

How that system, in this country, can survive the repudiation of 20 billions of U. S. debts by Europe, and then turn around and help Europe by increased production and thrift, we leave Prentiss to explain.
J. E.



Underwood & Underwood Photo.

GUARDING THE SHRINKING DOLLAR

Steel turrets or "pill boxes" like the above are being installed in banks all over the country. This pillbox shelters two guards, armed with high power guns. The narrow slits permit them to cover the entire floor space of the bank with their guns. The banker robs the depositor with impunity through the depreciation of the dollar, but that is business. If the masked bandits interfere with the "business" of the big robbers they get a few "pills".

The Passing of Cripple Creek

By Mary E. Marcy

Now that we behold the collapse of one of the two great foundation pillars of capitalist society, we feel like soldiers in battle to whom has come invincible support. For we know that the failure or the collapse of capitalism means the seeds of revolution that no power on earth can check.

This is why, to us, the closing down of the Cripple Creek Mining Camp, the greatest and richest gold mine in America, is the momentous event of the year in what it signifies. It means that capitalism has become unworkable.

We do not imagine that the working class can fold its arms and inherit the revolution. But we do know that the collapse of the existing system will mean the whipping into revolutionary activity of the whole working class.

The following is a quotation from an article on the financial page of the Chicago Daily News of February 19th:

"According to a statement prepared by the American Mining Congress, it is no longer possible to produce gold at a profit in the United States.

"The present level of wages and commodity prices has got away from the gold standard; that is to say, the work which it takes to earn a dollar in industry is less than the effort required to produce a dollar in gold. The American Mining Congress statement says in part:

"The purchasing power of the ounce of gold, which under statute cannot bring more than \$20.67, has, Harold N. Lawrie, nationally known economist, shows, shrunken through inflation of currency until it is no longer possible for gold to be profitably produced.

"Gold mines of the United States are being closed down at an alarming rate. Many of these can never be re-opened owing to the prohibitive costs of re-timbering and unwatering. Cripple Creek, the greatest American gold camp, is taking on the appearance of a city of dead hopes."

* * *

The capitalist system is based on the buying and selling of commodities, including the commodity, human labor power. The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker at wages that will enable the worker to subsist. He keeps the products of the worker for himself. And these products contain the wages of the worker. The capitalists get about four times as much as the worker receives out of the products of the worker.

Perhaps the worker produces every day commodities represented by - say - \$50.00 in value. And he receives \$10 in wages.

But in order for the capitalist to realize on the surplus value he has extracted from the workers, the capitalist class must have a standard money - means of exchange, measure of value. So far as anybody has been able to discover, gold is the only medium that fulfills all the requirements for the

exchange or circulation of commodities, EXCEPT a medium based OPENLY UPON LABOR ALONE.

During the war the need for vastly increased credits and an increased currency, forced the modern industrial countries to print millions upon millions of paper notes behind which there was no corresponding increase in gold. This meant currency inflation, or currency DILUTION. It means that every dollar bill represents less and less active value, and, since commodities tend to exchange at their value, it means the constantly increasing prices of all other commodities which we have experienced ever since.

It means that the diluted dollar has depreciated so much today that it is now unprofitable to operate the greatest gold mining camp in America! It means that after the wages of the miners are paid, and after the expenses of operating the gold mines are deducted, there is no profit left for the mine owners. It means the end of the reign of Gold and it will write FINIS across the page of the capitalist.

* * *

As we suggested above, society might resort to a new medium of exchange and measure of value based upon labor and upon labor alone. One bill, for example would represent, say ten hours of necessary labor, another would stand for five hours of necessary labor, and so on. But such a medium cannot be adopted by the capitalist class without cutting off, from their supply of social wealth, all the parasitical members of society. Besides the capitalist class insists that capital produces wealth as well as labor.

No scientist has yet suggested any possible substitute for the gold basis, and if such a substitute were discovered the various capitalist groups could never be persuaded to agree on a new monetary system because of conflicting national and international, capitalist INTERESTS.

The debtor nation, like the individual debtor, for example, desires to meet his obligations with inflated currency. The creditor, whether it be individual or nation, on the contrary, will fight till his last gasp for payment in "dear" or valuable, money.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York suggests that an embargo should be placed on the export of gold and expresses grave alarm at the stoppage of gold production at a time when the bankers of the United States desire to extend credit to the nations of Europe. For, it says, "gold is the foundation of our monetary and credit structure." The following paragraph from the statement issued by the Guaranty Trust Company explains how today the Federal Reserve Banking system has permitted the printing of unbacked paper money until one gold dollar is made to do the work of many dollars. Not, however, we might easily show, without depreciating the currency of the United States so

that in response to the law of value, prices have risen sky high:

"A gold dollar in the vaults of a federal reserve bank serves, or may serve, as the basis of deposit liabilities of \$2.50, and these deposits to the credit of a member bank may in turn serve to enable credit extension by that bank of anywhere from seven and a half to fourteen times that amount, or say \$19 to \$35. With reserves close to the legal minimum, therefore, every million dollar of gold lost (by export) practically means forced credit contraction of perhaps twenty millions, unless contraction come about by normal industrial liquidation."

Thus it would appear that the bankers of this and other modern industrial countries which are all in a similar predicament, will be unable to extend to the chaotic countries of Europe the credit they so desperately need unless they go in for a further debauch of currency dilution which will lift prices here another hundred or two hundred per cent.

Capitalism is speedily choking itself to death. Cripple Creek is symbolic. Gold is vitally needed to save the existing system; but it is impossible to secure gold without allowing a profit on gold to the mine owners. No bank and no government can

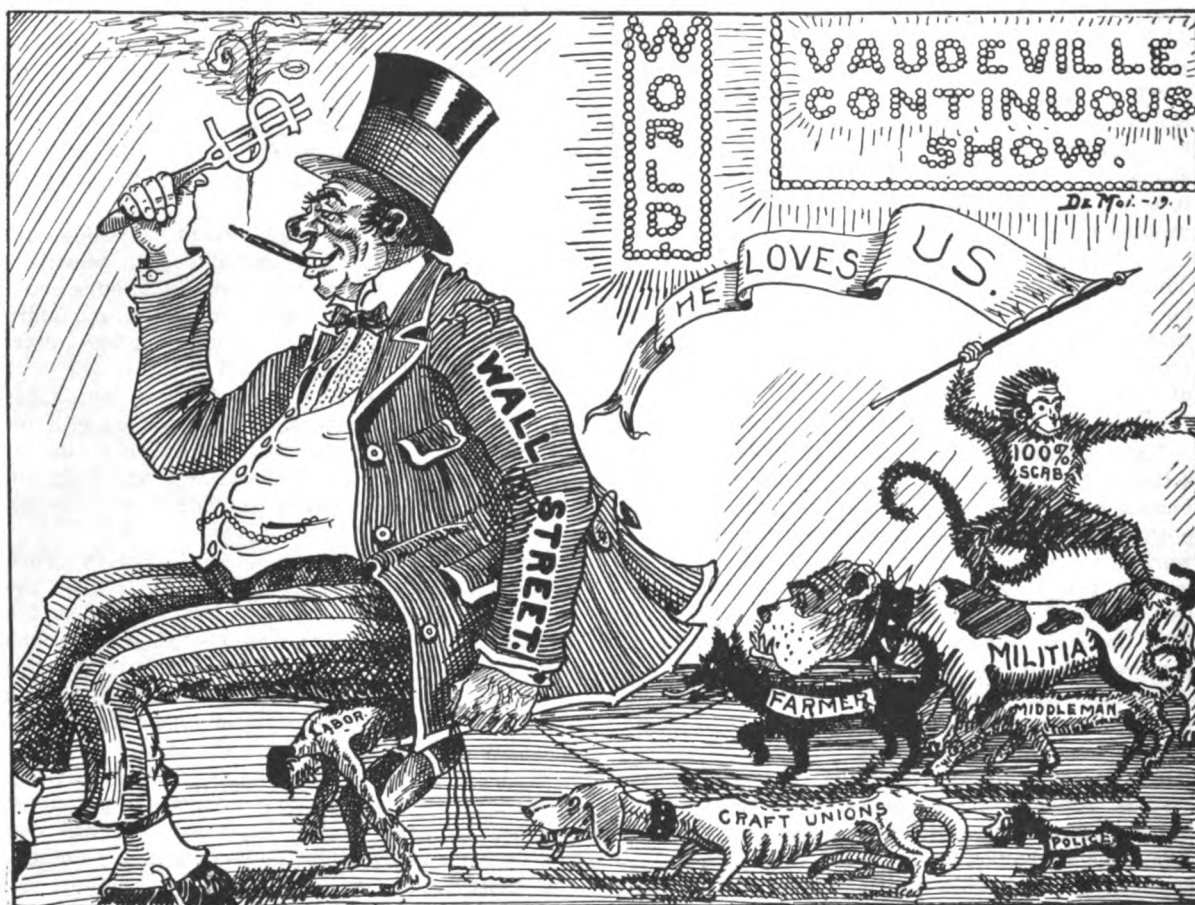
credit a mine owner with two dollars on its books for one dollar in gold and survive. So that supplying the NEEDS of the system has become incompatible with the EXISTENCE of the system.

The days of the old regime are fast passing away but they are bound to be periods of great unemployment, much suffering, untold brutalities on the part of the ruling classes and what may seem like a miraculous awakening on the part of labor.

The PROFIT-SYSTEM has closed the Cripple Creek Mine Camp upon which the Profit-System subsists.

Be of good cheer, Fellow Workers! The ENEMY is the strongest force making for revolution today. They may put every Bolshevist, every member of the I. W. W., communist, socialist, trade unionist - all of us in prison; they may destroy and stop our voices, but the COLLAPSING CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the CAPITALIST CLASS are MANUFACTURING NEW REVOLUTIONISTS faster than any society can build jails in which to incarcerate them.

Cripple Creek, the one-time symbol of the rule of Capitalism has become an emblem of the ruin and chaos being wrought by that same system!



OUR BEST SOCIETY

By BOB PACIFIC

The best society in the '70's back East
 Was orthodox, middle class, prosperous, self-opinionated,
 And flung the bloody shirt to grab office.
 It wasn't very well educated, but read Dickens and Scott
 And Mark Twain, and called itself cultured.
 Sometimes it had some of these literary fellows
 Lecture, or read selections from their works. Then it was,
 You could see all the leading citizens turn out en masse,
 And get a bird's-eye view of the best society.
 Labor was largely done by the women and sons,
 And by the fathers, too, on special occasions.
 Society had not lost touch with the soil:
 Hence, it was strong, vigorous, clean, manly.
 It knew nothing of socialism, little of science,
 And was ignorant of the class struggle.

In the '80's a few millionaires had emerged,
 Made by shipping in the Irish and putting them
 To manufacturing plows, wagons, harvesters,
 And to slaughtering beef and pork.
 Class distinctions arose. The best citizens
 Were those who had the most slaves in their employ,
 Just as it had been down South in the '60's
 And before. Skinning labor marked the epoch,
 And more men were imported, Poles, Italians,
 Germans, Hungarians, Swedes, Norwegians,
 And what was popularly called "the scum of Europe."

The rich sent their children to colleges,
 Where they got educated. The bourgeoisie
 Went to plays, played cards, danced and drank.
 It lost its orthodoxy, and prayed to gold,
 Instead of to God. Labor was its hobby horse.
 It read Howells, James, Mrs. Humphrey Ward,
 And imported foreign operas. It wore diamonds
 And caught European vices. Degeneration began.

In the '90's capitalism was in full bay.
 The World's Fair finished the education of all
 The best people; the upper class went mad over money,
 And vowed its life to exploitation.
 Corruption of officials, graft, prostitution,
 Poverty, strikes, and class differences arose.
 The gap between the rich and poor perceptibly widened.
 To work became the mark of evil. Overalls were the badge
 Of dishonor. Starvation and freezing stalked abroad.
 America started on the decline, and corruption grew.

In the first decade of the 20th century
 Frenzy seized the masters. Speculation in land,
 Oil, in mines, in all lines, rose to madness.
 The world had grown international, nations competed,
 And the casus belli sprang into life.
 Oscar Wilde, Shaw, Galeworthy, and the giants,
 Tolstoi and Zola became the voices of the day,
 Anarchism and socialism came to America,
 Native authors there were none. The press thrived
 By a parasitical attachment to the master class,
 The church declined almost to naught.
 Fortunes became swollen by aggregating
 Great masses of workmen under one employment,
 The upper class, the capitalists, seized the reins,
 Democracy ceased to exist; the middle class virtues died;
 The lines of battle were drawn clearly
 Between the masters and the slaves.
 The seed of death was sown broadcast
 And woe to him who tried to stop the hand of the sower.

We're in the second decade; the World War,
 Fought to see if workers should be exploited
 By Hun or Anglo-Saxon, came and went.
 The Anglo-Saxon isn't any better master than the Hun;
 No man is good enough to be master over his fellow;
 Millions perished in vain; anarchy reigned for five years,
 And now the capitalist class is dying.
 Victor can't handle the slaves as well as he thought;
 The war enlightened the workers;
 It taught them the class struggle is here,
 That to be free one must be masterless.
 The revolution is on; it is always on,
 But now it is running at lightning speed.
 Soon capitalism will close its eyes in senile decay,
 And die. No one has to kill it; no cause for plots;
 It kills itself through its own self-contradictions.
 It steals its slaves blind, and then tries to sell
 Its goods to them. Panics come; wars arise;
 Lockouts, strikes, failures to pay public employes,
 Soldiers and sailors let go hungry, police unpaid,
 Teachers left to shift for themselves,
 Revolution sown on every hand.
 Then comes the change.

A band of men such as those now in prison
 Who see that Industrial Democracy is needed,
 Come forth from their damp cells
 And reorganize society along the lines
 Laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin.
 Gorki becomes the inspired poet of the day,

And the best society dons overalls, gets to work
 And puts food into the mouths of those who labor,
 But takes it away from the parasites, the masters.
 Capitalism, being found lacking, is abolished,
 And the dictatorship of the proletariat
 Is inaugurated.

The '20's will see all this accomplished
 Not only here, but in all advanced nations.
 The world will become fruitful, and peace, plenty,
 And prosperity will again reign for all those who
 work.

Genius will come into its own,
 And those who have suffered will be heard with
 respect.

The Popular Wobbly

(Air --- They go wild over me)

*I'm as mild mannered a man as can be
 And I've never done them harm that I can see.
 Still, on me they placed a ban and they threw me
 in the can
 They go wild, simply wild over me.*

*Oh the "Bull" he went wild over me
 And he held his gun where everyone could see.
 He was breathing rather hard when he saw my
 union card
 He went wild, simply wild over me.*

*Then the judge he went wild over me
 And I plainly saw we never would agree
 So I let the man obey what his conscience had
 to say
 He went wild, simply wild over me.*

*Oh, the jailer went wild over me
 And he locked me up and threw away the key
 It seems to be the rage so they keep me in a cage
 They go wild, simply wild over me.*

*They go wild, simply wild over me
 I'm referring to the bedbug and the flea
 They disturb my slumber deep
 And I murmur in my sleep
 They go wild, simply wild over me.*

*Even God, he went wild over me
 This I found out as I knelt upon my knee
 Did he hear my humble yell?
 No, he told me to go to hell
 He went wild, simply wild over me.*

*Will the roses grow wild over me
 When I'm gone to the land that is to be
 When my soul and body part in the stillness of my
 heart
 Will said roses grow wild over me?*

ODE TO ART

(By Robin Dunbar)

The I. W. W. is a fine work of art,—
 I bellow it down the ages,
 Holler it with my last expiring yawp,—
 You've got to listen and understand.
 We are the only poets, filosofers, artists,
 We see clearly the trend of events
 And are preparing ourselves for the New Day,
 Another Bolsheviki Day,—Hurrah!
 The bourgeois world is rotten,—
 I scream it from my house-top;
 It measures life in terms of dollars,
 And pours out the precious blood like water.
 Money is only stored up labor,
 When it is a metal; when paper
 It is nothing unless the boss
 Backs it up with guns.
 "I take thee, Harold Crabtree, syphilitic,
 With all thy worldly goods,
 To be my lawful wedded spouse,"
 Is the moral of bourgeois literature.
 War is the ghastly skeleton
 Sitting at the head of Dives' table;
 When the food runs low,
 The skeleton rises and rattles its bones.
 Revolution comes with a master-class debacle
 Or through civil war, take your choice;
 It's coming soon one way or the other,
 And it is good. You can't starve it by a blockade.
 Striking on and off the job
 Are the weapons of the slaves;
 They are using them better every day,
 And will, bourgeois world without end.
 He promises it just before he dies.
 Reform is the master's last gasp;
 We believe in taking all we can get,
 And thanking nobody.
 God is dead, religion is a plaything
 And fools nobody any more;
 Church, theater, press are prostitute.
 (Capitalist papers please copy.)
 Politics is hocus pocus;
 Voting on the job for things we can control
 Is all the politics we know;
 We're not interested in naming our rider.
 The theater is an ass,
 Tin pan noise, inane shouts, applause by ushers,
 Jazz, booze, legs, whores;
 It all constitutes a bourgeois heaven.
 Real art of the proletarian sort
 Gives joy, inspires, soothes.
 It is creative and benefits humanity
 And encourages revolution.
 What is Revolution?
 It is the next turn from bourgeois democracy
 To industrial democracy;
 Then art will flourish and all good things.

KING CAPITAL!

By L. Sweet

King Capital bold, on his throne of gold,
In the castle of Privilege, bright,
Clad in robes of state, aloft he sate,
And he thot of his ancient right.

Up from below in an endless row
Came his lackeys, backs well bent,
Bearing to his throne, with a murmur and groan
Their loads of profits and rent.

He chuckled low at the metal's glow
And his face was wreathed in smiles
As they heaped the gold—a wealth untold
In ever increasing piles.

Came some sudden shakes like deep earth quakes,
And the castle shivered and swayed,
On his smiling face, shone Terror's trace
As of some vengeful power afraid;

In a royal rage, to a passing page,
Aloud he haltingly cried,
"Such shock and strain ne'er has come amain
Since my feudal father died.

Call my vassals who wait,
The Church Press and, State;
Bring them into my presence here."
They came downcast. "What commotions vast
Are these you've allowed to appear?"

For a thousand years, the Church avers
I have bound them shrewdly and well;

But now they strain Superstition's chain,
And even the fear of Hell."

"Once easy restrained, the Press complained,
When by chains of Falsehood wound;
Our smoothest lies are now poor ties
For keeping the serfs well bound.

For some glimmers of light from your castle
bright

Have leaked down to the earthly hell
Where your myriad slaves in their primal caves,
In the midnight of ignorance dwell.

And each struggles and strains at his rusting
chains
We have wrought for them so well."

Then up spoke the State, "I but await
Your next commands, Oh, King!

Thus far when a chain doth snap amain,
Forth my steel and fire I bring.
But now myriads arise with defiant cries,
And they tug with might and main,

We must rack our brains to devise new chains
For the old ones no longer restrain."
So the king sits free with his vassals three
On his face is hate and fear,

And they rack their brains to devise new chains
As louder the tumult they hear;
But well the king knows, from the rumbling throes,
That the fall of his house is near.

Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin, President of the Russian Soviet Republic

Most people have the impression that Lenin is the chief executive of the Russian Soviet Republic. But such is not the case. Lenin is the chief of the people's commissars, or the prime minister. The man who in Russia holds the same position as the President does in the United States is the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, and his name is Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin.

The following biography of Kalinin, translated from a Russian manuscript, throws very intimate light on the make-up of Soviet rule and the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat.

Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin was unanimously elected Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets in place of the late Comrade Sverdlov, at the meeting of the Executive Committee on March 30th, 1919.

Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin was born on November 7th, 1875, in the village of Verkhney Troitsky,

government of Tver, Korchevsk ujesd, Jackovlevsky district, of a peasant family. He lived with his parents till the age of 13, and from early childhood helped his father in the work on the farm. From childhood he had a great yearning for knowledge. He taught himself to read, and devoted all his leisure time to reading.

When he turned 13, one of the neighboring landlords, Mordukhay-Bolkhovsky, sent him to the Zemsky elementary school at her own expense, for his father, being comparatively a poor peasant, could not afford to pay for his son's education. At school he was regarded as one of the best pupils. On finishing school, he went to work on Mordukhay' estate, but life there could give no satisfaction to the inclinations of the youth, and his mistress placed him at the Patronny Works in Petrograd as an apprentice. He remained there for two years and then at the age of 16, he went to work as a turner at the Poutilov Works.

In 1898, Comrade Kalinin joined the Social Dem-

ocratic Party, and from that time, all his trials began.

In 1899 he was arrested and exiled to the Caucasus, where he worked in the railway workshops. Here he was twice arrested.

It is interesting to note that when Comrade Kalinin was exiled to the Caucasus, he was permitted to pass through his village, and on his appearance there, everybody was surprised to see him alive, for there was a rumor in the village that he had been placed in the Petropavlovks fortress as a dangerous political worker, and there had been literally ground to pieces in a mill.

