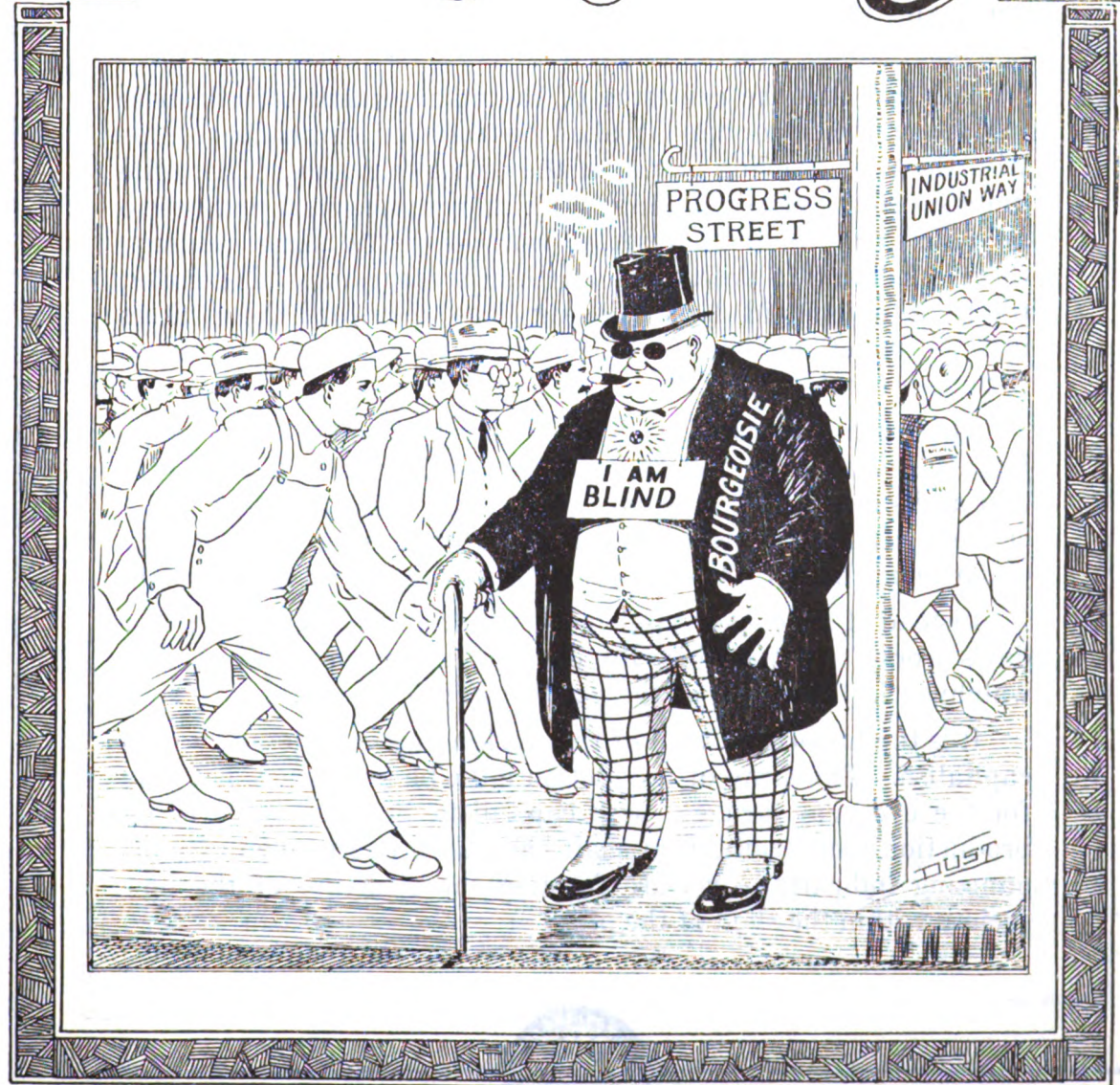


# The One Big Union Monthly



PRICE 15 CENTS

# PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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



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# THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

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WHOLE NUMBER 1

## Where Are We At?

**T**HE red wave which swept over the world in the beginning of this year and which took expression in the revolts similar to those in Germany and Austria, even in very far-away countries, such as Argentine, Chili and Bolivia, could not help but influence even our country.