As the work of Comrade Kalinin seemed too dangerous to the authorities in the Caucasus, they transferred him to Reval, but still as an exile, and there he continued his fruitful work amongst the Estonian workers.

In 1903, the authorities of Reval again arrested Comrade Kalinin and decided to exile him to Eastern Siberia. While he was on the road, the Japanese war broke out; as a consequence, he was brought back and sent to the government of Ilonetsk, where he stayed till 1905, when he came under an amnesty and was released. From 1906 till 1908, Comrade Kalinin worked at the Central Union of Metal Workers and was a distinguished worker of the Petrograd Bolshevik organization.

Later on, after the death of his father, Comrade Kalinin temporarily ceased his political work and retired to the village where for two years he managed his farm.

In 1912, Comrade Kalinin went to work at the Central Tramway electric station, but very shortly was again arrested, exiled from Moscow, and was deprived of his right to reside in industrial centres.

He returned to his native village, and again took to his farm work, but the satraps gave him no rest and he was arrested again.

In 1915, we find him working at the "Ivaz" works. On January 7th, 1916, he was again arrested and put into prison, where he was detained for a year, and then sentenced to be exiled to Siberia. That sentence, however, was not carried out, for Comrade Kalinin lived in Petrograd illegally and by that time the February revolution took place, and he was set free.

He has a wife and three children, and a mother of 60, who lives in the village and manages the farm. Comrade Kalinin visits his village from time to time, and takes an active part in the construction of rural life.

Soon after his election, Comrade Kalinin, in an interview with a correspondent of the "Pravda", the organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, expressed a few brief remarks referring to the immediate aims of the Soviet Government.

"In the first place", said Comrade Kalinin, "it is necessary to induce the middle-class peasantry to take part in the revolutionary struggle with the

same intensity as the proletariat. It is essential that the Soviet Government should become near and dear to the village. As Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, I consider bringing the Soviet Government into closer contact with the village, my principal and fundamental task.

"It is necessary for us to offer resistance to the robbers threatening us from all sides. Can we offer resistance? Of course we can, if we strengthen the unity between the proletariat and the peasantry and render it firm and everlasting.

"I consider my election as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee as symbolical. I am at the same time a worker and a peasant. I personify the union between town and village. Even now I am managing a farm, and as much as my duties will permit me, I will continue to do so. I stand between the poor and middle-class peasantry, my farm is not large but in good order. I know rural life well, and the psychology of the peasant is quite familiar to me. I know that every peasant *must* love the Soviet Government. Because I am a peasant I take part in the revolutionary movement, and serve the Soviet Government. *From the standpoint of his economic interests, the middle-class peasant must support the Soviet Government.* That misunderstandings may arise between the Soviet Government and the middle-class peasantry is possible, but hostility—never. We must protect the middle-class peasant from every kind of oppression, misunderstandings, red-tape and bureaucratism; to assist the economic development of the village, and in no case to destroy but to encourage small industry, handicraft and so on among the peasants.

"I should like to say a few words about the Petrograd proletariat. Nobody has suffered so much for the revolution, nobody has invested so much energy and patience in the cause as the Petrograd workers. And undoubtedly they have the right to demand our particular attention. The Petrograd workers are starving. Only a short time ago, Petrograd suffered more from hunger than Moscow. At present, the food question in Petrograd, if not better, is at least not worse than in Moscow. It is necessary to improve the food conditions of Petrograd for the reason, I repeat, that the Petrograd workers fully deserve all the attention we can devote to them. The Petrograd workers will yet again give evidence of their revolutionary heroism."

Comrade Kalinin speaks about himself reluctantly.—"I am a peasant of the government of Tver. In my boyhood, I was a kind of lackey at the house of General Mordukhay-Bolkhovsky. He helped me to make my way in life, i. e. from a peasant to become a factory worker. In my youth, my views were "moderate", but in time they became more and more revolutionary. When I was 20, I seriously studied the Labor question. In 1898, I joined the Social Democratic organization. My best reminiscences are connected with this first illegal organization which I joined when I was a youth of 22. It was a small circle. At our meetings we read, dis-

cussed, dreamed. We love to dream. Amongst us there were dreamers who gave no rein to their imagination, and in their dream they went far—even so far as to dream of a Constituent Assembly. Of course, we never thought that this would be accomplished in our days (in our children's perhaps); we could only dream of it. Our dreams never went beyond a Constituent Assembly, it seemed to us the topmost pinnacle. Now life has outdistanced our wildest dreams, we have risen above the topmost pinnacle.

"In 1899, I was arrested for the first time, kept in prison for a year, and released in 1900. I immediately returned to my village and visited General Mordukhay-Bolkhovskiy. He heartily welcomed me, shook hands with me and said: (I remember his words) 'I see, Misha, that you are a noble man, and the task you undertake is a noble task, but you must remember that one cannot drive through a brick wall.' General Bolkhovskiy is now dead, but his wife and son who were of the same opinion, are still alive. The son of the general, my late master, is in my service in Petrograd. Is there anything else I could tell you about myself? The biographs of party-men are very similar. Arrested, exiled, again arrested, and so on."

"What do you expect from the future, Comrade Kalinin?"

"I am an incorrigible optimist. I am sure we shall overcome all trials. In a few days, I am going on a tour to different villages and small towns. I will speak with the peasants. I am sure that we shall come to an understanding very easily and very quickly."

On April 26th, Comrade Kalinin began his "All-Russian tour". A special train was constructed in Moscow which is named "The October Revolution". The route comprises: Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Lousky, Novokhopersk, Balashov, Penza, Inza, Riazan, Zhitomir, Kieff, Elizabetchgrad, Odessa, Kherson and the Crimean peninsula. Apart from the principal aim of this tour, that is, to come into closer contact with the village, to draw nearer to the province, to know what is required, it has an educational purpose as well. There is a book-store in the train, moving cinematograph, museum, exhibition, etc. Wherever Comrade Kalinin comes, he speaks with the peasants and workers, takes interest in their affairs, listens to all their complaints, etc. His speeches are the simple speeches of a peasant. Here is an extract from a speech which he delivered at a crowded meeting of the Red Army soldiers and peasants in the government of Simbirsk:

"Comrades, the Workers' and Peasants' Government must see to it that everybody should be placed in the best conditions. But at the present time, Russia has become very poor. There is a scarcity of food, cloth, of everything. Russia has not produced anything for a period of four years, but has spent all her wealth, and now we have no stock of food or goods, we have even no wood for the baths.

"We have become very poor. The greedy bourgeoisie is responsible for this. It began the war. It accumulated wealth while the people were starving and getting poor. There is no other way to salvation than the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

"The Red Army is performing a noble task, and it faces great difficulties. Our enemies possess science, technique and foreign gold, and still we beat them. We beat them because our army is conscious that in the event of our defeat, the landlords and the bourgeoisie will suck our blood and the blood of those that come after us. I urge you all not to be discouraged and to devote all your free time to studies in order to acquire knowledge, and impart your knowledge to your family and to your fellow-villagers which will enable you to take an active part in the work of administration, and to dismiss all bureaucrats amongst whom there are many of our disguised enemies.

"The aim of the Soviet Government is to abolish bureaucracy, to place the work of administration into the hands of the workers and the peasants, today to plough your field or work at the bench, and tomorrow to manage a district, ujesd, government or the state, and on the next day to return to the plow or bench.

"Comrades, we are passing through hard times, but at the same time it is an heroic time. Those who have lived quietly during this time will not be remembered by posterity. People will forever remember our time, our deeds. Centuries will roll on, and our children's children will narrate our heroic struggle, how we could sacrifice our lives on the altar of freedom, for the welfare of the people. In their songs they will sing about us, glorifying our struggle. Individuals—Kalinin, Petroff, Ivanoff—will be forgotten, but they will remember us all with awe and pride.

"Being conscious of this, comrades, we fear no enemy and we are convinced of our final victory."

Wherever Comrade Kalinin comes, the workers and peasants place their demands and complaints before him, which he immediately examines and in the majority of cases he is able to satisfy them. In the villages, the representatives of the district and village executive committees have discussions with Comrade Kalinin. In many towns—Simbirsk, Samara, Penza, Tula and so on—Comrade Kalinin, after examining local authoritative organs and discovering unlawful actions of the managers, arrested them. Comrade Kalinin accepts all the written applications of the peasants and makes notes of all the oral statements in order to examine them later on, and to satisfy the people's demands.

Actors and actresses travel in this train who give theatrical performances; cinema pictures are shown, books are distributed. A newspaper is edited in the train which contains the latest telegrams of the Russian Telegraph Agency. This paper gives different information to the peasants and carries on propaganda.

The workers and peasants meet the President of Russian Republic with great enthusiasm. Many enthusiastic letters and telegrams in connection with the arrival of Comrade Kalinin, the All-Russian "Elder" as he is called by the peasants, are sent from the provinces to the centres.

Referring to the arrival of the train "The October Revolution" at the station Sasovo, government of Tambov, one of the workers present writes in the "Izvestia", organ of the All-Russian executive Committee, as follows:

"May the 16th. The train "October Revolution" arrived here. The news that the head of the Soviet Republic, Comrade Kalinin, was in the train spread like wild fire. The beautifully decorated train attracted everybody's attention. A meeting was announced to take place at the depot at 7 o'clock p. m. A great number of people arrived. Speeches were delivered by comrades who arrived from the centre, but the attention of the crowd was distracted by the expected appearance of Comrade Kalinin. Unnoticed by the crowd, dressed very simply, Comrade Kalinin ascends an engine. The chairman of the meeting announced Comrade Kalinin. The eyes of the whole crowd are concentrated on the engine and a burst of cheering greets the man who is so dear to them. This spectacle leaves a great impression; the head of the Soviet Government, dressed like a simple peasant, on an engine amidst his fellow-workers. And quietly, reserved, without exaggerations

or pathos, the "All-Russian Elder" addresses the crowd. In his quiet speech, he outlined the present state of affairs. Comrade Kalinin avoids the use of foreign words, and his speech is understood by everyone present. The worker at once understood that he is the only person who in spirit and body deserves to occupy such an honorable position.

"The speech made a great impression, and for a long time, the crowd cheered the retiring leader.— We will all become communists, if all the representatives of the Government are like Comrade Kalinin", said the workers.

PLEASE NOTE

That there are hundreds of I. W. W. men in Leavenworth and other prisons waiting to be bailed out.

Dear Reader!

If you can do anything yourself, or if you know of somebody else who would put up bail, write immediately to

WM. D. HAYWOOD,
Secretary-Treasurer Gen'l Defense Comm.

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



CUTTING THE CHAINS OF WAGE SLAVERY

In Koltchak's Siberia

(Translated from a Russian Manuscript)

Belated news reaching us through prisoners of war and Siberian papers, picture the situation in Siberia as it was under the guardianship of Koltchak. This news gives us an idea of how the protege of the American profiteers came to grief, after having caused the people terrible sufferings.

The "people's army" is badly equipped and hungry. The commander of the Siberian army, general Hyde, published a proclamation in which he says:

"Citizens, there is no need to remind you that our soldiers are badly equipped—enough has been written and spoken about that. Not all soldiers have warm underclothing and boots. Help the army! bring money, boots, felt boots, mittens, underclothing, books, tobacco, bread and meat."

The bourgeoisie is hardly moved by such proclamations, the government has not sufficient resources to equip the army. The disorganization of transport also impedes the supply of the army. The army is starving in the country where bread is grown; the soldiers' salary per month is an insignificant sum of 40 roubles and this is paid very irregularly. While giving the soldiers very little, the commanders require from them a great deal. Discipline is based on Tzarist "regulations of military service" and is maintained by rod and shooting. It is necessary to guard the army the mass of which is indifferent to the interests of the supporters of Koltchak, from demoralization by false reports of the coming of the Japanese army half a million strong, together with a large supply of guns and ammunition. In spite of this, great numbers are court-martialed for insubordination.

The mobilization of peasants is carried on under the threat of shooting and requisitions. The agrarian policy of Koltchak is particularly felt by the peasants.

In the white-guard news paper "Our Dawn" edited in Omsk we find the following article dated March 14th, 1919:

The temporary transfer of usurpers of land of both categories (that is those who seized land willfully and those who did so in accordance with the decision of the agrarian committee) to the position of lease holders. . . . definitely indicates to the usurpers that they have no right to the ownership of these lands.

"Wilful expropriation of land and damage and losses caused by the troops of the Russian government (so the government of Koltchak calls itself) after clearing the locality from bolsheviks, will be prosecuted according to the civil and criminal penal codes."

The labor movement has been driven underground, trade unions abolished, the proletariat deprived of all its rights. From the order of General Hyde referring to the riots in Tumen it can be concluded what punishment is inflicted upon them:

"In order that the riot be suppressed by all

means, all rebels captured with arms in their hands should be immediately shot without trial. I desire to be informed if this order is carried out and the number of rebels shot should be brought to my notice without delay."

Only the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie have good times in Siberia, who, judging by the proclamations of Koltchak addressed to them, are taking things easily. The events that took place in Siberia and in the army gave evidence of what spirit prevails in the masses of the people. Riots of peasants occur very frequently and become serious. The French general Janin in an interview with a journalist of the white-guard newspaper "Our Dawn" said: "A question of great importance has now to be decided. . . . It is necessary to establish order in Siberia, which is essential for continuing war. To attain it, it is necessary to carry on a struggle with the bolshevik detachments which are formed in various parts of Siberia. . . . Decisive measures have to be taken. . . . At the present moment bolshevik detachments are seen near Krasnoiarsk and Blagoveshchensk. . . . It is necessary to pay great attention to the bolshevik movement." Pointing to the map of Siberia where tiny red flags indicate the presence of bolsheviks, the general remarked: "This is a new front."

The Tomsk newspaper "Siberian Life" writes: "The bolshevik irregular troops consider themselves strong enough to move along the railway between Marinsk and Irkutsk. On the 7th of April there arrived in Tomsk for four days only one passenger train which started from station Taiga in East Siberia. On the way the train was fired at by irregular troops. When the troops discovered it was a passenger train, they allowed it to continue on its way. The passengers had time to notice fourteen military trains which were lying on a slope, thrown there by the irregular troops. Nearer to the station, the bodies of soldiers of the irregular army who were captured and hung, were seen hanging from posts. The Tomsk newspaper refers to a number of peasants rising, particularly in the Biisk and Barnaul uezd, as well as in Eastern Siberia. At Tumen, the supporters of Koltchak were compelled to suppress a rising of 10,000 workmen and peasants. The insurrectionists wrecked the arsenal, liberated political prisoners and killed all the officers."

The mood of the soldiers at the front is equally revolutionary. The soldiers of the "National Army" have actually to be driven into the fight by whips. The desire of the mobilized soldiers is to kill their officers and to come over to the side of the red army. Delegates of Koltchak's National Army of Orenbourg, Chistopol, Bougouroslan and many other regions came to us with the request to make an attack so as to enable detachments of the National Army to come over to our side.

On May 5th in the region of Kusmin a white-guard regiment calling itself "The Taras Shevtchenko regiment" surrendered to us. It changed its name to "Com. Lenin regiment" and joined us in the fight against Koltchak.

The cossaks have learned a good deal. The following telegram comes from the front: "The Krasnoholms, Krasnoyarsk, Vosdviensk, Nikolsk, Nizhinsk and other stanitsas (cossak villages) have come over to the side of the Soviet government. The whole population, young and old, is anxious to defend the workmen's and peasants' government. Often whole detachments fully armed, foot or horse, go to the front stimulated by one desire—to conquer or die. They have all experienced the yoke of Koltchak's regime. At the decisive moment, the laboring cossaks courageously rise to the final battle."

The Rambler's Song

By A Trackman (Card No. 247770)

When I rush through the night
Down the mountain side
On a box car's swaying top
And the whistle calls
'Long the Canyon walls
For breaks to check the drop
With the sleet and hail
And a wintry gale
When a slip means a horrible death
I rejoice when I think
How the grafters will shrink
When we'll make them earn their bread

When I am down below
Where the fires glow
On a palace that crosses the sea
There's no need to tell
It's a floating hell
For the men in sweatsoaked dungaree
Where your strength will fade
And where men go mad
Midst the heat and the hissing steam
I think of the day
Not so far away
When the parasites wake from their dream

When I'm down in the mine
In the dust and grime
And the gas almost chokes off my breath
When the timbers crack
Along tunnels black
To remind me of sudden death
There is only one thing
That will take the sting
From a life so dreary and hard
That the day is near
Which the grafters fear
When they'll have to do their part.

To the Men on the Ships

(Adapted from "The Harbor," By Earnest Poole)

By J. B. Hart

It is hard for a man to be understood when he talks to men from all over the world. We speak different languages, yet all are brothers. On the ship there is no flag for you. On the ship there is no nation. On the ship there is only work. A ship may have the greatest turbines to drive her, she may have the best brains to direct her, but the ship won't sail till you go aboard. You are the men who make the ships of use. You are the ship industry. To you the ship industry belongs. The final struggle between the master and the slaves is near. The deciding contest between the workers and the parasites is at hand. When you fold your arms the commerce of the world will cease. When you strike and strike all together the ship industry will be yours. When you strike all together you will win and, when you win, you win not for yourselves alone but for the Workers of the World.

Out of Southampton on April 10th, 1912 the Titanic sailed on her maiden voyage. Two miles down in the Atlantic, with her bow stuck in the mud of the ocean floor, and her stern six hundred feet up in the water she stands today. In the cold green light down there she looks like a giant coffin and she's packed with dead people inside. They are there because where she should have had life boats she had French cafes and sun parlors for the ladies. Some of these ladies went down with the ship. We heard a lot about their screams but you don't hear much about the cries for help of the thousands of workers who go down every year in rotten old ships upon the seas. Nor have we heard of the thousands more who are killed on land—on the railroads, in the mines and mills and in the stinking slums of the city. The Plutocrat who built and controlled the Titanic was aboard and when she sank he took the place of a common sailor in a life boat. That sailor was drowned. J. Bruce Ismay, the plutocratic owner was called. He speeded the boat to destruction. He sent her out half equipped but with French cafes and sun parlors for the ladies. When she sank he saved his carcass at the cost of one of your Fellow Worker's lives. Blood tells! The parasite is a blood sucker till the end. Did Ismay think of the dying cry of the sailor whose place he took? This hero was but a fool to him.

Now we've decided that cries like these shall be heard all over the world. We've only got one life apiece—we're not quite sure of another. Because we do all the work there is to be done, we want all the life there is to be had. That is our share of the life of this world. Until we have our share this labor war will have no end. There is only one way we can get our share and that way is The One Big Union way. Join the Marine Transport Workers Union No. 8 and speed that day!

Need of a Telephone Workers' Industrial Union

By R. B.—Delegate M 659

Telephones—time saving devices—that touch every other industry, in the process of creating a distinct and separate industry of telephone work. It is difficult to imagine a machine so universally used—even in an age of machine production—as are telephones. They have become necessities in all lines of work from the humble and most useful domestic service to the exalted and (no pardon craved, Mr. Broker) practically useless broker on Wall street. The telephone has supplanted much of the work formerly done by means of long, laborious journeys, superceded messengers, infringing upon the fallow territory of the earlier telegraph; has replaced the social visit largely, and the shopping trips for staple articles are halved (to be conservative) by means of the telephone.

And this industry, so interwoven into every phase of our social life, is operated by workers drawing about \$14.00 a week or less. "Hizzoner" H. C. o' Living blushes with shame!

The workers drawing the magnanimous "salary" are usually young girls, known as operators. Almost all states have a law fixing a minimum age for these employes. The origin of this law, like other "friend to labor" laws, can usually be traced to some reformist on some welfare board—or what not—who has sought to graft off the results of the social malady of economic misrule, rather than radically go to the root of the evil and eradicate its cause.

The result of this "friendly" legislation is that the "company" (ought to use a capital C—but I do not) winks at the knee dresses of the blooming young applicants whose misrepresentation of their ages is passed over easily, and the children whom the reformer sought to benefit and shield are glibly saying "Number, please?" in response to the winking lights of the impatient public, so fast and so often that—well, try it and see what your nerves do! If you are willing to learn from another's experience you can fancy dry throats, twitching fingers, glittering eyes surrounded by dark circles, all telling of the continual strain.

The why of this you may understand from the detailed description of the work which follows. You girls who do this work, yourselves, seldom realize, the slow—(maybe very fast) work of undermining your health that is going on. But one thing you will all agree on—you don't get enough money to live on decently—You know that. A few of you complain faintly, but you have no remedy well in mind—Let's study together on three things—(1) What we are doing—(2) The result of this work to (a) ourselves; (b) to industry in general—and (3) How to make the telephone industry safe and agreeable for the workers—as well as for the public and the "company."

(1) What we are doing.

We operators, of course, are not the whole force, but we are the most important part and the most poorly paid part. (It usually happens that very essential workers in an industry are the most poorly paid; for example, salesgirls in big stores; power machine operators in factories; ironers in laundries; etc.) Here we sit at the A boards getting numbers and assigning them in our own control—passing those calls asking for another central to operators at B boards who are more rushed than we are (and who gets just a few cents a day more pay for the greater wreck being done to their nerves.) And all of us—A-operators and B-operators alike—are piling up profits for the "company" and serving the public vitally—and for ourselves—what are we getting? From \$10.50 to very seldom over \$18 a week.

Many of you menstruate too profusely and for too long a period and too frequently. And you don't realize perhaps that this is due to the strain incident to the reaching for the distant numbers. And further you do not realize the deep seated trouble you are fostering in the organs of your sex by this abusive work.

Let us pause a moment here to let the public see slightly more of their telephones than the posts set by "common laborers," yet a part of our industry whose wages are low (but perhaps three times our own!)—or the wires put up by the line man, or his telephone installed by the "company"—Let this public, whose pulsating arteries are controlled by us, see us in our chairs, elbow to elbow, in front of our various "positions" able to reach some 8 or 9 thousand numbers (by reaching our farthest!) staring at the board full of ¼ inch round holes in panels of 100 each. If one of us becomes extra proficient let the "company's" subscribers see the supervisor who paces up and down behind each 12 (or so) girls—and observe that supervisor place that proficient operator with an empty board on one side and a new or "green" operator just learning on the other side. Thus a price is paid by the proficient, who is placed in such a position that she is rushed as much as a new beginner.

And the supervisor "makes good" by such deeds—She earns her \$3.50 (this varies.) \$3.50 is a scant living but it is so much better than the operators' pay she drew so long—that the supervisor begins to think of how much better off she is than the operator that her mind is "subsidized" and her soul belongs to the company. What else can she earn \$3.50 a day at? So the work of driving you bidable young slaves 8 or 9 hours a day, and every so often a Sunday thrown in, goes on. Anyway there is the Chief Operator to drive the supervisors—Oh! the regal fat Chief Operator. Never Queen ruled more completely! Her salary is a dark secret. It must be \$5 or \$6 a day! Fables and fairy tales! And above her and the other chief operators in the other exchanges are the traffic manager and assistant or assistants depending on the size of the city. These are the real producers of the company.

The managers' business is to show the smallest expense sheet possible in his reports. Is he apt to want to raise your wages a dollar a week? Several hundred girls—say 900—That would be \$900 a week more expense, each week. That would be \$46,800 a year. If you will think a little even, you can see why the manager may be given a \$5,000 a year raise if he can keep you out of a 50 cent a week raise. Even at that, he would save the company over \$20,000 a year.

Other people engage in telephone work. There are young men who learn repairing. They get more money than operators too. The system under which our business is run decrees that male workers should receive enough to take a female partner so as to raise more workers for the future. And women take less—because they do not get together and demand more! Shame on us women, then for our short-sightedness!

There are bookkeepers, typists, stenographers—yes a nurse, a matron, janitors, and elevator operators, long-distance operators, service observers and various other workers giving all their time to working with telephones.

About these service observers. Many of you operators—and users of telephones—did not know there was such, did you? These girls with their "boss" can "listen in" on subscribers' lines for any desired length of time—and if you've used an incorrect phrase, or waited too long to answer, a

"report" is made against you. All operators know that Her Majesty, the Chief Operator, can "listen in" on anyone she chooses at any time for as long as she pleases. We know it, for notes and speeches tell us that "so and so" was discharged because this company "stool-pigeon" heard her say "so and so" over the phone.

In this part of our task, let us try to realize this; we are performing a very important work in commerce and society and that every worker from the elevator boy up to the supervisors; and managers are important—But there is immense inequality in the wages received for equally important services given. Let us also try to think of telephone work as an **industry** involving all of the workers giving time to the work instead of individuals—or operators, repairers, etc. We are a group of workers serving everybody—the public—and being paid wages by an immense corporation which is making thousands—yes, millions of dollars each year out of our work. This company is keeping back some money that we have earned from—the public. We have no reason to quarrel with each other as operators because one can answer more calls than another, or for any other reason; but we all should stand solidly together and recognize our real enemy—the **company** who is picking our pockets in the most systematic and orderly way imaginable.

(2) The Results of This Work. (a) To Ourselves.

The workers, except the operators and lunch room help, are possibly existing on the average slightly better than a gandy dancer on the railroad. The operators, who make a tremendous majority of the employees, are developing chronic nervous debility and female trouble almost without exception, and they are dressing poorly and eating poorly unless some "friend" is helping them out now and then as the wide-wide world knows women workers are helped out by "friends" all along the way. Free system! Every senator and representative knows these conditions, but big business is headstrong and our laws don't require decent, **safe** wages; but our laws do call prostitution vagrancy. Our free system, forces vagrancy or semi-starvation of body and soul, and fixes a penalty of jail sentence and fine for the same! Girls, girls, think! And then stand together and demand, step by step, enough to live on better, till you get all you earn—you deserve all you earn. No "company" has any right to pile up millions off your work. For after all, a company is just a group of men and women, who have young daughters like you—and for the overindulgence of the people of the company your tiny 50 cent raise is quarreled at continually.

2 (b) What Our Work Does for Industry in General

It serves all. None are left out. If we all "laid off" just one day once—how many millions would howl? Imagine what our calls would be the next morning. The banks, the factories, every thing—farmers—all industries are served by us—We have power—for all who serve have power. They can make that power felt by stopping the service for a time.

3. How to Make the Telephone Work Safe for the Workers.

Now we come to the last effort in thinking and the most vital—Some girl with an over abundance of conscience may say, it is safe. Yes, safe for the public and the company—but not for the workers. A supervisor or a constitutionally "loyal" slave—or my blooming cheeked lass with a conscience, or the born, crawling, snitching stool-pigeon hereupon enumerates the good points as follows and for every point mentioned I show you a reason which is to your enemy's, the "company's" advantage.

(Here a supervisor interrupts by saying, the company is no enemy but gives us all jobs and we

remind the "super" that the company in a very few years has stolen millions of our earnings for their daughters to spend in "having a good time"—Any person who steals from you is your enemy. And the objection is not counted of enough importance to be called a point)

Point I. But the "company" has a lunch room where we can get meals cheaper than down town.

Answer: Yes, but it costs them nothing. You pay; for food, overhead, and all—and **your** strength is saved thereby to put into your job. If you had to race around and wait for meals elsewhere you'd be less fit for work. Remember, the "company" loses no money on that cheap lunch.

Point II. We are given a rest room and hospital room.

Answer: Surely—The furniture in this room costs at most a few hundred dollars and the dancing to victrola lulls you into forgetting your robberies—Thus for a few hundred dollars outlay the "company" saves itself thousands annually—Also your work is more efficient—(Same argument as lunch room)

Point III. We get relieved a few minutes twice a day.

Answer: You usually need it, don't you? For very definite reasons. Where is the first place you go when relieved? You can "speed up" more when you go back in, too.

Point IV. It is a better place to work than the stores or factories.

Answer: Now, that is natural—I do agree with you in part—not altogether—But two people can have the same disease and one be much sicker than the other—Two children dirty—one dirtier. **Both**, however, are dirty. You and the other girls of the stores, etc., may have similar troubles, but remember—**your** nerves are being "used up" more than any other type of worker.

Why continue these arguments? But you say "well, they do pay us here while we are learning?"

Answer: Yes, but there again is **efficiency**—by which the "company" **saves**. Think how much better to take a group of "green" girls off into a separate room and teach them the exact phrases and the names of the various equipment rather than bungle along at the regular board with them. **This saves the "company" money.** They want what you need. **Money!** They get what they want by keeping back some of what you earn constantly. The "company" therefore is **rich**. You are poor. And you'll stay that way and grow more so all along if you don't act along some definite lines.

First Step: Act together. All workers in the telephone industry get together. "In union there is strength."

Second Step: Shall you ask and try to argue the "company" or the manager into giving you more wages? Waste of time. Their purposes and yours are opposed. They need to keep you down to the least pay possible. So you do not need to ask for more. They never give. They say they do but workers take it. Prices go up 100 per cent—you are raised 5 per cent for fear you may get restless. Managers study **you**, if you don't study them. They study you like a doctor does a fever thermometer and when it gets too hot, they apply a cold pack. Therefore you must **take** what you want.

Third Step: How shall we take it? Demand a certain increase in wages without warning. Give the "company" a few hours—not more than a half day. Directors and stockholders can be reached over "long distance" in that time. And if the demand is not granted "**Strike**"—**all together.** (You see this involves union. All workers together. Here the operators become the most important workers. Repairing telephones, keeping books, lining wires and testing multiple jacks will not answer

calls—and refusal to answer calls will let the public know you have a grievance. The public wants to use telephones. They will help you to win your strike. Details on managing a strike will follow in a later article. A group of telephone workers are developing the first steps. The operators then must be kept in good morale. She should strike but remain at the board, report regularly to work, act in solidarity, occasionally tell the calling subscribers what the demands were—or give some such publicity. In this way the pay check will be unaffected—and if the workers in even a single city will stay just 24 hours solidly together—all demands for more wages and shorter hours will be granted—not because the “company” wanted to but because the workers have made their power felt.

Fourth Step: Sketchily we have arrived at the place where the problem is narrowed down to how to get together and how to keep together solidly. An immense subject. One which has never been perfectly practiced, but good beginnings have been made. Here are a few general points:

First. Learn your industry thoroughly. Not just the work you do but all parts. Not necessarily how to perform all the different duties but the nature of the work. This is **Education**.

Second. Get all workers in the industry interested in the fight. All together, working as a unit with committees you elect. (Don't pay high salaries to your officers). Pay them just what you

get at the job.) This is **organization**. You will need the help of workers in other industries. Be sure to have your union affiliate with all workers into One Big Union of All the Workers of the World.

Third. Know what you want. “More wages” help out for today. Shorter hours for you makes places for unemployed people to work. But “more wages” will never be satisfactory for all time—for after your wages are raised, you will in a short time find you are paying more and more for the things you buy. Therefore you must understand that your final problem is to keep on demanding more and more by means of the “no-warning-strike,” till the “company” has to go out of business and the workers are running the telephone industry, for the public. Then the workers will elect their own supervisors, their chief operators, their own managers, etc., and all workers will receive the same pay—the full product of his toil. (If an operator worked the same length of time and got the same pay as a manager would it not be as pleasant to be an operator as to be a manager?) This is **Emancipation**.

Educate! Organize! Emancipate! Begin by thinking; then act; and end by living!

Come on, telephone workers—the whole works are ours if we act together. Hurray for the O. B. U. of the Workers of the World!

The Evolutionary I. W. W.

By L. M. VAN WINGERDEN.

Portland, Ore., County Jail, Jan. 15, 1920.

Evolution means to evolve steadily, silently, but surely, like the gentle waters of a deep, wide stream, always moving onward, serene, yet, for all its apparent gentleness ready to thunder and rage in revolt, if any obstacle is placed in the way of its natural progress, and, though the obstruction be of solid rock, it must yield and give way to the steady wear of the silent horde, for it is progress, and progress will not be denied! Such is the law of natural evolution.

The world, humanity, has slowly, but surely evolved through different forms of society; primitive communism, chattel slavery, serf slavery, the present day wage slavery are all stages of natural evolution, they are stepping stones leading to a more equitable state of society; an ideal state, of which men dream, and go to prison for, but which will come about if the laws of natural evolution are complied with. The next stepping stone toward this ideal state of society is the establishment of the Workers' Commonwealth, a state or society in which every able-bodied man shall earn the bread he eats by the sweat of his own brow, and not by the sweat of the brow of other men, women or children! Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, and equal distribution of all wealth among the toilers who produce this wealth!

Present-day wage slavery, is due to the private bution, and the private ownership of the natural ownership of the means of production and distri-

resources of the earth. The few, who own and control these present-day essentials to life, manage them, not for the benefit of all humanity, but for the benefit of themselves alone. As they own the means by which life is maintained, it follows that they can regulate and control the lives of those who are dependent upon the machine for a living. At the same time the machine is useless without the application of labor. In other words, everything is produced by labor. But as the few own and control everything by virtue of power, the laborers are forced to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall from the master's table, or with the bone which the masters throw them. Thus the workers are forced to find a means by which they can obtain the power, to gain a greater part of their products. They are forced to this by the law of self-preservation. This means of obtaining power the workers decide, is *organization*. But the master class who also realize the power of organization, and the consequent demands which will be made for a share of the products, immediately take steps to combat this danger of attack upon their plunder, and they in turn organize. Thus are created through force of necessity, and the law of development and evolution, two classes, the working class and the employing or master class. Their interests are of necessity diametrically opposed and the result of a struggle between these two classes, a struggle which becomes fiercer and of greater volume, almost daily, and which can only end in one way; the complete defeat of one or the other. It is a struggle for mastery,

the exploiters on one side, determined to continue to exploit, the workers on the other side, refusing to be exploited. A line is sharply drawn, and the opposing forces are arraigned, on both sides of the line. The workers, reinforced daily by awakening members of their class, the masters losing a little support as the worker aligns himself with his fellow-worker. The master class, thus forced to the wall by awakening labor, clutches at every means and at every club with which to beat back the ever-increasing horde of workers, laws are passed in frenzies, workers are clubbed and abused. They even degrade themselves to the fomenting of race riots, they declare wars, send agents provocateurs into large industrial plants, mining and lumbering, and all other basic industries, to stir up trouble and cause disturbances, so that they will be able to turn machine guns on the workers and kill them like dogs, thereby breaking the backbone of labor unions!

The capitalist class is actively combatting the workers with the view of totally exterminating labor organizations. The only answer the workers can give them is more and better organization, for organization has become as life itself to the workers. It is life to them, and an attack upon the workers' organization, is as an attack upon their very lives. The masters are prepared to go the limit, they will go to the bitter end! At the present time, the year 1920, the class struggle has ceased to be a struggle for a decent living only, the struggle has taken the aspect of a grim and terrible war for dominance and one of the two, capital or labor, must come out the winner. Capital has decided that it shall win, and is even now resorting to the iron heel of despotism and autocracy.

Capital, must reign supreme! As a consequence, small, loosely-built craft unions flutter and fall, and the workers become panic-stricken and despondent. Then from obscurity arises the bright ray of the sun of industrial unionism, and after the echo of the lumber strike has died, all eyes of both capital and labor are focused on the rising spectre, the I. W. W. How did it come? It was brought about through the onward sweep of progress, the natural evolution from craft unionism, to Industrial Unionism. It is progress, and progress will not be denied! Immediately the guns of capitalism are turned around to face this new enemy, men are thrown in jail, hung to railroad trestles and bridges, shot at when they attempt a peaceful gathering, and their offices and headquarters are raided, and attacked, for Capital shall reign supreme! The most powerful gun of capital, the privately owned and controlled press, is denouncing the I. W. W., vilifying its members, the jails are filled to capacity, and the courts mock at Liberty and Justice. The members of this organization are subjected to every imaginable abuse, but they do not falter. Bold, primitive, unafraid, they withstand onslaught after onslaught. They refuse to recognize defeat. Their organization

is built with an eye to the future and it is more the form and foundation that the masters fear, than its members.

The I. W. W. does not organize the workers according to their craft, but according to the industry in which they work. After having accomplished industrial organization, they do not propose to stop there, for the organization is progressive. industrial departments are formed, a combination of closely allied industrial unions, and these various industrial unions form industrial councils in their respective districts. And yet greater understanding and co-operation is maintained through the formation of the General Administration, a per capita representative body, elected from the various industrial unions and industrial departments. Thus the workers through this chain of combinations, establish a form of administration which would rival in efficiency the present system in regards to production and distribution and management of the affairs of the world! If the present system should fall or topple over, the workers will then be able to institute the administration of the Workers' Commonwealth. It is up to every worker to seriously study any idea that is advanced and if they agree to abide by the preamble and constitution of the organization, it is up to them to live up to their agreement. The I. W. W. is not concerned about how or when capitalism shall meet the fate of preceding societies, the only thing any true I. W. W. will concern himself about is to be ready to take over industry and regulate distribution of products, after capitalism shall fail. The waters of progress will wash away the foundation of the capitalist rock, which stands in the path of evolution. Let us not be too impatient. Do not let the hirelings of the master, in the guise of workers, intimidate you, workers! Do not let the privately owned and controlled press mislead you, do not be rash, move slow and deliberate, like the waters of that slow, deep stream, for its power is irresistible.

"If you dam up the river of progress,"

At your peril and cost let it be;

That river runs seaward despite you,

T'will break down your dams and be free!

Did you ever personally win a member for the I. W. W.?

If you can neither speak, nor write, nor organize for us—get a subscriber for our publications now and then, or take home a bundle to sell.

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Who Are the Agitators ?

By A TRACKMAN
(Card No. 247770)

In all the newspaper attacks on the Industrial Workers of the World much stress is being laid upon the fact that part of the members of the organization are foreigners. While some of the writers boldly state that every member of the I. W. W. is an illiterate, ignorant and criminally inclined alien, others admit that there are a few native born "criminals" amongst "this scum of Europe". According to those well informed scribes the ignorant foreigner, who lacks the necessary intelligence to understand "our ideals of Liberty and Democracy" has been misled by "alien agitation," paid with Bolshevik gold (not so long ago the Kaiser furnished all the funds).

For the benefit of the readers of this publication who are not members of the I. W. W., like judges, prosecuting attorneys, chambers of commerce members, and others too numerous to mention who seem to be so deeply interested in our movement, I will point out a few of those "unamerican, disloyal and seditious agitators," who were instrumental in bringing so many foreigners, and also a few Americans into an organization like the I. W. W. Being an alien myself I am speaking from actual experience and by telling my own story I am also telling the stories of thousands of others who through the marvelously effective and nation-wide propaganda of those agitators flocked to the banner of the O. B. U.

I am sorry to say that I cannot remember the name of the first one of those agitators I ever met. His arguments for a virile organization with a program like the I. W. W. were very convincing and his tactics were the ones that bring results. It was in the summer of 1906 when I, fresh from the old country, landed at his camp at Pepper, Virginia. He was a subcontractor under McArthur Bros., who were building the grade of a new railroad. I had signed up with the understanding that my railroad fare was to be returned after sixty days and for a while I actually believed it, but I soon found that this was only part of the propaganda. I was paid \$1.50 per day out of which I paid \$4 a week for board. All I had to do was to load little boxes on wheels with rock and an old mule done all the work. When I had made my fortune and wanted to leave I was informed at the office that 25 cents had to be deducted from every dollar I had earned. Not being able to speak English, and being too ignorant to see the necessity of such expensive lessons I violently protested, but all I could get was 75 cents on the dollar. I have often wondered how many more men this fellow started on the road towards the little red card.

The next prominent agitators I met were put in the field by the New York Central Lines who were building a new freight yard at Indiana Harbor, close

to Hammond, Ind., in the winter of 1906-07. They also used very good tactics and I hope their efforts have been crowned with success. The first thing which drew my attention when I arrived at the camp were the words, "House of Horrors", scrawled across the door of a long tarpaper shack. I did not know the meaning of the word horror, but a fellow countryman kindly explained. An individual who was called by the scratchy sounding name of "Crumb Boss" took me inside, introduced me to a wooden bunk and then helped me to get a bundle of indescribably dirty, illsmelling blankets. The shack was filled with three long rows of double-tiered, wooden bunks, with only about two feet of space between the rows. In two places a bunk was left out in the center row to make room for stoves. There was a big pile of ashes in front of each stove and the ground (there was no floor) was covered with rags, old socks, torn shoes and filth of all descriptions. There were no benches, and when we came in from supper we had to crawl into our bunks. Every man was charged up with his shovel and as there was no place to leave them they also had to be taken into the bunks. I have been in many camps since then, but the "House of Horrors" stands out the most vividly in my memory, and I will never forget the nights with their terrible stench and the filthy vermin-infested blankets. The arguments for organization in this camp were very impressive, but the lessons were a bit too severe and I was satisfied with a short course.

Another group of agitators who drove revolutionary ideas into the heads of poor ignorant foreigners were Mr. Pierpont Morgan and his gang of Wall street stock and bond jugglers. By bringing on the panic of 1907-08, they were an invaluable help to the I. W. W. who were then in their infancy, but the ungrateful wobblers never even thanked Mr. Morgan for his strenuous efforts. During this same winter I stopped in St. Louis for a few weeks. Meals were few and far between and the nights I spent on the floors of police and fire stations which were thrown open for the unemployed. Although there were several thousand men on the verge of starvation at this time in St. Louis the daily papers stated repeatedly that there was no such a thing as hard times and they would say that the so-called unemployed were nothing but a lot of vagrants and bums who did not want to work. During the time I was in town a man committed suicide because he could not bear the sight of his starving children any longer. Slowly it percolated through my mind that newspapers do not always tell the truth, which, of course, was a great step ahead in my education.

The average respectable citizen who reads with horror of the ever increasing number of radicals would be surprised to know how many of those

agitators there are in existence. I found them wherever I went and they are forever busy making the worker see that the only thing that will ever help him is to take out a card in the I. W. W.

About the most effective propaganda carried on by those seditious, disloyal and unamerican agitators is being practiced in the logging industry. Spurred on by their great accomplishment in the Northwest, thousands of loggers and millmen were persuaded to line up in the I. W. W. They are still vigorously pushing their activity in the logging camps of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and the logging districts of the South. The chief of this group of agitators are the Weyerhaeuser interests, commonly called the Lumber Trust.