Agitation and enthusiasm over here were at a red heat and we imagine that the capitalist class were pale and were about to have a fainting spell. For the present, all this seems to be over. Agitation seems to have returned into normal channels and the first wire edge is broken off the enthusiasm. The red wave seems to have receded somewhat as far as this country is concerned, and we are now preparing for the next one.

The red revolutionary wave could not possibly bring the same results in America as it did in European countries. We must not forget that political democracy was many, many years ahead in the United States, offering no prominent point of attack for political revolutionists. Protected by this political democracy or the tradition of it, or the semblance of it, industrial autocracy awaited the revolutionary wave in comparative calm, knowing full well that there was absolutely no possibility of riotous mobs forming in this country to storm public buildings or the strongholds of Wall Street. There being no political revolution to expect, the upper class of the U. S., are in no immediate danger, like the upper class of the European countries who were political as well as industrial tyrants.

The strongholds of Wall Street would be to us as valueless as the government offices would prove to political revolutionists. The economic revolution can just as little be accomplished by capturing banks as by capturing government offices.

We repeat again and again that the ec-

onomic revolution has got to begin by capturing the shop, and that can be done only through industrial unions. As long as we haven't got those unions organized, we are sorry to say, the capitalist class can feel perfectly safe.

There is no use bragging about what we are going to do to Capitalism, for experience from Russia and other countries proves that unless you have created the **necessary social organs for taking over production**, the capitalist class can smilingly stay in its loggia, smoking its big cigars and partaking of its exhilarating wine.

The time of revolutionary frothy talk is past. It blew away with the last red revolutionary wave. From now on, "revolution" is nothing but a plain, practical, economic question, a question of hard, practical organization work. Somehow the romance has been taken all out of it. We have found that there are no pleasing adventures about it. We know now that it is all serious work.

The result, the final aim, is what shall continue to inspire us and guide us on our road, but now everybody had better get his coat off, quit dreaming and dig in, or the capitalist class will stay in its loggia forever smoking its cigar and drinking its wine.

### The National Security League

**T**HE juggernaut of patriotism that has ridden so heavily over us in the past year or so, has joined the great club of Down-and-Outs.

The National Security League has been duly investigated by a special committee of Congress appointed to investigate this supposedly patriotic organization. The committee in its report condemns the National Security League in all its parts and activities, calling it a "menace to representative

government," calling it "foreign in origin, being conceived in London and nursed to power by foreign interests and used by the same interests." The committee also declares that the investigation has revealed Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Morgan, and Du Pont as the backers, suggesting Steel, Oil, Moneybags, Russian Bonds, Rifles and Railroads.

We must confess that we have really stood in awe of the majestic display of patriotism by this League and its agents. We felt that we could not possibly keep up with it, so we patiently submitted to its various actions. Had we known of its foreign origin, and had we known how it was financed, perhaps we would have taken the risk of rebellion against the league, but we may be wiser next time, by having gotten an overdose of foreign-born American patriotism.

The chief contributors standing behind this League are the Carnegie Corporation, with \$150,000.00, John D. Rockefeller, with \$35,000.00, J. P. Morgan, \$2,300.00, T. Coleman-Du Pont, \$9,000.00,—and a whole long list of other war profiteers.

The country has been completely bluffed by these profiteers. Let us repeat again, that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel," in this case the profiteer.

## Agents Provocateurs

THE I. W. W., being a labor organization, receives into membership any industrial worker who applies for it, and as a consequence, we are unable to protect ourselves against agents provocateurs. There is nothing more simple than for our enemies to pick out some low characters and employ them to join the I. W. W. At the instigation of their masters, these will then look for suitable men for their evil purposes and agitate their minds until they possibly make them agree to some deed of violence, bomb explosion, assassination, or something similar. Of course, the agents provocateurs are the moving factors. This is the usual procedure.