The men they employ to draw the blueprints for the bunkhouses of their camps were undoubtedly, in some former incarnation, on the engineering staff of Julius Caesar when he built his famous military highways through the pictish wilds. Those bunkhouses are an exact duplicate of the slave pens of 2,000 years ago. The only things which link

themselves with our modern times are a five-eights candle-power kerosene lamp and a four-pane window in the end of a shack, "accommodating" from sixty to eighty men. It is wonderful how every day good servile workers are turned into I. W. W.s in those camps. Verily the Lumber Trust stands out in the front rank of agitators for the One Big Union of all Workers.

Space does not permit me to go into details on any more of those lawless, pernicious enemies of law and order, but I will state again that they are to be found all over the land. A well organized press shields and lauds their unamerican poisonous activity which is undermining and destroying the very foundations of a government, Of, By and For the People. Being fully convinced that those startling disclosures will immediately lead to a nation-wide roundup of those agitators for working class solidarity. I wish to suggest that they speedily be deported to Russia because the Soviet Government has a very effective plan of dealing with such "Enemies of Society."



CHEAP AT HALF THE PRICE

The Story of the I. W. W.

CHAPTER 13

A SUMMER OF STRIKES

Another addition to I. W. W. strength, which came at this time, was of more permanent importance. This was the Atlantic Coast Marine Transport Workers.

The dividing up policies of the A. F. of L. had isolated these workers into a swarm of separate craft unions. In 1911, the British seamen and transport workers had carried on a great general strike. Calling upon the American unions for help, they induced many of these unions to lay aside their craft prejudices and join the common fight.

A certain spirit of solidarity was thus engendered among these A. F. of L. bodies. At the 1911 convention of the A. F. of L., the militants attempted to follow this up by creating a Transport Workers' Department in the A. F. of L. Old Andrew Fureseth of the International Seamen's Union, adroitly blocked this effort. Still persisting in their desire for solidarity, the unions formed a unofficial Transport Workers' Federation. This Federation was joined by the following unions:

1. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders Union of the Atlantic and Gulf.
2. The Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.
3. Marine Cooks and Stewards Association.
4. Harbor Boatsman's Union.
5. National Sailor's and Fireman's Union of Great Britain.
6. International Longshoremen's Association.
7. International Union of Steam Engineers.

With a confidence born of their unity, The Federation declared a general strike on the Atlantic coast, early in 1912. All of the affiliated unions participated with exception of the fourth and seventh. For a while, it was strenuously waged. But little by little, the sentiment died out and the efforts proved fruitless.

The backbone of the strike, from the first, had been the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders. This union was largely composed of Spanish workers. It had long been controlled by syndicalist ideas. After the strike was concluded, a strong agitation sprung up among its membership, to affiliate with the I. W. W. The old Transport Workers' Federation had gone to pieces with the loss of the strike. To return to simple craft activity was distasteful to these workers and yet the A. F. of L. offered them nothing else. Led by Robert Lee Warwick and Pedro Esteve, anarchist leaders in the union, the men took a vote, and the union voted to affiliate with the I. W. W., early in 1913. They were reorganized as a National Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers and Warwick became general secretary, with headquarters in New York City. This was the third national industrial union of the I. W. W.

Although it had started out auspiciously, the new N. I. U. soon went upon the rocks. It possessed no job control when it swung over and there was little incentive for the members to continue to pay their dues. Also, although they had claimed a membership of 25,000 when they affiliated, it was found that most of this strength was upon paper. But one large element of their number clung to the I. W. W. through every subsequent adversity and is still a part of the organization. This was the Spanish syndicalist element. Educated in revolutionary unionism in the militant labor movement of Spain, these workers enthused to the I. W. W. and became its bed-rock supporters. Pedro Esteve, an exiled Spanish revolutionist, published *Cultura Obrera*, a weekly paper, in New York. By this paper, the Spanish workers were educated and held together in a compact group. The importance of the support of these Spanish members to the general I. W. W. plan, will be all the more obvious when it is remembered that, through them, the I. W. W. was put in touch with all the Spanish speaking workers in the Latin American countries to the south.

To replace the marine transport workers who dropped out, an important acquisition of strength was made in Philadelphia in the summer of 1913. The longshoremen of that port had become dissatisfied with the International Longshoremen's Association of the A. F. of L. and dropped out. Going upon strike, they turned to the I. W. W. for assistance. Ed J. Lewis, the western agitator, known in the labor movement as the king of mob orators, responded to the call. Under his magnetic influence, the longshoremen fought a strike, sweeping in its success. They returned to work, a well integrated union of the I. W. W., 3,000 strong. Full job control on the Philadelphia docks was won by this strike and the I. W. W. has retained this job control ever since. Many of these Philadelphia longshoremen are colored men, and these have proven to be the most steadfast of union men.

A CANADIAN STRIKE OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS attracted considerable attention during the winter of 1912-13. The Can. North., G. T. P. R. R. was running the last stretch of its construction through British Columbia. An immense amount of unskilled labor was employed for the tunneling and excavating tasks of construction. Since Spokane, the propaganda of the I. W. W. had been widely diffused through British Columbia. In Vancouver there was a local with nearly a thousand members.

Sending organizers out upon this construction job, the I. W. W. was soon in control of the situation. On July 20, 1912, 2,000 men walked out on the western end of the line. The news spread. On the 26th, 2,000 others came out on the eastern side. On the 27th, the entire 10,000 intermediate workers joined in the strike and made it general. The I. W. W. has always displayed its most masterful

generalship when handling the migratory workers. Its conduct of this struggle in British Columbia was unsurpassed in the subtle moves of its strategy. All along the line, the contractors stood helpless. The employment agents in Prince Rupert and Vancouver were being picketed by the strikers and were powerless to fill the jobs. All violence was restrained by the I. W. W. and the great unruly foreign mob of 14,000 men were disciplined to a perfect order. The union passed a rule that the strikers should not take more than one glass of liquor a day and this rule was enforced. Pickets were placed at the door of each saloon and the men remained temperate.

Not until after they had walked out, did the strikers submit any demands. To the contractors, the strike came as a stunning surprise. For months, the I. W. W. kept the long line idle. At last, concessions were granted and the men returned to work, filled with the spirit which the I. W. W. had taught them during the strike. This affair gave the I. W. W. a great prestige throughout British Columbia.

Several small but bitter strikes were waged by the I. W. W. during the year 1913. Although overshadowed by the two greater struggles at Akron and Paterson, they were of considerable contemporary significance.

DETROIT—In this notoriously open shop city, the I. W. W. succeeded in calling the only large automobile workers' strike that Detroit has ever experienced. Hearing that discontent was rife in the Studebaker plant, a campaign of agitation was concentrated on this factory. John J. Walsh and Matilda Rabinowitz held daily meetings in front of the gate of the factory. A large group of agitators secured work in the plant and reached the workers from the inside. When a petition for the betterment of conditions was presented to the office, the committee which presented it was discharged. This precipitated the strike. Within twenty hours, all of the 6,000 Studebaker employees were on strike. Frank Bohn was secured to address the strikers and for a week, the battle was waged. Then, realizing that the season was unfavorable, the I. W. W. called off the strike. A few gains were made.

DULUTH—A strike on the ore docks, both at Duluth and Superior. Duluth is the great shipping post of iron ore miners and, of course, the power of the steel trust was invoked to crush this strike. Ruthless acts of violence were committed. Armed gunmen broke up the strike meeting and clubbed J. P. Cannon and Leo Laukki, the speakers. The I. W. W. had both the police and the Steel Trust thugs to contend with. Frank H. Little was kidnapped by gunmen, late one night, and carried to a deserted farm house, thirty-five miles out from Superior. Here, he was imprisoned for three days, while the strikers were frantically searching for him. This created a reaction in favor of the I. W. W. The strike prolonged itself for several weeks but the men were finally defeated.

TOLEDO—Largely as a result of shop meetings held by Jack Whyte, the 1,000 employees of the Toledo and Gendren Metal Wheel Companies in Toledo came out on a ten day strike. The strike was successful and the workers returned at a higher wage. But no permanent union was affected.

PEORIA—The agitational effort of James P. Cannon precipitated a small strike of 500 men at the Every Agricultural Implement Co. Fearing an I. W. W. invasion, the city police began to suppress the strike with an iron hand. Cannon and Tom Moore were thrown in jail. Frank Little, Jack Law and Ed Danner, who came in to take their places, were imprisoned as soon as they arrived. A banker named Rudolph Pfeiffer stepped forward to the strikers' assistance and allowed his office to be used as a headquarters for the free speech fight. A general call for volunteers was sent out. Between 75 and 80 members responded, going to jail willingly, for the right of freedom of speech and organization. Deprived of leadership, the men gave up the strike and returned to work. After several weeks' imprisonment, the fighters were released from jail and warned out of Peoria. After this defeat, the organization in that city gradually dissipated away.

TUCKER, Utah—A large construction job at this camp, a few miles outside of Salt Lake City, was tied up for several weeks by the I. W. W. Although defeated in the strike, the organization gained some members and incurred the bitter hostility of the big Mormon interests of Utah.

PITTSBURG—An epidemic of I. W. W. strikes disturbed the serenity of western Pennsylvania, during the summer of 1913. A district Council of the I. W. W. was maintained in Pittsburg and William E. Trautmann acted as district organizer for some time. A great deal of assistance was also given by Fred H. Merrick and his following of 'red' socialists. Merrick published a weekly paper, Justice, which, at one time attained a circulation of 40,000 in the district. In this paper, Merrick openly advocated the I. W. W. and turned over an entire page of each issue to the District Council. The resulting publicity, coupled with the hard efforts of the local members, caused a succession of I. W. W. strikes. The stogie workers, the Oliver plant, the Aluminum plant and even the Frank-Seder Department Store, struck under I. W. W. leadership. But these eruptions led to very insignificant results. After the stogie workers were crushed, the organization began to decline. Internal controversies weakened it still further. During the following winter (1913-14) the District Council was disbanded. Justice went to the wall for lack of support and Merrick and his followers lost their faith in the I. W. W. and deserted the sinking ship. Merrick organized a new union, the Alleghany County Congenial Industrial Union, and under its leadership the Westinghouse Strike was fought and lost in 1914. A virulent open shop campaign was then inaugurated in Pittsburg and the employers soon crushed all open semblance of industrialism.

PHILADELPHIA—While the strike of the long-shoremen was being conducted, several industries in Philadelphia, organized and struck under the I. W. W. A strike of stone masons and helpers resulted in a sweeping victory. Over a thousand sugar workers struck under the leadership of Joseph Schmidt but were defeated. A restaurant workers strike resulted in some concessions. A large organization of garment workers was whipped into shape through the efforts of Simon Knebel.

BALTIMORE—A fair sized organization of garment workers existed in Baltimore and the I. W. W. had job control in several of the largest shops in the city. The membership was largely Lithuanian and Italian. A strike was started in the four big Schloss Bros. shops in September, 1913. For fourteen weeks, the shops were tied up but the United Garment Workers of the A. F. of L. supplied the boss with strike breakers and the I. W. W. strength in Baltimore was wiped out temporarily.

HOPEDALE, Mass.—In this model city, ear Milford, Mass., the aristocratic Draper family have, for many years, maintained a regime of benevolent feudalism. The American workers have never had cause for complaint. Pleasant company owned homes are provided for them and their work is steady and secure. For unskilled Italian and Polish workers, it is just the reverse. They are huddled into the tenement houses of Milford and their wages, like the wages of all New England mill towns, are below the subsistence level. Against these conditions the foreign workers struck and appealed to the I. W. W. for help. The organization responded. Caleb Howard and Morrison I. Swift went to Hopedale and threw themselves into the struggle. A great deal of sentimental publicity was obtained when the hidden sufferings of these workers was revealed. They put up a brave fight, but eventually, they were forced to abandon the attempt.

IPSWICH—Another Massachusetts town where poverty rubbed shoulders with Puritan aristocracy. The textile mills in Ipswich were largely owned by a famous churchman, Rt. Rev. Bishop William Lawrence of Boston. Wages were even lower here than in Lawrence. Able bodied men worked for wages as low as \$3 and \$4 a week. In arrogant violation of the law, the company had a habit of confiscating the pay of workers who quit their jobs without giving two weeks notice. The I. W. W. organized a local among the workers and created such a clamor over this theft that the company was forced to offer restitution to those who had been so defrauded. In a short time \$60,000 was disgorged for this purpose. In the spring of 1913, the inevitable strike broke out. The workers were mostly Greeks and there was very little scabbing except by the American workers. The solidarity was splendid.

The usual army of gunmen and thugs was mobilized by the bosses. Running amuck through the streets they clubbed, terrorized and arrested the strikers. During a parade, the police and gunmen

planned an ambush and brutally assaulted the strikers as they came down the street. Drawing their revolvers the police began to shoot at random with the hope of terrorizing the strikers although absolutely no resistance had been offered. One of these stray bullets struck and killed a woman as she was standing in her own yard.

With characteristic 'justice', the police then arrested 19 strikers on the charge of rioting, and Organizers C. L. Pingree and Nat Herman were held on a charge of murder. The strikers were driven to holding their meetings in the Greek church. The iron heel began to be felt unbearably. But it was a bravely fought struggle. After three months, the bosses finally capitulated and granted an increase of from five to fifteen per cent in wages. The cases against Pingree and Herman were dropped and the workers returned to the mills.

MINOT, N. D.—The I. W. W. made a strong drive to line up the workers in the Dakota harvest. Considerable success was accomplished along these lines in the district which centers at Minot. Angered at this activity, the police began to arrest speakers arbitrarily. Under the leadership of Jack Law, 229 men went to jail and a brief but hot free speech fight ensued. The outcome of this Minot fight was a complete victory for the organization.

NEW YORK CITY—The example of the nearby Paterson strike had an exhilarating effect upon I. W. W. activities in New York. Several large bodies of workers came into the organization and a District Council was established under the secretaryship of Thomas Flynn. The most sensational episode in New York was the barbers' strike. Led by Joe Ettor, the Italian barbers of New York and Brooklyn came out on a spontaneous strike. To the number of 10,000, they paraded down the streets, scissors in hand, garbed in their white aprons. The strike was won almost immediately and a strong union was perfected among them. A similar strike brought the barbers of Boston into the organization at the same time. But internal controversy soon rent the members apart and the local did not survive the summer.

NEW ORLEANS—The newly organized marine transport workers had a fight on their hands, almost immediately, in New Orleans. In reply to the action of the United Fruit Co. in cutting the wages of all seamen monthly, the I. W. W. called a strike. It was bitterly fought. Finally, pickets were shot down, in cold blood, on the streets. One of the fellow workers, Robert Newman, died of his wounds. C. L. Filigno, the strike leader, with 43 other I. W. W. men, was thrown into jail. After several weeks of picketing, the men were forced to return to their ships, defeated.

MARSHFIELD, ORE.—In response to a lockout, the Nat. Ind. Union of Forest and Lumber Workers called a strike in the Coos Bay district of northern Oregon. The little local business men showed themselves extremely hostile to the strike. The high

handed proceedings which had occurred at Aberdeen the previous year, were repeated. At first the strike was complicated by a free speech fight in which the Socialist party cooperated. Getting more courageous, as the strike continued, the business men formed a mob. Mustering 116 strong, they marched to the I. W. W. hall in Marshfield, seized the secretary, W. J. Edgeworth and two other active members and deported them from the city. Other acts of terrorism followed. Weakened by such extreme attacks, the I. W. W. finally called the strike off.

At the same time, other lumber workers were striking in Missoula, Mont. and in the Puget Sound district of Washington. Although a hard fight was made at all points, the strike was not general enough to be successful. Only a great general strike can succeed in getting results in the Northwest and the I. W. W. was too weak, at this time, to call one.

Such was the harvest of strikes which the I. W. W. reaped in the year 1913. Flaring up unexpectedly in every industrial district of the United States, they diffused the influence of the organization into every industry and section. But advertisement was the only benefit which the I. W. W. derived. With the sole exception of Philadelphia, none of these strikes resulted in a permanent organization. They were chaotic skirmishes in which the I. W. W. poured out its vitality and received no return. The whole policy of the I. W. W. at this time was disjointed and decentralized. There was no firm control over the multitude of activities from the General Office; local offices and organizers acted independently, with disastrous effect. There was no broadly conceived general policy to color and give direction to the activities of the I. W. W. as a whole. Everything was spontaneous, anarchic and disastrous. The two great debacles at Akron and Paterson completed the tale of defeat.

CHAPTER 14

THE FIASCO AT AKRON

Akron, Ohio, is a characteristic by-product of capitalism. Early in the development of the automobile industry, the manufacture of rubber tires was specialized in that city. As the parent industry expanded to the mammoth proportions of the present, Akron and its rubber plants kept pace. Immense factories sprung up. A city came to life around them. Everybody who lived in this city was, directly or indirectly, a rubber worker. At the beginning of 1913, approximately 32,000 workers were employed in this industry.

The organizing possibilities of such an unusually homogenous working population had appealed to the I. W. W. for some time. In such a city as Akron all that would be necessary would be to precipitate a movement. All the workers in the city would be interested because they all worked at the same occupation. Organizers had frequently come out from Cleveland and endeavored to faniam Bessemer of Cleveland, Frank Midney of

the flames of discontent. Glover, Williams and Spangle had held meetings at the factory gates and distributed an avalanche of literature.

The result had been the formation of Rubber Workers' Industrial Union No. 470. Secret and subterranean in its propaganda, this local had slowly gained a large membership. But it had encountered extreme difficulties in its development. The employers of Akron are bitterly hostile to organized labor. They have developed a spy system almost perfect in its intricacy. The A. F. of L. had been broken by that very spy system, years before. In 1907, it is related that the entire membership of the A. F. of L., 500 in number, was simultaneously discharged, although the personnel of its membership was supposed to be a profound secret. The workers had undergone another unpleasant experience with the A. F. of L. when an official of that organization had absconded with the funds of the union. But the continent was still ripe for unionism and the I. W. W. was accepted as a pleasant relief from their disappointments of the past. The menace of the spy system hovered over them in all their activities, however.

A cut in wages, early in the year 1913, precipitated the walkout. Antecedent conditions, however, had created a cumulative impulse of resentment among the workers. Being a new industry, rubber tire making was undergoing many lightning changes of process. Each of these changes were resented by the workers. Labor displacing machinery was being adopted generally: Seventy five per cent of the old workers had been scrapped by these new machines. The work was extremely unhealthy and the strongest of men were broken by a few years in the Akron plants. The latest grievance was the adoption of the Taylor system of efficiency. Piece work was introduced and pace makers were placed in each department. The tire industry was not yet trustified and competition between the companies resulted in a general reduction of wages. Led by the I. W. W. members, the workers went upon strike, February 11, 1913.

It started in the Firestone plant but it soon became general. The Goodrich, the Goodyear and the Buckeye factories were also crippled. Probably 15,000 men came out during the first week of the strike.

To the I. W. W., the Akron strike came as a complete surprise and it caught the organization unprepared. The ablest organizers and speakers were already tied up in the great Paterson struggle. The Cleveland and Akron movements were proverbially weak. In the emergency, the situation was practically saved for the I. W. W. by the aid of the Socialist party. The Ohio Socialists, at this time, were extremely favorable to the I. W. W. They threw themselves into the Akron strike with full-hearted generosity. The Socialist party and even the Socialist Labor party headquarters were placed at the disposal of the I. W. W. for strike use. Will-

Youngstown and Frank and Margaret Prevey of Akron, all Socialist party leaders, gave their full time and services to the strike. The strike was ten days old before the I. W. W. had official representatives upon the scene. Eventually, the situation was taken hold of by William E. Trautmann, George Speed, Jack Whyte and Walter Glover. The funds were handled by George Leppert and a committee of strikers and socialists.

A monster picket line was immediately thrown out. This picket line was organized upon a military plan. The strikers were divided off into companies and at the head of each company, a captain was appointed. The duties of each captain was to keep his company in discipline and to lead them on the picket line. For the first few mornings, these methods were very successful. But as soon as the first thrill of the strike was exhausted, the picket line began to diminish. The American element was predominant in Akron. Unlike the foreigners whom the I. W. W. had led at Lawrence and Little Falls, the American striker is unschooled in picketing and unamenable to the mass enthusiasms which mean so much to the success of a strike. The American temperament is too phlegmatically individualistic.

The coming of Haywood on February 24, was one of the dramatic events of the strike. Thousands of the strikers were at the station to meet him and paraded down the street past the silent factories, headed by the magnetic leader. In two great mass meetings, Big Bill electrified the workers with the fire of his own revolutionary ardor. Another big day for the strikers was the day when Arturo Giovannitti came to tell them how victory had been won in Lawrence.

The business and professional men of Akron became alarmed at this eruption of revolutionary unionism in their staid community. The Akron strike presented a dangerous situation. Akron lies in the heart of one of the most immense industrial districts in America. This was the first great strike of the I. W. W. in the middle west. Its influence upon the other industries of the district might become alarming if it were successful. Desperate measures must be adopted to break the strike.

Under the leadership of a preacher of the Gospel, the Rev. George P. Atwater, a Vigilante Committee was formed under the mellifluous name of Citizens' Welfare League. This league was soon given a legal status by the sheriff, who swore in all of Atwater's followers as deputy sheriffs. The entire Y. M. C. A. joined this move. Although the strikers had avoided all violence, the newspapers, business men and "vigilantes" of Akron joined voices in a clamor for 'law and order.' The terrible I. W. W. must be wiped out. The strike must be broken. Under Atwater's leadership, slugging committees were chosen and brute violence began to be offered to the I. W. W.

On March 7, the first riot occurred. Late in the afternoon, 3,000 strikers marched past the Goodrich, led by M. A. Durso, an I. W. W. organizer.

As the whistle blew for closing time, the police

charged on the pickets to break their formation. Durso was seized and placed under arrest. Scores of the strikers were clubbed unmercifully. One man was felled with a blow from a club and four slugs stood over him, taking turns with clubs and blackjacks as he lay insensible. A man who protested against this was arrested and thrown in the patrol wagon. The man who was beaten was taken to the city hospital and detained for more than an hour before he received medical attention although he was in an unconscious condition. It was a revolting scene of brutality and it was but the prelude to a score of similar episodes.

The needlessness of the action of the police and "vigilantes" is evidenced by the stand taken by Gov. Cox. At the beginning of the strike, Akron's mayor appealed for state troops. Cox declined to send them on the ground that the strikers were neither disorderly nor violent. The governor also sent a letter to the mayor, instructing him not to interfere with the right of free speech and free assemblage. No attempt was made to observe this instruction and the police received carte-blanche to commit any infamy or violence.

Several scores of members had drifted into Akron and helped on the picket line. Many of them were rounded up and put in jail. Other acts of violence began to reveal Akron as a pale imitation of Spokane and its excesses. But, for a time, the strikers stuck solidly. A soup kitchen was set up and relief funds began to come in from widespread sources. The I. W. W. and socialist leaders labored indefatigably to keep up the enthusiasm of the strikers.

For the first four weeks, this enthusiasm was maintained. The crisis of the strike came a few days after the riot. The "vigilantes" decided to clamp down the lid on all open strike activity. The police issued an order that no more picketing would be allowed and that no crowds of more than two or three persons would be permitted to assemble. Seventy five automobiles, decked with yellow ribbons and loaded with "vigilantes" were tearing through the streets. The strikers were massed in their headquarters, several hundred strong, waiting to go out on the picket line. The strategic tactics for such an occasion would have been to ignore the order and proceed with the regular picketing. The trick is an old one which the bosses always employ in dangerous strikes in the hope of bluffing the strikers into the submission which will mean the end of rebellion. If the workers are cowed by such a bluff, the strike will be lost. If they ignore, completely, however, the bluff is usually withdrawn. In this case, the workers wilted before the danger. As they were preparing to march out of the headquarters, an organizer rushed up and halted them, crying, "Don't go out. It will be murder." Stampeded with fear, the strikers dispersed and the morale of the strike was broken.

A crowning blow was the loss of the meeting place. The I. W. W. has been barred for all but one hall, Reindeer Hall. After the picketing was ended,

the "vigilantes" intimidated the proprietor of this hall also, and the strikers were left without a meeting place. This scattered them irretrievably and the strike was doomed. The enthusiasm which is only bred in a mass action died down and gave place to discouragement.

An aggravation of the difficulties came from an unfortunate controversy between the leaders of the strike. Trautmann and George Speed were personal enemies and they made no concealment of their disagreements. Speed vainly importuned St. John to come from Chicago and save the situation. The inevitable occurred. As the strike entered the seventh week, the ranks began to break. Soon, the thousands of rubber workers had deserted the I. W. W. and swarmed back into the factories. For the I. W. W. Akron was a crushing failure.

The consequences were disastrous. Things had been looking up for the I. W. W. in the middle west section. Akron was the turning point. Had victory been secured, it would have given a wonderful advertisement to the organization. Defeat brought just the reverse effect. It stamped out all I. W. W. hopes in this district for another four years. The I. W. W. had to live down its Akron memories before it could again take up its task.

The final chapter in the story of Akron was revealed a year later. The I. W. W. organization had been continued after the strike but its membership had dwindled. Suspicion had been rife for some time that spies had had a hand in the disastrous

outcome of the great strike. Finally, the movement was shaken by the sudden intelligence that J. W. Reid, the secretary-treasurer of Local 470, both during and after the strike had confessed that he was a spy. Reid's confession was made in the form of a detailed affidavit. As a story of spy methods, it is strikingly significant. Reid had been placed in the Diamond plant by the Corporations Auxiliary Co., five years before the strike. He had been working there, unsuspected by his fellow workers, until he had gained their full confidence. When the I. W. W. organized, he was one of the charter members. He relates that he was instructed to help keep the local alive, but to hold it in the spies' hands.

Reid incriminated a group of other supposedly union men as being employees of the same agency. One of these spies was Ed Dickerson, the delegate of Local 470 at the General I. W. W. Convention in 1913. The offices of the union were padded with spies. At the time of the strike, spies filled the offices of president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, recording secretary and two trusteeships of the local. In this way, they had controlled the strike throughout its course and its unfortunate outcome can largely be ascribed to their unperceived work.

Never in the history of the I. W. W. has a strike that opened with such alluring prospects, led to such a crushing disillusionment. Akron remains, to this day, the supreme mistake of the I. W. W.

Prisoners Remembered Far Away

From far away East India comes a contribution list for the prisoners accompanied with a letter:

"Collected in Bombay, East India, on board the Norwegian ship 'Semmeltind'

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Frank E. Hanson, Card number 360792 | Rupees 10.00 |
| Harald Hjortness, Card number 88751 | " 10.00 |
| Frank Poggi | " 10.00 |
| W. Johnson, Card number 410435 | " 10.00 |
| W. Dhalrymple | " 10.00 |
| George E. Nelson | " 10.00 |
| Paul Bradshaw, Card number 449738 | " 25.00 |

"Bombay, East India, Dec. 25, 1919

"Mr. Thomas Whitehead, Chicago, Ill.

"Fellow Worker:

"Only a few lines to let you know that although we are thousands of miles away, our hearts and best wishes are with you.

"I don't know if you are the secretary now, but your name was the last one I saw before I left the states in August. Now it is Christmas and there is supposed to be good will to all mankind, and I was thinking of the splendid workers who are sitting in the dungeons of the United States, and you see the

result on the list that I am sending. I do not know how much it will be in American money, but every little bit helps.

"Conditions out here in East India are very deplorable with no visible organization of any kind among the slaves. And slaves they are in the full meaning of the word. The English capitalists are sucking the life blood out of the natives, and no man will believe how bad it is, unless he has been it himself. Men, women and children are sleeping in the streets with nothing under them and nothing to cover themselves with. The wages run from 20c per day to 60c, but that's top notch. It costs the natives from 11c to 18c per day to exist. The English have got a lot of trouble in the hills, and many an Englishman goes to the happy hunting grounds.

We are loading coal here for Alexandria, Egypt, but as I am going home to the old country, I will set my address there.

With best wishes to all rebels.

Yours for a free Working Class

FRANK E. HANSON
Brantevik, Sweden.

Our Foundation

By Benjamin Richardson

(Tune Onward Christian Soldiers)

The truth is our foundation—
Solidarity our aim,
Join the one big union
The world its wealth to claim;
Workers of all nations,
Midst the stress and strife,
Join yourselves to-gether;
And make a better life.

Chorus:

The truth is our foundation,
Solidarity our aim;
Join the One Big Union—
The world its wealth to claim

United we're victorious,
Divided we shall fall.
An injury to one is
An injury to all,
Masters' laws can never
Against our cause prevail,
If we stick together,
Then we can not fail.

Onward! Fellow Workers
Of every land unite,
Through the One Big Union
Organize your might—
We shall win the conflict,
When we know our place;
Then the profit system
We surely will efface.

Slavery will vanish,
Parasites must go,
For the One Big Union,
Eliminates the foe.
Built on firm foundation,
Its beauties will unfold,
When the new society
Emerges from the old.

The trade union should be universal and include every man who toils, not only in the factory, but on the farm. The strike and the boycott are but crude and savage and warlike remedies, and I am sure labor will never receive what it earns until the land and implements of production are co-operatively or publicly owned.

Capital cannot exist without labor and is entirely dependent upon labor, while labor is independent of capital, can and does exist without it. Yet under the present system of production capital exploits labor and takes more than two-thirds of the earnings of labor, and until the system is changed, labor will struggle in vain to secure what it produces.—ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew, in letter to Samuel Gompers.

My Country

By Robert Whitaker

My country is the world; I count
No son of man my foe,
Whether the warm life-currents mount
And mantle brows like snow
Or red or yellow, brown or black,
The face that into mine looks back.

My native land is Mother Earth,
And all men are my kin,
Whether of rude or gentle birth,
However steeped in sin;
Or rich, or poor, or great, or small,
I count them brothers, one and all.

My birthplace is no spot apart,
I claim no town nor State;
Love hath a shrine in every heart,
And wheresoe'r men mate
To do the right and say the truth,
Love evermore renews her youth.

My flag is the star-spangled sky,
Woven without a seam,
Where dawn and sunset colors lie,
Fair as an angel's dream;
The flag that still, unstained, untorn,
Floats over all of mortal born.

My party is all human-kind,
My platform brotherhood;
I count all men of honest mind
Who work for human good,
And for the hope that gleams afar,
My comrades in this holy war.

My heroes are the great and good
Of every age and clime,
Too often mocked, misunderstood,
And murdered in their time
But spite of ignorance and hate
Known and exalted soon or late.

My country is the world; I scorn
No lesser love than mine,
But calmly wait that happy morn
When all shall own this sign,
And love of country as of clan,
Shall yield to world-wide love of man.

“The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congress and the courts, not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the constitution.”—Abraham Lincoln.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U. S. A. SENDS
ITS YOUNG MEN TO THE PENITENTIARY
AND ITS OLD MEN TO THE POOR HOUSE—
MOTHER JONES

Some Notes on the U. S. Constitution

By R. F. PETTIGREW.

The convention that framed the constitution of the United States, at Philadelphia on the 25th day of May, 1787, was reported in long-hand by James Madison, a delegate from Virginia. The chief contention in that convention was over the representation in the Senate of the United States. The smaller states feared that they would be dominated by the larger ones and, after much debate, it was agreed that each state, no matter what its wealth or population, should have two votes in the Senate of the United States, while the House of Representatives should represent the people and the number of delegates from each state be in proportion to the population. As a concession to the larger states, a provision was inserted requiring that all money bills should originate in the House of Representatives, and this was considered important, in view of the fact that the states of small area and small population, such as Delaware and Rhode Island, had an equal voice in the Senate of the United States with Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The southern states believed they had secured protection for their peculiar institution by securing representation in the House of Representatives for the slave population. At the time of framing the Constitution and for many years thereafter it was supposed and intended that the Senate should represent the states. No particular and peculiar interest ever thought of gaining control of that body for the purpose of advancing the commercial or financial interests of any combination, corporation or individual, and it was not until a third of a century after the adoption of the Constitution that the southern states began to look to the Senate for the protection of their interests and insisted upon the admission of a slave state whenever a free state asked for admission into the Union.

This demand resulted in the exclusion of the State of Iowa until the State of Florida could be admitted and in the demand that Texas might be divided into five states, so that if slave territory was not sufficient in area to offset free territory and the free states clamoring for admission, Texas might furnish the additional states for this purpose, and this struggle to control the senate on the part of the southern states and the border states, in the interest of those who owned property in the person of human beings, continued until the war.

Let us see who were the members of the convention that framed the Constitution. There were 55 delegates in the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States.

A majority were lawyers.
Most of them came from towns.
Not one farmer, mechanic or laborer.
 $\frac{2}{3}$ had property interests.
55 members.

40 owned Revolutionary Scrip.
Washington was a big Scrip owner.
14 were land speculators.
24 were money-loaners.
11 were merchants.
15 were slave-holders.

Washington, Slave-holder, Land Speculator, Large Scrip Owner.

Jefferson was in France. The Constitution says nothing about the rights of man. It was made by men who believed in the English theory of government, that all governments are created to protect the rights of property in the hands of those who do not produce the property. Revolutionary Scrip was issued to finance the Revolution, and used to pay for supplies and the wages of the men that did the fighting, and had been bought up by the financiers and great land-owners and their attorneys for about nine cents on the dollar, and when the Constitution was adopted it was worth one hundred cents on the dollar.

The Constitution was made by property interests to protect the rights of property, rather than the rights of man.

It guarded against too much "democracy." The Supreme Court was appointed for life. Thomas Jefferson was in France.

Under John Marshall, First Chief Justice, the Supreme Court made the Constitution over in the interest of the rights of property.

The states refused to adopt the Constitution as first submitted; was not acceptable to the states and would never have been adopted if the ten amendments had not been submitted and adopted along with the Constitution.

NOTICE

We are still in need of back copies of The One Big Union Monthly of March, April and May 1919. Any one sending in copies of these, will do our movement a valuable service, as there is quite a demand for our magazines from libraries all over the country.

Mail copies to

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

1001 W. Madison Street
Chicago, Ill.

The Conscience of a Dum-Dum Bullet

By Quasimodo von Belvedere
(Copyrighted 1919 by Vincenc Noga)

(Editors note—For the benefit of our new subscribers we make here a comment upon the strange origin of this unique story: The honorable Quasimodo von Belvedere, having done his share in aiding the President in starting and winning the war, thought that democracy was saved; so he retired to his hunting preserves in northern Minnesota and devoted his genius to exploring the nature of the chipmunks. While he was pondering over the cause of the cramplike jerk of their tails accompanying every cheerp they utter, one of his servants reported to him the news that civilization was tottering, and Bolshevism taking its place. This alarmed him so that he immediately resolved to take heroic steps to save it; because his investment in civilization amounted to some \$400,000,000.00 (according to our vague guess). In his queer attempts to arrest the tide of Sovietism the crazed state of the capitalist's mind is so successfully portrayed that his narrative is worth reading twice. The ideas in each chapter are to a large degree independent of the others, hence a synopsis is unnecessary.)

CHAPTER IV.

Wherein Matys' Association with Bad Company is Revealed.

The day following my conference with Judge Garcia I summoned two of my civil engineers and laid before them the bastille scheme. To enable them to work upon the plans intelligently, I had to take them into my confidence, presenting to them the facts undisguised; this, however, entailed no risk because they were both ardent patriots. After a brief council the two gentlemen of science found the project to be a very simple one, and they assured me that, within three or four weeks, there would be produced jail accommodations of sufficient capacity to meet any probable emergency. Perceiving that they were able to deal with this matter more expeditiously than I could, I turned over to them the whole project; the designing, as well as the placing of orders for the product and the supervision of the manufacture.

The engineers having departed, I granted an audience to Cecilia, a clever German girl, whom I employed to spy upon my servants. "Cilia," I addressed the girl, as she entered, "I am very busy today, but I shall listen to you if you can tell your story in two minutes."

"I can tell it in less than that," she said, dropping in the rocker. "Do you know that Matys has his best friend in jail, perhaps for life? She could be released on bond; and Matys makes frantic efforts to raise the money."

"Then the person you speak of is a woman?"

"Yes."

"That's interesting; how did you learn all this?"

"The apartment occupied by Matys consists of two rooms and a parlor. Next to his parlor is a

room which formerly also belonged to the apartment and communicated with the parlor by a door. This door is now locked and nailed up, but there is a large keyhole through which you can hear without effort any conversation going on in the parlor. Now, I was arranging that vacant room when Okakura brought me a letter from my sister, which came in today's mail. I sat down to read this letter, and the chair upon which I happened to take a seat was right at the door, communicating with the parlor. While I was sitting and silently reading, Matys came to his apartment, accompanied by a man who came to counsel him on a very pressing matter. They both took a seat in the parlor on the other side of the door at which I was sitting while reading my letter. You see, I couldn't help but hear them; had they talked nonsense I should have paid no attention to them, but they talked about money, thousands of dollars; it was this that interested me. The stranger said that the crime of his sister was of a nature such as the Capitalistic government never pardons (that shows that he was the brother of the culprit). Matys resolved to consult a lawyer immediately; he said that he had three thousand dollars in the bank; and pledged that amount as a part of the bond for her release. The stranger presented him then with an autographed photo of the girl; and also gave him a package of her manuscripts for safe keeping, remarking jokingly that in the house of 'Kernel' Quasimodo the papers were as safe as if locked in the President's vault in the White House. (I suppose the police wants the package also.) Matys accepted the manuscripts with as much reverence as though it was a holy miracle; he declared that the coming generation shall prize the papers as highly as the leaves of grass. This allusion I cannot make out, because it is ridiculous to suppose that grass shall cease to grow so abruptly as to become a rare relic to the next generation."

"When the men left I followed them at a distance through the corridors with the intention of looking out of the window and getting a glimpse at the face of the stranger as he would pass out on the street; but Matys forgot something, and, returning to his room, he almost ran into me. He, of course, had no idea where I came from; therefore he had no suspicion whatever that I know anything concerning his affairs, so he simply told me that he was going out, and instructed me to tell your Japanese valet that he went to a dentist. When I took the towels to Matys' apartment afterward, I saw the photograph of the girl; and I cannot imagine why Matys is so crazy about her; a man that has saved three thousand dollars and holds such good position as Matys does, can get any number of better looking girls than she—girls of unblemished reputation."

"You said that the photograph was autographed; what is the name that is inscribed upon it?"

"Feodora Leshetitzky."

"Miss Leshetitzky, Miss Leshetitzky," I said to myself, the name sounded somewhat familiar to me; at last I visualized the Newberry Park scene—a frail female figure standing upon a box; her flaming eyes penetrating my entire being like an electric current. I saw myself surrounded by a fanatic crowd, thrilled by her insane utterances and her impassioned eloquence. During these brief aberrations of my mind I also recollected that, while awaiting my turn in the barber shop after I came from the proletarian meeting, that I telephoned to the Department of Justice and had the Leshetitzky woman and the Negro orator apprehended. Little did I suspect then that this action was inimical to the interest of my good friend Matys. I immediately resolved to repair this injury caused to him through my action; but, of course, I could not act until I heard the story from himself.

I gave Cecillie twenty dollars as a special recompense for her faithful services, and advised her to take a broom, or a carpet sweeper and go to work for a while in Matys' parlor, telling her I would pass by in a few minutes to have a look at the Leshetitzky photograph.

The girl having departed I lighted a cigar and went for a walk in the corridors, purposely straying to the wing occupied by the elite of my servants. The door of Matys' apartment was wide open so I walked in. Neither Cillie, nor any one else was there, but I had no difficulty in locating the object of my curiosity, which occupied a prominent place upon the writing desk in the parlor.

A striking feature of the photo was the costly attire of the woman. It became her exquisitely, giving her a distinctly aristocratic air. I became still more mystified when I noticed that the photograph comes from the same firm that makes my pictures. The cost of a half-dozen pictures of such highly finished workmanship would amount to some three month's wages of a common working girl. The case had all the characteristics of a mystery.

I returned to my library immersed in deep contemplation. There was something strangely attractive about the woman and I felt an irresistible desire to learn who she was. Her attire and her poise in the picture attested not only to an aristocratic breeding, but indicated noble aesthetic traits. I recollected her address, delivered to the social scum at the Newberry Park. Anti-American and anarchistic as her utterances were, they attested to a profound culture. It also commenced to dawn upon me that she was a beauty, and my first sentiments of hate for her were now being superseded by sympathy and admiration.

I needed Matys' opinion upon my recent arrangement with Garcia; hence it occurred to me that, if I invite him for the discussion immediately after his return, while the emotional state of his mind lasts, I may also draw from him a few facts concerning the life of Miss Leshetitzky and his rela-

tions to her. I penned to him a note, requesting him to come to my library for our customary philosophical discussion, and I summoned Okakura to take the note to Matys' apartment.

CHAPTER V.

Wherein Matys predicts that the Government's exploitation of the proletariat for the benefit of the plutes is liable to have as disastrous consequences to a free, democratic country as to an autocratic one.

When Matys presented himself before me about an hour later he was very pale and his entire physiognomy betrayed a disturbed mind. After the formal exchange of greetings I inquired solicitously about his teeth.

Oh, it's a trifling matter," he replied.

"But you look sick."

"Do I? This may be due to worry."

"What is it that worries you?"

"Oh, it is not worth discussing; everything may turn out well by tomorrow; it would be a waste of time to discuss my personal affairs."

"I am anxious to help you. If it is in my power, don't hesitate to tell me what I can do for you."

"It would be blasphemous to surmise that there is anything beyond your power," he said jokingly, "kindly extend to me a loan of \$12,000 and my troubles shall vanish before the sun sets down."

Although Matys expressed his wish in an apparently light-hearted manner, I knew that he shall consider its fulfillment as a tremendous favor. The nature of his request being anticipated by me, I pulled out the drawer with my banking accessories almost simultaneously with the utterance of his desire. I made out a check for the sum required and handed it to him.