Sometimes these agents provocateurs belong to the police department. As an instance, we may quote the so-called bomb outrage in a fashionable New York church some years ago, when it was proven that the whole thing was planned and partly executed by a member of the New York police force. Pietro Pierre was a member of the I. W. W. He is little known and of

his plans, the I. W. W. knows absolutely nothing and disclaims all responsibility in whatever he may undertake. But with the frequent experiences we have had with agents provocateurs, we are inclined to believe that this whole story about the intended assassination of President Wilson is a fake and a frame-up intended to discredit the I. W. W., and to arouse hostility against us. The same thing applies to the arrest of 24 I. W. W. men and others in Philadelphia and New York recently. We are firmly convinced that they had planned no such thing as that of which they are accused, and that if the matter has been talked of among them it has been done at the instigation of agents of the police or other organizations co-operating with them with a view to our undoing.

As far as the planned bomb outrages in Chicago are concerned, it seems to be about the worst fake scare that has ever been gotten up. Quoting Philip J. Barry, chief of the bureau of investigation of the local federal department of justice, we learn: "We have followed all clues and have run down many supposed angles of the bomb plot that was supposed to exist to blow up clubs and public buildings, but have found nothing to establish that such an intrigue really existed. This scare has put business men and others to unnecessary expense and they are entitled to know the truth."

We are inclined to believe that some of the low-grade people in the service of this department of the police as well as in the federal service, are inventing a good many of these things in order to justify their continued existence and keep their jobs. So it was done in Russia and the American "Shylocks" are repeating what the Russian police did. As time goes by, we expect to hear of more such fake plots which will keep the popular mind in turmoil and arouse hostility and prejudice against the I. W. W. Nevertheless, this pernicious activity is a warning for all I. W. W. men to be on their guard against these agents provocateurs. As soon as a man comes with a proposition which does not belong to the program of the I. W. W., he should be looked upon with suspicion and if he is found to have evil purposes, he should immediately be kicked out before he has a chance to bring any member into trouble and the organization into discredit.

Therefore, beware of the agents provocateurs.

The One Big Union scheme is practicable. That's why it angers the enemies of the workers so much.

# The Proposed Communist Congress

**I**N the same issue of The One Big Union Monthly, we are publishing, after "The Revolutionary Age", what purports to be a call issued by the Russian Communist Party, ("The Bolsheviki"), for an international convention of organizations endorsing the tentative program embodied in the call.

As will be noted, the I. W. W. of this and other countries is included in their invitation, although we have not as yet received any formal request to send representatives. Whatever reasoning we do in regard to this call, is consequently done with the reservation that the call is authentic as published and seriously meant.

The editor of this magazine has no authority in any way whatever to make an answer to this call and we shall not attempt to do it. We shall only, for the benefit of our readers, make a few observations which occur to our mind and which might be helpful in analyzing it.

As will be seen, the call consists of three sections: the first section being a declaration of general principles intended to serve as a basis of unity between the organizations invited. This first section is a good picture of what has taken place in Russia in the last couple of years and reflects the aim and purposes of the Russian Communist Party. As to the general demand for the overthrow of Capitalism, the des-establishment of private ownership and making the working-class the rulers of the world, there is apt to be little if any dissension. In Paragraph 4, Section 1, it is stated as their aim to transfer private property to a proletarian state under the socialist administration of the working-class. This leads us to the belief that the Communist Party desired at least partial preservation of the political state in somewhat modified form. Without entering into any discussion of the merits or de-merits of this program, we will content ourselves by stating again the program of the I. W. W. insofar as it covers the same ground.

The I. W. W. has given up all thought of using the machinery of the present state for its purposes. It proposes to create an entirely new machinery of administration in which not even a particle of the old shall enter as a constituent part. We propose to re-group all mankind on industrial lines in industrial organizations which we hope will make superfluous and crowd out the political groupings which constitute the state. We propose to make the unit of industry, the place of work, the shop, the mill, the field, the ship, the basis of our new social organization. These

units will combine in two different manners. From a purely industrial standpoint, they will unite with other units into large industrial unions, calculated to embrace the whole world, each and every one of them. For the purpose of local administration, we propose that the local industrial units shall form a district industrial council or local administrative body to take care of local affairs. As we propose to order all branches of human activity along these lines and include them in a world scheme of industrial co-operation, we must conclude that our program, although fundamentally aiming at the same thing as the program of the Communist Party, somewhat differs from the program proposed as a basis of unity.

We also note that there is not a single word nor a semblance of an intimation of basing society on industrial organization, the only thing that we I. W. W. men dare depend upon for the safe-guarding of our liberty and as a foundation of industrial democracy.

In connection with this observation, it will seem nothing but natural that with the exception of the I. W. W., there is hardly any of the thirty-nine invited bodies who seriously endorse industrial unionism as the basis of a new society. Nearly all of them are political organizations aiming at capturing the government by the use of the ballot under normal conditions. There is hardly any of them that has given a thought to the actual economic organization of the new society that they nominally favor.

While the invitation extended to the I. W. W. and the including of syndicalist elements of the labor movement, in Paragraph 10, may lead one to believe that endorsement of the syndicalist and I. W. W. programs is intended, we cannot fail to note that no invitation is extended to the syndicalist movements of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Italy, etc., although these movements profess themselves as industrial communists. Of course, you will also notice that the anarchists, even the communist ones, are entirely left out.

The proposed communist conference would consequently be a congress of radical political socialists to consider the question of discontinuing the use of the ballot and adopting the methods used by the Russian communists in the past in overthrowing capitalist society.

While we may wish them good luck in this laudable undertaking, we have no reason to get excited over the invitation. The program of the I. W. W. was good before the war, survived the war without the necessity of changing even a dot, it is good now and will

with absolute necessity by the program of every revolutionary party, as soon as the revolutionary storm is over and they begin to settle down to the serious task of economic reconstruction. There is no other economic program in existence worthy of serious consideration, comprehensive enough to fit the whole world scheme.

## Soviet Government in the U. S.

**T**HE papers have informed us that the police and the secret service have unearthed a gigantic plot among the Socialists of this country to gather up all the radical elements with a view to establishing a soviet government in this country.

There may not be any foundation to this newspaper rumor, but there has undoubtedly been some Soviet agitation in this country. We fail to understand how honest and sensible people could indulge in such a naive propaganda. The soviet is a Russian institution. Its roots go back thousands of years into history, the same as various social institutions of the Anglo-Saxon people run thousands of years back into history. To propose that one people should throw itself away and adopt the soul of another people is just as stupid as to propose that the whites change themselves into negroes and vice versa.

The Russians made their revolution not because they had the soviets, but because **the people willed it**. You might establish ten thousand soviets in this country but unless the people **will** a revolution, there will be none. You cannot make a revolution by adopting the outward trappings of other people. Revolutions, like everything else, are the natural outcome of conditions and will take their shape according to the conditions in each country. There was a revolution in Russia because the majority of the members of the soviets wanted it and because most people wanted it. If you were to form soviets or councils in this country, they would have to be either limited to the radical element (and then they would represent an insignificant minority of the American people) or they would be universal and representing all the layers of American society, and in that case the overwhelming majority would be decidedly anti-revolutionary. So, what are you going to do with your soviets?

We do not deny that this agitation is useful, for it stirs people to thought and excites contradiction, leads to investigation and frames the usually indifferent mind for thought along social lines, but when that

is said, we have said all the good we could about it.

The I. W. W., has at least on paper, an institution corresponding to the soviet, namely, the district industrial council. The district industrial council of the I. W. W. is a local representative body of the various industrial unions in each locality. So far, it lacks all practical significance because we are not numerous enough, but whenever there is to be a radical change in this country, the change will have to be made through these councils locally. They will take over the functions which were taken over by the soviets in Russia.

There is no background or foundation for a political revolution in the United States. Ever since the time of the revolution against England, political democracy has been on the increase in the United States, so that the American people already have most of the things for which the Russian revolutionists have bled and died. What we lack, and what the Russians still lack, is industrial democracy, and industrial democracy cannot be created by forming soviets in the different cities and localities. Industrial democracy has to be built up in the shop, in the mill, in the factory, in the field, in the ship, and so on. When it is built there, the councils corresponding to the soviets will spring into existence automatically. Forming the councils or soviets beforehand is like taking out fire insurance on a house not yet built.

## The Summer of 1919

**P**ROPHESYING is a very hazardous thing and most prophets fall into discredit, but in spite of such misgivings, we dare say that the summer of 1919 shows signs of becoming a very lively one.