He took the tiny slip of paper with a trembling hand, glanced at it and deposited it in his notebook.

"May I ask of you one more favor?" he said in a timid voice.

"What is it?"

"I would like to devote this afternoon to my own affairs. Two of my friends are in the clutches of the federal namelukes of justice; I want to bail them out."

"TWO friends," I exclaimed in surprise.

Matys was silent.

"If that's the case," I continued, "I can have your friends set free in ten minutes if you tell me their names; and we can set forthwith to attend to some of my own business—I am becoming more and more dependent upon your counsel."

Matys hesitated a moment, then he wrote two names upon a tablet. "Political felons," he said, pushing the tablet toward me.

The two names were: Feodora Leshetitzky and Samuel Roberts. I telephoned to my lawyer and gave him these two names with instructions to start an immediate action for their release.

"Matys returned my check to me and stammered something in an effort to thank me, but I waived my hand, "no words are necessary," I said, "I know your feelings; I only ask of you discretion—you

realize, of course, that I cannot afford to become compromised as a patron of an element that's attempting to undermine our government."

"I am deeply moved by your kindness, sir," said Matys warmly, "some day, I hope, I may be able to prove to you my appreciation of this great favor."

For the present, I thought, I had been admitted far enough into the confidence of Matys; hence, I deemed it wise to turn our attention upon a different subject. My uppermost concern was to check the awakening of the proletariat—to keep it in its place. Should we, the pilots of industry and civilization, succeed under my leadership to suffocate the life germs of the One Big Union embryo, the whole scheme of the dictatorship of mob would be postponed well-nigh unto the other world.

I asked Matys whether he was sufficiently calm to concentrate his mind upon sociological affairs. Having answered in the affirmative, I read to him Garcia's letter, and also acquainted him with the most important arrangements between us.

Not only did Matys find my plans feasible, but he admired them and predicted for me a great success—providing my ideas were executed by competent persons. He was truly enthusiastic over the Bastile project, but he warned me not to have imprisoned more workers than is absolutely essential. "You are planning to establish order in Mexico," he said, "which may prove to be a big task. An undertaking of this nature can be successfully accomplished only by ardent patriots; and prisons are detrimental to patriotism. Men serving terms in your bastile for no other offence but their struggle for a fairer share in the fruits of their toil, shall come out Bolsheviks—Conscious of their own temporal interest. Promiscuously populating the bastiles with discontented slaves would be tantamount to digging the grave for the privileges of your own caste. Prisons are the most prolific hatcheries of revolutionary sentiments. The history of all ruined governments presents to us the facts that the plans for their destruction were made within the walls of their own bastiles."

"How am I to understand your recommendations? First you tell me how clever my ideas are; and then you attempt to show me that they will serve only to dig my own grave. What then is your actual advice, that the Bastile project be given up?"

"No sir, I agree with you that the strike cannot be won without a capacious Bastile and a skillfully conducted martial state. I also believe that you are the only thinker in the whole United States capable of creating such perfect plans for immediate practical purposes; however, I fear that this method may produce as disastrous *sequelae* as mercurial treatment inflicts upon the victims of a certain disease—paralysis, insanity and untimely death are the well known *sequelae* of the 'cure.' Is it not manifest, that, in devising your remedy, you have not given the slightest thought to the after-effects it may cause?"

"You believe, then, that the Bastile cure for

strikes, which I had devised, shall imperil our social institution with after effects, worse than the disease itself?"

"Exactly."

"What would you propose then?"

"Nothing; I believe that, in the course of general evolution, a change is now due in the economic status of the whole world. I fear that it cannot be arrested."

"Shall we, then, keep our arms folded while the Russian plague shall be spreading all over the world?"

"Oh, I know well that the privileged caste to which you belong cannot remain inactive whilst this reversion of economic and moral ethics impends; however, it matters little what it does."

"But you have admitted that my plans shall win the strike!"

"Yes, it will be a victory—a cure with after-effects worse than the disease itself."

I realized that Matys' mind was not sufficiently calm to ponder over so deep a subject, he was too preoccupied with the troubles of the two friends. Hence, I dismissed him for the day so he could go and meet them; for they must have been released by this time.

(To be continued)

The Crime of Centralia

The pamphlet written by W. F. Dunn, editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin, entitled "The Crime of Centralia" is just off the Bu'letin Press and ready for sale.

This pamphlet furnishes an expose of the plots and conspiracy hatched by the business interests of that community and gives the reason for the continual persecutions of the young Centralia attorney, Elmer C. Smith, by these same interests. In it you will find a fund of information about the Centralia affair never before published and much light is thrown in the dark places of Western Washington.

This pamphlet sells for ten cents and all funds derived from its sale will be given to the Centralia defense. How many do you want? Send in an order for a hundred or a thousand and sell them again to those who should know the truth about Centralia. The price is the same in single orders or for a thousand and all those who sell the pamphlet are asked to maintain the uniform price of ten cents. Funds are needed for the Centralia defense and this is a good way to raise the money and get publicity on this affair at the same time. Address all orders of this pamphlet to George Williams, 318 North Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana. Cash must accompany all orders.

Proposed Amendment

Thos. Whitehead, General Secretary-Treasurer,
1001 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Proposed Amendment to the By-Laws of the I. W. W.
Article 2, Section 1—

Whenever charges are filed by a member of one Industrial Union against a member of the same Industrial Union, they shall be in writing, setting forth the facts, together with the name of witnesses and their statements regarding the offences with which the accused member is charged. The charges shall be read in the Industrial Union Branch at the next regular meeting, at which time 5 members shall be elected from the floor of the meeting to act as a charges committee. The accuser and the accused shall have no voice or vote in the election of the charges committee, nor can either of them act on same.

This committee shall furnish the accused with a true copy of the charges either by registered mail or by personal delivery in the presence of witnesses. The charges committee shall set a date for a hearing, and shall collect all evidence both for and against the accused, and at the end of the hearing they shall submit their findings, together with the charges and evidence to the next regular meeting of the branch at which time the membership will accept or reject their findings.

(a) If findings are accepted by both parties the decision shall at once be sent by registered mail to the Headquarters Industrial Union bulletin and the I. W. W. papers.

(b) If either party so desires, an appeal may be taken within 30 days to the General Conference of the Industrial Union, and to the General Membership of the Industrial Union by referendum.

Section 2—

Whenever charges are filed against a member of one Industrial Union by a member of another Industrial Union, the member preferring the charges shall present the same in writing before the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Union of which the accused is a member, and the same proceedings shall be observed as in Section 1, except that the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Union of which the accused is a member shall file the decision of the membership with the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Union of which the accuser is a member.

An appeal may be taken by either party to the General Conference and to the General Membership of the Industrial Union of which the accused is a member. The findings of the membership shall be published in the Industrial Union bulletins of which both parties are members, and in the I. W. W. papers.

Section 3—

In matters of charges, the Recruiting Union shall be regarded the same as an Industrial Union, the right of appeal to be the same in all cases. The expense, if any, shall be borne by the respective organizations to which the member taking the appeal belongs.

(Submitted by A. Burns, Card No. 244555, Sioux City, to Thos. Whitehead, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, two months before the General Convention in compliance with the constitution of the I. W. W.)

A. BURNS,
316 Jennings Street,
Sioux City, Iowa.

3-6-1920.

RESOLUTIONS FROM JAIL

Resolution No. 1, Multnomah County Jail, Portland:

Resolved, that all Industrial Union Districts be abolished and district clearing houses be established.

(a) A Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected by referendum vote of members of all unions in the district.

(b) The district clearing houses shall function as a clearing house for supplies between the General Organization and the Branch Secretaries and delegates of the several Unions in the district.

(c) Branch Secretaries shall act as branches of the district clearing house and all supplies shall be secured from, and all business transacted with the district clearing house.

(d) Branch Secretaries shall represent all unions in their district, and shall keep proper accounts of business transacted for the different unions.

(e) Delegates shall receive all supplies from, and send all remittances to the clearing house in their district, or any of its branches.

(f) An auditing committee shall be elected once a month by the branches in each district to audit the books of the District Clearing House.

(Concurred in by 33 members in good standing, inmates of Multnomah County Jail, Portland, Ore.)

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Resolved, That no member of the I. W. W. shall have delegate credentials issued to him before he has been a member in good standing for six consecutive months.

(Concurred in by 33 members).

RESOLUTION NO. 3

Resolved, That the General Organization shall issue a numbered duplicate receipt book for purpose of collecting funds for organization and defense. When receipt books are issued, member's signature and card number shall be affixed as a protection against impostors.

(Concurred in by 33 members).

T. R. SPEAKMAN 317394,
Chairman, Resolution Committee.

CECKO-SLOVAK WORKERS STARTING I. W. W. PAPER

A committee of Cecko Slovak workers recently appeared at headquarters stating that there is a pressing demand among Cecko Slovak workers in America for an I. W. W. paper, and requesting our aid and advice in starting it. The following appeal is the first result:

AN APPEAL TO THE CECKO-SLOVAK WORKERS

Fellow Workers:

The Cecko Slovak Press and Propaganda Committee is starting a campaign to carry on propaganda for Industrial Unionism among their countrymen. To be successful they have decided to publish an I. W. W. paper in their own language. But in order to do that, money is required. A PRESS FUND must be on hand that would carry us over the initial difficulties and assure the permanency of the paper. That is the reason why we hereby appeal to you, the Cecko Slovak Workers, and others who may want to assist us in gathering a press fund.

We believe you feel the necessity of such a paper in our own language, in order to enable us to carry the message of the One Big Union to our countrymen. There are over 300,000 of us in this country, and we are, perhaps, the only nationality of any importance that has not got a paper teaching industrial unionism.

Cecko Slovak Fellow Workers: If you believe that The Working Class and the Employing Class have nothing in common, start collecting in your community for our press fund and send all such funds to below address.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
The Cecko Slovak Press and Propaganda Committee,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Stop Thief!

(Extract from an address by John Brisben Walker at Grace M. E. Church, Denver, Col., as published in the N. Y. Evening Journal, Jan. 19, 1920).

Do you wonder why all this bother about Reds and I. W. W.'s? I scarcely need to tell you, but perhaps it is well to state it in plain words.

You all know the cry of "Stop thief!" uttered by the thief himself when too closely pursued. Perhaps the drawing of a red herring across the trail conveys the idea more clearly. These men who are stealing their hundreds of millions from the Government and the people of the United States, these men who are setting aside the plainest provisions of the Constitution of the United States and openly and aboveboard seeking to establish an autocracy in place of democracy, have only one way to distract public attention from themselves, and that is by accusing others of crime.

What they are doing in reality every day they accuse others of intending to do. They pick out defenseless laborers and make a tremendous hullabaloo about their alleged plots to overturn the Government of the United States. And all the while, they are engaged in violating the laws and setting aside the plainest provisions of the Constitution.

They have another reason for these arbitrary arrests. They hope to strike terror into the heart of those who would expose their methods. When men see their fellows carted off to prison for twenty

years for expressing their opinion of public right, they are apt to be terrorized. "What's the use?" they say. "We cannot alone buck this powerful governmental machine, with its unscrupulous district attorneys and its unjust judges sitting on the bench to obey the behests of power, as that terror, Jeffries, of bloody assize fame, sat to obey the brutal edicts of the British King.

More men and women have been sent to American prisons by Mr. Wilson's attorney-generals than were sent to the Bastille by all the kings of France, from the time of that monster, Louis XI, under Louis XVI, the bloody head of the Governor of the Bastille was carried through the streets of Paris on a pike.

A Word with the Poets

The One Big Union Monthly can print poetry only to a very limited extent and then it must be real poetry and be a credit to our publication. We always have room for real poetry of the right kind. But 90 per cent of the poetry sent in swarms with faulty rhymes and meter, and bears evidence that the author was a slave of the necessity of rhyming, allowing the rhyme to run away with the thought. It is impossible to publish such poetry, however good the sentiments it voices. We would advise all amateur poets in the movement - they seem to be legion - to get one of those school books for poets which give elementary instruction in the building of verse - that is, provided they really feel the inspiration. To try to force a prose spirit to express himself in verse is like trying to use a cart horse for a circus performance. It is against nature. To write poetry, even the most perfect, technically, without deep thought and genuine inspiration, does not result in pieces of art or gems of literature, it results in near-poetry. The meter and the rhyme become only glittering rags covering a dead scarecrow. It bores. It makes the reader yawn. It makes him wonder if the editor was asleep.

When The One Big Union Monthly receives real poetry, the kind that makes the world sit up and take notice, the kind that inspires with courage and stirs to action, the kind that thrills you like an electric shock, the kind that warms your heart or fires your sacred passions, then we will print it and if it is extra fine we will put a frame round it. But even at the risk of making scores of enemies we will not print the inferior poetry now falling over us like snowflakes at Christmas. Such will be filed or returned if stamps are enclosed. Give us instead some good industrial articles, based on experience or study. All such contributions will some time be used as material for the industrial union hand - books that the I. W. W. will probably publish as soon as conditions permit.

All hail the poets, but let the rest of us stick to prose.

EDITOR

Two New Books

"The Brass Check" — A study in American Journalism, by Upton Sinclair. Published by the Author. 448 pages. Single copy, paper 50c.— cloth \$1.00. Special terms to Agents. Address all orders to Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California.

"The American Labor Year Book 1919-1920" edited by Alexander Trachtenberg, Director, Department of Labor Research, Rand School of Social Science, 448 pages. \$2.00 net. Send all orders to Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15 St., New York, N. Y.

* * *

It is a hard and fast rule in the I. W. W. to carry no outside advertisements in our publications. The One Big Union Monthly adheres strictly to that rule. The above is no paid advertisement. We are introducing the two above books to our members and readers, simply because we think that it would be well for them to get these two books and study them.

We have a booklist of our own on the next to last page of this publication which should be patronized by our readers. Particularly do we want to call attention to our two latest pamphlets. The new pamphlet of the Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers, issued by I. U. No. 1100, and "The Evolution of American Agriculture" by Abner E. Woodruff, issued by I. U. No. 400, which have been reviewed in this magazine in previous issues.

But at this time we want to call special attention to the two books listed above.

THE BRASS CHECK is another one of those big lifts that the oppressed and downtrodden are getting every so often from Upton Sinclair. We all remember "The Jungle" and "King Coal" and "The profits of religion" by the same author. Each one of these wonderful books conquered vast territory for truth and justice. We say on purpose conquer, for Upton Sinclair is a militant who alone is as good as a whole big army. Well, in his latest book, "THE BRASS CHECK," the militant author destroys and annihilates, in the world of thought, one of the greatest enemies of struggling and suffering mankind, the kept press. We are constantly harping on the mendacity, the corruptness, the vileness of the capitalist press of this and other countries, but as a rule we have nothing but assertions to come with, angry accusations that do not hurt the capitalist press any more than a mosquito can hurt a rhinoceros. If they have taken notice of us at all it has been only to poke fun at our impotent rage. And so we have suffered year in and year out, unable to kill the dragon that embittered our lives.

But the dragon has finally met his St. George. The job is done. Before the grand jury of all honest and decent people of this and other countries, Upton Sinclair has proven his case completely against the capitalist press. It stands unmasked as a hideous monster which terrorizes the regions around the fountain springs of knowledge and information.

The author has presented several hundred pages of documentary evidence testifying to the unspeakable vileness of American Journalism. It may take years before these amazing disclosures become the mental property of the American masses, but truth once spoken cannot die. If it gets a powerful send-off it may conquer everything in a short time, and if it is sent on its way with a low initial velocity, so to speak, it will take longer, but conquer it will just the same.

The kept press being one of the worst enemies of the I. W. W. it is to our interest to give the truth in this case as good a boost as we can. This can best be done by sending to the author for the book and reading it and persuading others to read it. Our agents would do well to send for it and sell it. The members will thank them for it. The book is tabooed by the reviewers and the book sellers, just as "The profits of Religion" was, and you cannot get it except by sending to the author for it.

The main theme of the book is, of course, to unmask the kept press, and that is interesting enough, but in doing this, the author moves with a mass of valuable material which is more or less unknown to most of us, material which gives a most intimate insight into the skeleton closets of the capitalist class which is very useful. We would call THE BRASS CHECK a school book in sociology, which every thinking I. W. W. man ought to get and assimilate for the good of the movement. You do not know America as it is before you have read this book.

THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1919 -

1920, by Alexander Trachtenberg. There is no use going into ecstasy about such a common place thing as a year book, but we want to recommend it. This handy reference book should immediately be placed on the book shelves or tables of every headquarters or hall where workingmen gather. It will settle authoritatively, on the spot, a great number of the questions exciting the philosophers round the headquarters stove, thus saving a lot of energy for other purposes. Every editor, agitator, organizer or student ought to have a copy of it. After perusing it, they will give the impression of being in possession of an inexhaustable learning on matters pertaining to the labor movement here and in all other countries. Remember it is 448 pages of facts and figures, covering all phases of the labor movement.

We have got one fault to find with it. Although it impartially takes up a description of the I. W. W. as well as of the syndicalist movements in some countries of Europe, one cannot help but noticing that political socialism is getting the better part of space and attention. The editors have not yet



been fully impressed with the importance of the movement for taking over the industries through industrial unions. They do not seem to realize the danger right upon the heels of political socialism, the danger of being wiped off the earth. Perhaps in the next edition of this yearbook we will notice a stronger realization of this danger, if political socialism lives long enough to see another edition.

Anyhow, we have no just grounds for complaint. If we want a year book in which our own move-

ment plays first fiddle, why do we not issue one of our own?

Until that time we will have to thankfully get along with the one above mentioned. We are glad to have it.

A CORRECTION

The article: "The immediate aims of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union" in our February number was written by James Kennedy, not by Chas. Devlin, as stated.

Resolution Regarding Sabotage

(Adopted by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World and first published in "Defense News Bulletin" of May 4, 1918).

WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has heretofore published, without editorial adoption or comment, many works on industrial subjects, in which the workers have a natural interest, including treatises on "Sabotage" and

WHEREAS, The industrial interests of the country, bent upon destroying any and all who oppose the wage system by which they have so long exploited the workers of the country, are attempting to make it appear that "Sabotage" means the destruction of property and the Industrial Workers of the World favor and advocate such methods, now, THEREFORE, In order that our position on such matters may be made clear and unequivocal, we the General Executive Board of said Industrial Workers of World, do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform; first, because no principle was ever settled by such methods; second, because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence and unlawful methods, all the resources of the government are immediately arrayed against them and they lose their cause; third, because such methods destroy the constructive impulse which it is the purpose of this organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby re-affirm our belief in the principles embodied in the Report of this body to the Seventh Annual Convention, extracts from which were later re-published under the title, "On the Firing Line."

(Reaffirmed by the present General Executive Board and published Dec. 13, 1919 in "New Solidarity". Members of G. E. B.: George Speed, chairman; George D. Bradley, James King, Henry Bradley, John Jackson, Fred Nelson, Chas. J. Miller, Thomas Whitehead, Gen'l. Sec'y-Treas.)

The Lumberjack

By D. S. Dietz

It was the early spring of 1917. I had just alighted from a box car as the freight train pulled into a siding in northern Idaho, near Marble Creek. Seeing the depot a short distance away, which was but the box of an old freight car placed a few feet from the main line, I proceeded in its direction. Arriving, I noticed the Lumberjack pensively gazing at a family, who were grouped together close by, consisting of a father, mother and three girls; the girls of the apparent age of ten, twelve and fourteen years.

Not having met Jack for several years, I hailed him. He came forward extending his hand gladly, remarking:

"I bet you're a wobbly, Tim".

"You bet I am Jack" I hastened to assure him.

"Say, Tim" he earnestly began "see that family over there? They've just lost their homestead. Only got money enough for tickets to Spokane. The lumber trust beat them out of their claim after they held it down fourteen years. The trust's been lawing them six years. The trust wins by a script claim and a technicality; whatever that is. It may be legal but it is damn dirty. His claim has \$15,000.00 worth of timber on it. He was figuring how he would send the girls to school when he sold his timber. In the old days Paul Bunion could log some; but today, the trust can log \$15,000.00 worth with one stroke of the pen and make hoboes of little girls. That's Lumber-trust Direct Action. Left alone the trust will create a condition where we will all be compelled to lick its foot for the price of eats. I tell you its about time us lumberjacks woke up!

At that moment the passenger train pulled in. One "timber beast" with its bed on its back got off. The family got aboard. I hurriedly inquired of Jack: What's the show of getting a job out in these hills?

"You can find a master most anywhere up the creek. They each have one or two gunmen and stools as aids-de-rot; but, you can tell the stools on sight. They are so narrow between the eyes there is no room for a nose. And their head looks like a peanut chucked down between their shoulders" he answered, while getting aboard the smoker.

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

Financial Statement—February, 1920

| Receipts | |
|---|----------|
| 32 initiations (400) | \$ 64.00 |
| 840 dues (400) | 420.00 |
| 36 initiations (No. 450) | 72.00 |
| 230 dues (No. 450) | 115.00 |
| Organization stamps | 49.00 |
| Relief stamps | 51.00 |
| General defense stamps | 145.00 |
| A. W. I. U. stamps | 4.00 |
| Centralia stamps | 427.00 |
| R. R. M. stamps | 3.50 |
| C. W. I. U. stamps | 1.00 |
| Criminal syndicalism stamps | 36.00 |
| Buttons, pins, etc. | 3.00 |
| Lit. card cases, duplicate cards, etc. | 189.85 |
| Moneys paid on account, supplies | 16.00 |
| Moneys paid on account by br. sec'ys and del. | 1,179.41 |
| General defense donations | 123.42 |
| Sub. to Industrial Worker | 1.50 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Sub. to Solidarity | 1.00 |
| Moneys refunded | 28.00 |
| Miscellaneous receipts | .40 |
| M. T. W. I. U. No. 8, dues | 1.00 |
| M. & M. W. I. U. No. 800, dues | 3.00 |
| S. B. I. U. No. 825, dues | 1.00 |
| G. R. U. dues | 5.00 |
| L. W. I. U. No. 500, dues | 46.50 |
| C. W. I. U. No. 573, dues | 91.00 |
| C. W. I. U. No. 573, initiation | 30.00 |
| R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, initiation | 10.00 |
| R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, dues | 29.00 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, dues | 9.50 |
| M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, initiation | 6.00 |
| H. & R. D. W. I. U. No. 1100, initiation | 6.00 |
| H. & R. D. W. I. U. No. 1100, dues | 6.50 |
| P. & P. W. I. U. No. 1200, dues | 5.00 |
| F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500, dues | 15.00 |
| F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500, initiation | 26.00 |
| Total receipts | \$3,215.58 |

Cash Expenditures, Main Office A. W. I. U. No. 400, Feb. 1920

| | |
|---|----------|
| February 3 | |
| C. L. Johnson, on account..... | \$ 18.47 |
| Advance to F. Belina..... | 40.00 |
| Advance to W. O. Kelley..... | 40.00 |
| Advance to P. Taft..... | 134.00 |
| Advance to J. B. Hardesty..... | 106.00 |
| Advance to Joe Garner..... | 85.00 |
| Advance to W. Kelley..... | 5.00 |
| Joe Fisher balance due on account..... | 4.28 |
| C. L. Johnson, mileage and wires..... | 42.25 |
| A. Anz, on account..... | 20.00 |
| W. H. Meyer, on account..... | 20.00 |
| February 7 | |
| F. Fisher, wages..... | 28.00 |
| J. Wosczyński, wages..... | 20.00 |
| February 11 | |
| C. L. Johnson, wages..... | 28.00 |
| One Big Union Monthly O. B. U's in Jan..... | 42.50 |
| New Solidarity for Jan. and 1 year sub..... | 26.50 |
| T. H. Dixon, Ind. Workers for Dec. and Jan..... | 27.75 |
| The Rebel Worker for January..... | 12.60 |
| February 14 | |
| F. Fisher, wages..... | 28.00 |
| C. L. Johnson, wages..... | 28.00 |
| J. Wosczyński, wages..... | 20.00 |
| T. Whitehead, per capita for January..... | 133.15 |
| T. Whitehead, organization stamps..... | 55.00 |
| T. Whitehead, relief stamps..... | 25.00 |
| T. Whitehead, general defense stamps..... | 126.00 |
| T. Whitehead, Centralia stamps..... | 416.00 |
| T. Whitehead, literature..... | 20.00 |
| February 17 | |
| Collection by Wichita boys for Cent. defense..... | 29.00 |
| February 20 | |
| F. Fisher, postage stamps..... | 40.00 |

| | |
|--|-------|
| February 21 | |
| J. Patterson, Jan. Rep. No. 500..... | 12.50 |
| T. Whitehead, Jan. Rep. G. R. U..... | 6.50 |
| T. Whitehead, Jan. Rep. No. 1500..... | 3.75 |
| T. Whitehead, Jan. Rep. No. 1200..... | 2.00 |
| T. Whitehead, Jan. Rep. No. 1300..... | 1.25 |
| A. E. Reese, Jan. Rep. No. 600..... | 23.25 |
| A. E. Reese, R. R. M. stamps..... | 9.50 |
| T. H. Dixon, Jan. Rep. No. 573..... | 53.50 |
| T. H. Dixon, C. W. I. U. stamps..... | 4.00 |
| E. Holman, Jan. Rep. No. 1100..... | 1.75 |
| J. Scott, Jan. Rep. No. 8..... | 2.75 |
| J. Scott, Dec. Rep. No. 8..... | 6.50 |
| J. Friedrich, Jan. Rep. No. 300..... | 4.50 |
| F. Fisher, wages..... | 28.00 |
| C. L. Johnson, wages..... | 28.00 |
| J. Wosczyński, wages..... | 24.00 |
| February 26 | |
| Industrial Worker 1 sub..... | 1.50 |
| February 28 | |
| F. Fisher, wages..... | 28.00 |
| C. L. Johnson, wages..... | 28.00 |
| J. Wosczyński, wages..... | 20.00 |
| F. Fisher, postage stamps received in Feb..... | 3.00 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Total cash expenditures..... | \$1,912.75 |
| Recapitulation | |
| Total cash receipts..... | 1,178.84 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1st, 1920..... | 2,726.74 |
| Grand total..... | \$3,905.68 |
| Total cash expenditures..... | 1,912.75 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 28th, 1920..... | \$1,992.83 |

F. FISHER,
Secretary-Treasurer A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.

Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000, I. W. W.

Financial Statement for January, 1920

(Jan. 1 to 12, E. F. Dorce, Secretary-Treasurer)

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Receipts | |
| Initiations..... | \$ 2.00 |
| Dues..... | 73.50 |
| General defense stamps..... | 6.00 |
| Membership book, new style..... | .50 |
| Literature..... | 26.22 |
| Paid on account by branch secretaries..... | 187.00 |
| For general defense fund, New Bedford..... | 41.00 |
| Harlem Branch, for charter, on account..... | 2.00 |
| Check from Whitehead, re-signed..... | 1.50 |
| Index for main office..... | 1.00 |
| Total receipts..... | \$ 340.72 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Disbursements | |
| Literature..... | \$ 23.02 |
| Commission on dues and initiations..... | 10.85 |
| Organizing expenses..... | 5.50 |
| Mileage..... | 39.93 |
| Held by branch secretaries..... | 104.77 |
| Wages, main office..... | 84.00 |
| Rent, light and heat..... | 26.79 |
| Stationery and fixtures..... | 14.75 |
| Postage, express and telegrams..... | 3.86 |
| Sundry expenses, G. O. C. meeting..... | 8.88 |
| Total disbursements..... | \$ 321.85 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| Recapitulation | |
| Receipts..... | \$ 340.72 |
| Cash on hand, Jan. 1st..... | 304.32 |
| Total..... | \$ 645.04 |
| Disbursements..... | 321.85 |
| Cash on hand, Jan. 13, 1920..... | \$ 323.19 |

To whom it may concern:
We have audited the above accounts and found same correct.
(Signed) **H. HOCHSTETTER,**
Ray Engel (acting for J. Rabinoff)
Auditing Committee.
Jan. 18, 1920

STATEMENT FOR JAN. 13-31, 1920

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Receipts | |
| Initiations..... | \$ 87.50 |
| Dues..... | 547.50 |
| General organization stamps..... | 5.00 |
| General defense stamps..... | 110.50 |
| Centralia defense stamps..... | 25.00 |
| Membership books (old style)..... | .75 |
| Membership books (new style)..... | 1.50 |
| Buttons..... | .75 |
| Literature..... | 101.39 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Paid on account by branch secretaries..... | 63.83 |
| For organizing fund of 1000..... | 17.78 |
| Collection for German paper, Paterson..... | 27.65 |
| Krieger defense meeting, Paterson..... | 67.80 |
| Hall rent, New York, returned..... | 2.88 |
| Collections, Sunday lectures, Paterson..... | 28.86 |
| Defense subscription list, Paterson..... | 5.25 |
| Telephone refunds, Paterson..... | 1.00 |
| From L. W. I. U. 500 for initiations..... | 4.00 |
| From L. W. I. U. 500 for dues..... | 1.50 |
| Donations to "Textile Worker"..... | 42.20 |
| Total receipts..... | \$1,141.64 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Disbursements | |
| To headquarters, per capita..... | \$ 194.55 |
| To headquarters, supplies..... | 11.00 |
| To headquarters, charter, Harlem Branch..... | 10.00 |
| To headquarters, organization stamps..... | 2.00 |
| To headquarters, general defense stamps..... | 52.50 |
| To headquarters, donations to general defense..... | 61.13 |
| Literature..... | 79.21 |
| "One Enemy—One Union" leaflets..... | 27.86 |
| 1,000 copies, "Textile Worker" for branches..... | 14.80 |
| Commission on dues and initiations..... | 9.85 |
| Wages, branch secretaries..... | 232.34 |
| Mileage..... | 7.21 |
| Allowances to other unions..... | 18.75 |
| Held by branch secretaries..... | 129.50 |
| To German paper, Paterson collection..... | 27.65 |
| To Paterson def. com., Krieger collection, net..... | 58.30 |
| To Paterson def. com., defense list..... | 9.85 |
| Main office, wages..... | 56.00 |
| Rent, light and heat..... | 167.88 |
| Stationery and fixtures..... | 57.68 |
| Postage, express and telegrams..... | 27.83 |
| On account, lawyer's services, Paterson..... | 75.00 |
| Donation to N. Y. O. B. U. conference, Paterson..... | 5.00 |
| Donation to N. Y. O. B. U. conference and to cost of printing "Manifesto," New York..... | 20.00 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 8.37 |
| Total disbursements..... | \$1,363.76 |

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| Recapitulation | |
| Receipts..... | \$1,141.64 |
| Cash on hand, Jan. 13..... | 323.19 |
| Total..... | \$1,464.83 |
| Disbursements..... | 1,363.76 |
| Cash on hand, Feb. 1, 1920..... | \$ 101.07 |

(Signed) **H. HOCHSTETTER,**
Acting Secretary-Treasurer T. W. I. U. No. 1000.

California and Northwest District Defense Committee Report

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE I. W. W. Financial Statement Summary, January, 1920.

| Receipts | |
|--|------------------|
| Donations | \$ 72.20 |
| Defense lists | 183.45 |
| Receipt books | 187.00 |
| C. S. stamp sales | 178.00 |
| General defense stamps | 18.00 |
| Centralia defense donation | 5.50 |
| Sale of furniture Fresno | 10.00 |
| Organization cash loan | 114.00 |
| Bentley cash loan | 7.35 |
| Total | \$ 725.50 |
| Expenditures | |
| Wires phone and postage | \$ 15.57 |
| Stationery | 2.20 |
| Mileage | 40.18 |
| Expenses raising bonds | 69.65 |
| Wages | 112.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 15.52 |
| Jail comforts | 36.59 |
| Deposited jail comforts | 110.00 |
| Attorneys expense advanced | 39.00 |
| Attorney on account | 100.00 |
| Relief indicted members | 15.00 |
| Payment on loan bail and bond | 30.00 |
| Payment on loan, district organization | 127.00 |
| Payment on loan, Bentley loan | 7.35 |
| Brown expense San Francisco, Stockton and return | 5.00 |
| Pillow frame for raffle for jail comforts | 1.75 |
| Total | \$ 718.71 |
| Recapitulation | |
| Total receipts | \$ 725.50 |
| Brought forward | 88.80 |
| Grand total | \$ 814.30 |
| Total expenditure | 718.71 |
| Cash balance February 1st, 1920 | \$ 95.59 |

LOUIS H. BROWN,
Secretary-Treasurer Pro Tem. California District Defense
Committee of the I. W. W.

NORTHWEST DISTRICT DEFENSE COMMITTEE Summary of Receipts and Expenditures From January 1 to February 1, 1920.

| Receipts | |
|--|--------------------|
| Cash on hand January 1st, 1920 | \$ 4,055.78 |
| Donations to defense | 3,186.91 |
| Relief stamps | 118.50 |
| Centralia stamps | 2,177.00 |
| Defense stamps | 490.00 |
| Lists | 1,888.90 |
| Card cases | .50 |
| Collections | 2,036.89 |
| On account | 518.34 |
| Raffle tickets | 26.95 |
| Total | \$18,759.42 |
| Expenditures | |
| Fixtures | \$ 5.00 |
| Relief | 267.45 |
| Printing | 1,074.59 |
| Wages and mileage | 902.77 |
| Legal | 1,824.65 |
| Rent and light | 74.00 |
| On account | 4,284.94 |
| Wires | 36.77 |
| Postage | 764.52 |
| Ads | 153.60 |
| Miscellaneous | 155.38 |
| Total | \$ 9,548.65 |
| Cash on hand Feb. 1 | 4,215.77 |
| Bank Statement | |
| Cash on hand according to bank statement | \$ 4,225.90 |
| Outstanding checks | 207.25 |
| Total | \$ 4,018.65 |
| Cash on hand not deposited in bank | 197.12 |
| Book balance | \$ 4,215.77 |

GEO. WILLIAMS,
318 North Wyoming street, Butte, Mont.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1100, I. W. W.

Financial Statement for Month of February, 1920

| Receipts | |
|--|------------------|
| Initiations | \$ 106.00 |
| Due stamps | 308.00 |
| General defense stamps | 6.50 |
| General Organization stamps | 2.00 |
| Relief stamps | 1.00 |
| Centralia stamps | 10.00 |
| Duplicate cards | 1.00 |
| Buttons | 2.50 |
| Literature | 6.95 |
| Credit, account of cash balance | .35 |
| Donations | 60.00 |
| Total receipts | \$ 504.30 |
| Expenditures | |
| General Headquarters, per capita | \$ 100.00 |
| General Headquarters, on account supplies | 50.00 |
| General Headquarters, on account assessment stamps | 58.00 |
| Literature and printing | 55.00 |

| Wages, branch secretary and organizers | 30.50 |
|---|------------------|
| Postage, express and wires | 19.65 |
| Main office, wages | 112.00 |
| Allowance on reports from other Ind. Unions | 85.25 |
| On account reports to other Industrial Unions | 38.00 |
| Stationary and fixtures | 1.40 |
| Total expenditures | \$ 549.80 |
| Recapitulation | |
| Total receipts | \$ 504.30 |
| Cash on hand February 1st | 265.37 |
| Grand total | \$ 769.67 |
| Total expenditures | 549.80 |
| Cash on hand March 1st | 219.87 |
| Grand total | \$ 769.67 |

ERNEST HOLMEN,
Secretary-Treasurer H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100.

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

Summary Receipts for February, 1920.

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Initiations | \$ 184.00 |
| Dues | 315.50 |
| Relief stamps | 2.00 |
| Organization stamps | 3.00 |
| Defense stamps | 34.00 |
| R. R. propaganda stamps | 28.50 |
| Buttons, pins and duplicate cards | 10.75 |
| Literature | 30.15 |
| Centralia stamps | 10.00 |
| Donations, relief and defense | 4.00 |
| Papers and magazines, B. O. | 28.10 |
| Papers and magazines, Subs. | 3.50 |
| Cr. delegates and branches, accounts | 52.75 |
| Cr. Industrial Union accounts | .75 |
| Other Unions | Initiations Dues |
| No. 300 | \$2.00 \$2.50 4.50 |
| No. 400 | 1.00 1.00 |
| No. 480 | 1.50 1.50 |
| No. 500 | 6.00 6.00 |
| No. 578 | 6.00 9.50 15.50 |
| No. 800 | 3.00 3.00 |
| No. 1100 | 5.50 5.50 |
| No. 1300 | .50 .50 |
| Total | \$ 689.50 |

Summary Expenditures, February, 1920.

| Craft cards | \$ 4.00 |
|---|------------------|
| Papers and magazines, B. O. | 155.72 |
| Wages and comm. to delegate and branches | 41.70 |
| Allowance to Industrial Unions | 139.00 |
| Charges to Industrial Unions | .75 |
| Charges to delegates and branch accounts | 36.94 |
| Main office wages | 208.00 |
| Stationary and fixtures | 11.60 |
| Postage, express and wires | 17.56 |
| Total | \$ 610.27 |
| Recapitulation | |
| Receipts February, 1920 | \$ 689.50 |
| On hand February 1, 1920 | 181.88 |
| Grand total | \$ 871.38 |
| Total expenses | 261.11 |
| Balance cash on hand March 1, 1920 | \$ 610.27 |

Bulletin.

There have been several complaints from Minneapolis regarding a person by the name of Ed. Shirley, Credential No. X0123, who claims to be a delegate, and has collected initiation and dues with a promise to return next day with card, which he failed to do. We have no record of this bird here so you are requested to look out for him and take up credentials on sight.

Those who have not received the new Propaganda Stamps please send for same as we need the funds.

Fellow Workers: The General Convention will meet the 10th of May, 1920 at Chicago and we are asking for nomi-

nees to same. Let us hear from you and send in the names as soon as possible. It has been decided to have only one Delegate as funds are very low. The nominations will open March 1st and close the 25th.

Ballots will be out April 1st and close April 25th so we will not have much time to spare. Those having suggestions to make for the betterment of the Organization send them in and they will be taken up.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date, we are

Yours for Freedom,

A. E. REESE,
Secretary-Treasurer, R. R. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.

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

Financial Statement for the Month of January, 1920

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Receipts. | |
| Initiations, 833 | \$ 666.00 |
| Due stamps, 5082 | 2,516.00 |
| Centralia stamps | 374.00 |
| General defense stamps | 87.00 |
| Relief stamps | 76.00 |
| Organization stamps | 72.00 |
| Six-hour stamps | 50.00 |
| Buttons | 153.00 |
| Literature | 177.49 |
| Press and Organization Fund | 856.15 |
| Credit branch secretaries' and delegates' accounts..... | 1,842.92 |
| General defense fund | 414.10 |
| Bail and bond fund | 65.00 |
| Centralia defense fund | 329.15 |
| Card cases | 63.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 4.75 |
| Total receipts | \$7,246.26 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Expenditures. | |
| General Headquarters, per capita | \$ 300.00 |
| Literature | 415.10 |
| Subscriptions | 9.75 |
| Wages to branch secretaries and delegates | 1,733.51 |
| Mileage | 207.17 |
| Craft cards | 16.00 |
| Charges branch secretaries and delegates' accounts | 1,880.72 |
| General defense fund | 189.00 |
| Centralia and bail and bond account | 375.45 |
| Main office salaries | 446.00 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 206.84 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 252.40 |
| Postage, express, wires | 184.28 |
| Miscellaneous | 298.46 |
| Total expenditures | \$6,514.43 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Recapitulation. | |
| Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1920 | \$ 460.66 |
| Total receipts, Jan., 1920 | 7,246.26 |
| Grand total | \$7,706.92 |
| Total expenditures, Jan., 1920 | 6,514.43 |

Cash on hand, Jan. 31, 1919.....\$1,192.49

Financial Report for February, 1920

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Receipts | |
| 424 Initiations | \$ 842.00 |
| 6076 Due stamps | 3,028.00 |
| Centralia stamps | 361.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 144.50 |
| C. W. Relief stamps | 76.00 |
| Organization stamps | 64.00 |
| Six-hour stamps | 55.50 |
| Buttons | 46.75 |
| Literature | 203.65 |
| Press and Org. Fund | 64.00 |
| Credit on Branch sec. and del. accounts..... | 4,363.54 |
| General Defense fund | 337.86 |
| Strike fund | 52.00 |
| Bail fund | 175.00 |
| Card Cases | 23.00 |
| Centralia fund | 632.49 |
| Miscellaneous | 31.00 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Expenditures | |
| General Headquarters, per capita | \$ 700.00 |
| General Headquarters, supplies | 150.00 |
| Literature | 305.09 |
| Subscriptions | 1.20 |
| Wages to branch sec. and delegates..... | 2,160.51 |
| Mileage | 611.71 |
| Craft Cards | 20.00 |
| Charges on branch sec'y and delegates accounts..... | 4,546.35 |
| General defense | 300.00 |
| Centralia fund | 40.00 |
| Bail fund | 75.00 |
| Main office salaries | 537.75 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 243.63 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 214.72 |
| Postage, express, wires | 242.58 |
| Miscellaneous | 249.49 |

Total\$11,021.29

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Recapitulation | |
| Cash on hand February 1 1920 | \$ 1,192.49 |
| Total receipts, February, 1920 | 11,021.29 |
| Grand total | \$12,218.78 |
| Total expenditures, February, 1920 | 10,397.98 |

Cash on hand Feb. 29, 1920.....\$ 1,815.80

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

Financial Report

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Receipts—February, 1920 | |
| Initiations, 132 | \$ 364.00 |
| Due stamps, 2369 | 1,184.50 |
| Assessment Stamps— | |
| General Organization | 133.00 |
| C. W. P. | 85.00 |
| General Defense | 244.00 |
| Centralia raids | 535.00 |
| Criminal Syn. | 241.00 |
| No 573 Convention | 39.00 |
| A. W. I. U. Vol. | 1.50 |
| Personal deposits | 20.00 |
| Card cases | 12.50 |
| Buttons | 8.75 |
| Literature | 153.65 |
| Papers and magazines | 401.65 |
| On acct. cash bal. secys., dels. & G. O. C..... | 1,057.41 |
| Donations— | |
| Jail comforts, Cal. District..... | 14.00 |
| Detroit Defense | 2.00 |
| Italian Workers, Philadelphia | 4.50 |
| Propaganda | 8.33 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| General Defense | 75.30 |
| Centralia Defense | 92.50 |
| From N. S. League for Freedom..... | 8.33 |
| Cal. District on reports lost in raids..... | 110.23 |
| Jas. Crowley, report lost in raids..... | 9.37 |
| Collection Smoker Chicago Br. No. 1, 50 pct. for Def. | 125.31 |
| Receipts from smoker Chicago Branch No. 1 | 114.20 |
| Balance Clock funds from Jas. Crowley..... | 50.25 |
| Cal. Dist. Def. refund on loan..... | 67.00 |
| Chicago Branch No. 2, sale concert tickets..... | 10.75 |
| Chicago Branch No. 2, receipts from dance..... | 61.84 |
| Chicago Branch No. 2, rent hall..... | 27.00 |
| Chicago Branch No. 2, rent hall..... | 32.00 |
| Chicago Branch No. 3, rent hall..... | 25.00 |
| Del. I. U. No. 800, remitted to No. 573 Seattle dist.. | 39.50 |
| Del. I. U. No. 8 B139, remitted to 573 N. Y. Br..... | 4.50 |
| Duplicate cards | 10.50 |
| Detroit Br. No. 2 charter outfit..... | 10.00 |
| Geo. Macaire, bal. funds not acct. for..... | 7.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 21.67 |
| Initiations other unions | 95.00 |
| Dues other unions | 578.00 |
| Total receipts | \$6,090.53 |

| Expenditures | |
|---|-----------|
| General Headquarters, per capita dues Jan Jan..... | \$ 387.75 |
| General Headquarters, per capita init. Jan..... | 75.70 |
| Literature | 93.51 |
| Papers and magazine | 479.68 |
| Com. on initiation and literature | 93.41 |
| Wages, secretaries, delegates and G. O. C..... | 1,134.00 |
| Mileage, delegates and G. O. C..... | 89.12 |
| Account cash balance secys., dels. and G. O. C..... | 786.32 |
| Allowance on supplies, other unions..... | 144.50 |
| Relief and Defense Funds— | |
| General Defense | 576.47 |
| General Defense, card cases | 3.50 |
| Criminal Syndicalism | 244.00 |
| Main office wages | 258.00 |
| Rent, light, heat | 563.47 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 163.41 |
| Postage, express and wires | 101.81 |
| Adv. D. O. C. Cal. District..... | 78.99 |

| Donations— | |
|--|-------------------|
| Open Forum Detroit Branch | 5.00 |
| Unity Conference N. Y. Branch..... | 5.00 |
| Fellow Worker N. Y. Branch..... | 5.00 |
| Centralia Defense Cal. District | 2.00 |
| N. S. League for Freedom..... | 166.00 |
| Chi. Br. No. 1, remitted N. W. Def. Com. 50 pct. coll. | 62.65 |
| Chicago Branch No. 1, exp. for smoker..... | 96.89 |
| Chicago Br. No. 2, for sale concert tickets..... | 7.50 |
| Chicago Br. No. 2, deposit for gas..... | 10.00 |
| Miscellaneous expenses | 10.35 |
| Peter Hillstrom, org. exps. adv. to W. Kelley No. 400 | 20.00 |
| Total expenses | \$5,664.08 |
| Recapitulation | |
| Total receipts | \$6,090.53 |
| On hand Feb. 1..... | 1,408.66 |
| Total | \$7,499.19 |
| Total expenses | 5,664.03 |
| On hand March 1, 1920..... | \$1,835.16 |

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

To the Members of the Marine Transport Workers:

Financial Statement—February, 1920

February 19th, 1920.

Call for nomination and election of delegates and conventions are as follows:

"Delegates to the M. T. W. Convention shall be elected from the branches and districts of the M. T. W. in accordance to their membership. With one vote on roll call for each 200 members and major fraction thereof. Delegates representing small branches to be allowed one vote."

"The Convention of the M. T. W. must be held April 30th at Chicago."

All branches have the right to send one delegate to the conference, but branches that have not remitted sufficiently to cover the per-capita, assessment stamps sold and expense of a delegate to the Conference are not entitled to have their delegates' expenses paid by the main office. If such branches desire to send delegates they must pay that delegate's expenses.

The main office will pay the mileage and expenses of one delegate from the Pacific Coast, one from the Atlantic Coast, and one from the Lakes. If such delegates are nominated and elected jointly from those districts.

Districts functioning on a per capita basis elect their own delegates and pay their own expenses.

Nominations from the different districts should be sent in at once so that a ballot could be gotten out for each voting district. The Philadelphia District being on a per-capita basis handles its own elections.

Resolutions for consideration at the M. T. W. Conference and at the General Convention should be sent in at once.

JAMES SCOTT,
 Secretary-Treasurer.
ELMER KENNARD,
 Chairman, G. O. C.

| Receipts | |
|--|-------------------|
| Feb. 2—Thos. Whitehead, G. R. U..... | \$ 45.00 |
| E. Holman, pro-rato 1100..... | 2.50 |
| Tit Marchenko, dup and dues..... | 2.00 |
| J. O'Hagan, dup., dues and assessments..... | 15.00 |
| Feb. 3—Thos. Whitehead, acct. del. reports..... | 39.50 |
| Delegate B. 125 | 9.00 |
| Thos. Whitehead, account returned receipt..... | 85.61 |
| Feb. 9—Thos. Whitehead, Sept. G. R. U. report..... | 47.00 |
| A. Ross, pro-rato 325..... | 1.00 |
| P. Petaja | 59.40 |
| Delegate B. 125 | 1.50 |
| Feb. 10—Thos. Whitehead, pro-rato G. R. U..... | 32.50 |
| Philadelphia District | 300.00 |
| Feb. 11—Delegate B. 119 | 19.50 |
| C. G. Anderson, Stockholm | 3.00 |
| Feb. 12—Thos. Whitehead, dup. card | .50 |
| Feb. 16—Wm. Cunningham, Seattle Branch..... | 14.50 |
| J. Patterson, pro-rato 500..... | 16.50 |
| Philadelphia District | 300.00 |
| Feb. 19—N. Y. Branch | 15.00 |
| Feb. 21—Delegate A. 139 | 17.00 |
| Philadelphia District | 300.00 |
| Wm. Cunningham, Seattle Branch | 79.75 |
| Feb. 24—F. Fisher, pro-rato 400..... | 9.25 |
| N. Y. Branch | 33.00 |
| Pat Mee, pro-rato 800..... | 1.50 |
| Feb. 27—Philadelphia District | 200.00 |
| Total receipts for February..... | \$1,649.51 |

| Expenditures | |
|---|-------------------|
| Feb. 2—R. Fiechter, rent | \$ 15.00 |
| Feb. 3—Refund, G. R. U. Cancelled receipts..... | 85.61 |
| Underwood Typewriter Co., repairs..... | .75 |
| Feb. 5—Bank exchange | .10 |
| Feb. 7—E. Kennard, wages | 40.00 |
| J. Scott, wages | 40.00 |
| Feb. 9—Postage stamps | 5.00 |
| Feb. 10—Union Stationary Co., office supplies..... | 1.35 |
| Feb. 14—E. Kennard, mileage, Phila. and return..... | 6.75 |
| E. Kennard, wages | 40.00 |
| J. Scott, wages | 40.00 |
| Feb. 17—Ahern and Randell, office supplies..... | 1.50 |
| Feb. 18—Cablegram, Argentine | 10.10 |
| Feb. 21—E. Kennard, wages | 40.00 |
| J. Scott, wages | 40.00 |
| Feb. 24—C. G. Anderson, Stockholm, acct. donations | 60.00 |
| Feb. 26—Thos. Whitehead, per capita..... | 450.00 |
| Supplies | 7.82 |
| Assessments | 49.00 |
| G. R. U. pro-rato | .50 |
| Fellow Worker, account bundle order..... | 4.20 |
| Albert Ross, S. B. I. U. pro-rato | 7.75 |
| J. Patterson, I. W. I. U. pro-rato..... | 7.00 |
| Pat Mee, M. M. W. I. U. pro-rato | 1.50 |
| F. Fisher, A. W. I. U. pro-rato..... | 3.75 |
| Bert Lewis, C. W. I. U. 573 pro-rato..... | 5.00 |
| M. & M. W. I. 300, pro-rato..... | 4.50 |
| R. R. W. I. U. 600, pro-rato..... | 6.75 |
| E. Kennard, wages | 40.00 |
| J. Scott, wages | 40.00 |
| Total expenditures | \$1,074.43 |
| Receipts for February | \$1,649.51 |
| Expenditures | 1,074.43 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Balance on hand | \$ 575.80 |
| On hand February 1st..... | \$2,339.03 |
| Balance March 1st, for February..... | 575.80 |
| On hand March 1st, 1920..... | \$2,914.11 |
| E. Kennard, Chairman, G. O. C.; James Scott, Sec.-Treas. | |

Industrial Workers of the World

General Office Reports

| RECAPITULATION | |
|--|--------------------|
| Organization Receipts | |
| Due Stamps | \$ 3,328.90 |
| General organization stamps | 188.50 |
| Relief stamps | 184.50 |
| General defense stamps | 701.00 |
| Centralia stamps | 968.00 |
| Due books | 570.20 |
| Buttons and pins | 168.75 |
| Literature on account | 27.50 |
| Card cases | 21.00 |
| Organization supplies | 118.02 |
| Charter outfits | 30.00 |
| Organization fund donations | 31.00 |
| Literature, cash sales | 45.85 |
| Publications | 3,780.75 |
| Press fund donation | 1.00 |
| Rent—Payment by Unions | 100.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 2.25 |
| Intl. Ptg. & Type. Co., deposits | \$ 5,554.07 |
| General Recruiting Union, deposits | 571.37 |
| Industrial Union, deposits | 150.13 |
| Personal deposits | 40.50 |
| Total receipts | \$14,528.29 |
| Organization Disbursements | |
| Office—Wages | \$ 268.00 |
| Expense | 338.25 |
| Service | 115.17 |
| Repairs | 4.80 |
| Postage | 45.72 |
| Stationery and supplies | 8.89 |
| Parcel post and express | 11.29 |
| Publications | 2,696.88 |
| Literature | 6.25 |
| Organization—Supplies | 168.95 |
| Wages | 8.00 |
| Mileage | 12.08 |
| Printing | 40.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 8.75 |
| Due books | 510.00 |
| General Defense Committee: | |
| Acct. Centralia Stamps | 968.00 |
| Acct. relief stamps | 184.50 |
| Acct. defense stamps | 701.00 |
| Printing | 31.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1.50 |
| General Recruiting Union | 1,209.42 |
| Intl. Ptg. & Type. Co. | 5,982.27 |
| Personal | 70.74 |
| Refund of loans on Linotype | 810.00 |
| Shipping room | 105.00 |
| Total disbursements | \$14,242.21 |
| February 1 balance | 1,949.01 |
| February receipts | 14,528.29 |
| Disbursements for February | \$16,477.30 |
| Cash on hand, March 1, 1920 | \$ 2,235.09 |
| STATEMENT OF PUBLICATIONS FOR FEBRUARY, 1920 | |
| The New Solidarity | |
| February receipts | \$ 766.66 |
| February disbursements | 894.06 |
| February 1, deficit | 37.40 |
| March deficit | 2,971.48 |
| ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY | |
| February receipts | 877.82 |

| | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| February disbursements | 647.39 | |
| February 1 balance | 230.43 | |
| March 1 balance | 572.90 | |
| SOLIDARNOSC (Polish) | | \$ 803.38 |
| February receipts | 2.00 | 2.00 |
| February deficit | 122.86 | |
| March 1 deficit | | \$ 120.86 |
| GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Russian) | | |
| February receipts | 886.61 | |
| February disbursements | 534.81 | |
| February 1 balance | 351.80 | |
| March Balance | 1,135.99 | |
| RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian) | | \$ 1,487.79 |
| February receipts | 535.92 | |
| February disbursements | 590.13 | |
| February 1 balance | 54.21 | |
| March 1 balance | 78.67 | |
| GLAS RADNIKA (Croatian) | | \$ 24.46 |
| February receipts | 5.00 | |
| February disbursements | 1.42 | |
| February 1 balance | 8.58 | |
| March 1 balance | 505.18 | |
| IL NUOVO PROLETARIO (Italian) | | \$ 508.76 |
| February receipts | 415.49 | |
| February disbursements | 663.79 | |
| February 1 deficit | 248.30 | |
| March 1 deficit | 1,218.96 | |
| DER INDUSTRIALER ARBEITER (Jewish) | | \$ 1,467.26 |
| February receipts | 15.00 | 15.00 |
| February 1 deficit | 235.48 | |
| March 1 deficit | | \$ 220.48 |
| PROLETARAS (Lithuanian) | | |
| February 1 balance | 2.68 | |
| March 1 balance | 2.68 | |
| LA NUEVA SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish) | | |
| February 1 deficit | 1,157.71 | |
| March 1 deficit | | 1,157.71 |
| NYA VARLDEN (Swedish) | | |
| February receipts | 59.31 | 59.31 |
| February 1 deficit | 1,830.42 | |
| March 1 deficit | | \$ 1,771.11 |
| DER KLASSENKAMPF (German) | | |
| February receipts | 51.12 | |
| February disbursements | 103.02 | |
| February 1 deficit | 51.90 | |
| March 1 deficit | 33.68 | |
| SUMMARY OF PUBLICATION BALANCES | | |
| | Debit | Credit |
| New Solidarity | \$ 3,008.88 | |
| One Big Union Monthly | | 803.38 |
| Solidarnosc | 120.86 | |
| Golos Truzenika | | 1,487.79 |
| La Nueva Solidaridad | 1,157.71 | |
| Nya Varlden | 1,771.11 | |
| Rabotnicheska Mysl | | 24.46 |
| Glas Radnika | | 508.76 |
| Der Klassenkampf | 85.58 | |
| Il Proletario | 1,467.26 | |
| Der Industrialer Arbeiter | 220.48 | |
| Proletaras | | 2.68 |
| Publication deficit | \$ 7,831.88 | \$ 2,827.02 |
| | | 5,004.86 |
| | \$ 7,831.88 | \$ 7,831.88 |

General Defense Committee

Report for February

| RECAPITULATION | |
|--|--------------------|
| General Defense Receipts | |
| Defense and Centralia fund donations | \$ 5,368.15 |
| Defense assessments | 701.00 |
| Centralia assessments | 968.00 |
| Defense literature | 10.50 |
| Refunds on legal expenses | 82.07 |
| Refunds on meeting expenses | 21.00 |
| Personal Accounts | 313.09 |
| Miscellaneous | 4.00 |
| Relief: Donations | \$ 7,462.81 |
| Assessments | 125.00 |
| Ball fund | 5.00 |
| Total receipts | \$ 7,727.31 |
| GENERAL DEFENSE DISBURSEMENTS | |
| Office—Wages | \$ 438.50 |
| Postage | 455.90 |

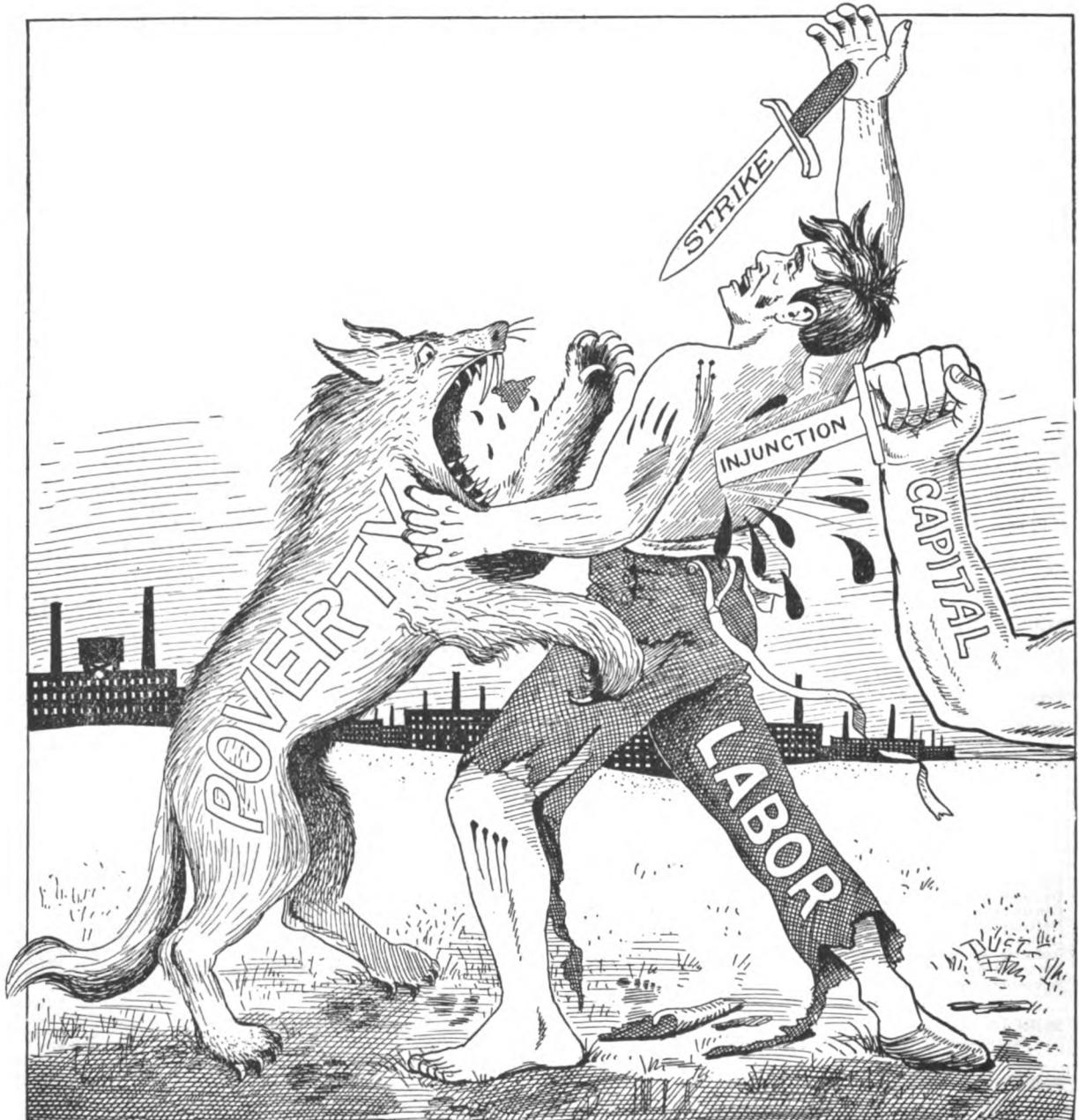
| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Drayage, telegraph and miscellaneous | 33.86 |
| Printing and publicity | 708.05 |
| Speakers wages and expenses | 295.00 |
| Meeting expenses | 564.82 |
| Legal services and expenses | 1,610.46 |
| Supplies | 151.95 |
| Personal accounts | 6,054.32 |
| Relief | \$10,812.86 |
| Bail | 709.62 |
| Total disbursements | \$12,587.08 |
| February receipts | 7,727.18 |
| February deficit | \$ 4,809.77 |
| February 1 balance | 9,680.34 |
| Cash on hand, March 1, 1920 | \$ 4,870.57 |
| Balance due General Defense from General Organization as per statement of Jan. 1 | 9,177.74 |
| Total defense fund, March 1, 1920 | \$14,048.31 |

BAIL AND BOND FUND

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Receipts | |
| February 24 | |
| Sioux City B. & B. Committee Donation to Bail | 5.00 |
| Disbursements | |
| February 2 | |
| Ernest Holmen, refund on bail for Richard Lindstrom | 100.00 |
| Refund on bail for Carl Sorensen | 25.00 |
| February 4. | |
| Nicolas Grebe, refund on Bail | 40.00 |
| February 12. | |
| Gust. Starck, Liberty Bond redeemed | 9.60 |
| February 13. | |
| Wm. D. Haywood, Liberty Bonds donated to defense fund | 1,000.00 |
| February 16. | |
| Osip Demiashonok, refund on Makarus bail | 300.00 |
| | \$ 1,514.60 |

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Bail and Bond Fund | |
| Balance Bail February 1, 1920 | \$ 8,124.98 |
| Receipts for February | 5.00 |
| | \$ 8,129.98 |
| Disbursements for February | 1,514.60 |
| | \$ 6,615.38 |
| Bail balance, March 1, 1920 | 4,726.00 |
| Bonds on hand, February 1 | 1,050.00 |
| Bond receipts for February | 5,776.00 |
| | 1,400.00 |
| Bond disbursements | 4,376.00 |
| | 4,376.00 |



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