There is always hanging over us the possibility of an outbreak of a war between Japan and the United States, as there is also a possibility of war in several places in Europe, but looking away from these dangers, there is sufficient of internal trouble to keep our minds busy.

Prohibition goes into effect on July 1st, releasing from work several hundred thousand people. This in the midst of the greatest period of unemployment that this country has ever known. At the same time, many hundred thousands of soldiers are returning, and all authorities on finance and industry agree that the industrial situation shows no signs of improvement.

Returning to the liquor people, we find that the workers in the breweries and dis-



tilleries in no way differ from factory workers generally. Under normal conditions, they would go over to other factories and become merged with their new surroundings without any difficulty, but as it is now, they will largely go to increase the army of unemployed. But there is another crowd of wage workers in the liquor business which cannot be in the same easy manner assimilated, namely, those employed in the saloons and restaurants in large and small cities. These people form a category of their own.

Being thrown out of work under the most unfavorable conditions, we fear that this element will become a really serious menace to good order. Under normal conditions, society would be well able to take care of them, but at a time when everything is upset in a social way, they are dangerous.

Those depriving them of a living should have taken steps to place them properly.

From a dozen cities we have received notice that workingmen have adopted the slogan of "No beer, no work." We presume there is some force behind this movement, perhaps even the large funds of the liquor interests, but no matter who stands behind it, a general strike against prohibition is to be counted upon as a possibility for the summer of 1919.

Further, we have to remember that the Mooney congress adopted a resolution calling for a general strike throughout the country in case Mooney and Billings are not released before July 4th. Add to this that there are several hundred I. W. W. men in jail, and that we are determined to make no peace with the world until these men are free, and you have material for the greatest turmoil that this country has ever known.

Often it is the unexpected that happens, and we cling to the hope of something unexpected happening, for we I. W. W. people are essentially lovers of peace and order. In fact, our whole program implies systematic work for the creation of an orderly society.

But unless our members are freed we shall supply the necessary agitation to keep those from falling asleep who have wronged us.

Have you held a protest meeting in your town to demand the release of political prisoners? If not, why not?

We do not want riots and revolts. We want organization.

## Hushing Up the I. W. W.

OF late we have noticed an ever increasing tendency to hush us up in the name of unity. We are being told not to show up political Socialism; we are told not to attack Anarchism. We are asked to be more lenient toward the A. F. of L. We mustn't touch on church and religion. We mustn't do this and do that,—in fact, we are being asked to gag ourselves in order to secure the friendly co-operation of the various elements mentioned, and there is being held out to us the possibility that they will unite with us in an attempt to liberate our prisoners and regain the liberties lost, such as free speech, free press, free mail and so on.

The world has shown us no mercy; we have been "punished" for newly invented "crimes" in accordance with newly created laws. We know we have positively no leniency to expect, and in the midst of these conditions when we should speak louder than ever, we are requested to submerge ourselves and leave our fate in the hands of professed friends whose friendship has not been tried, and if it has been tried, it is known to be of little or no value.

It appears that political Socialists, anarchists and other labor elements feel that the bottom has fallen out of their programs and they want us to keep quiet about it, and as a reward we will secure their friendly services. The I. W. W. is not willing to enter into any such bargain. We know that our program is the salvation of mankind and will be the salvation of our prisoners. It isn't a question of hushing up; it is a question of raising our voices to a louder pitch than ever.

If our newly made friends mean it seriously, they will voluntarily come over into our ranks, unconditionally surrendering to truth, and not try to load us down with any of their broken down principles. Our membership is constantly growing, due to our intolerant attitude. The organization is gaining in strength, outwardly and inwardly. Why should we compromise, even an inch? We decline to be hushed up.

The working class and the capitalist class have one thing in common—they always disagree. The disagreement, just now, is very acute.

The historic mission of the working class is to do away with capitalism. And the historic mission of capitalism is to do away with itself. Both missions are meeting with great success.

## Trying to Rush the I. W. W.

**T**HERE is a large element in this country who want a radical change if not a revolution. This element would like to see the change made to suit them with the smallest possible cost to themselves.

The most insistent agitators belong to the upper-class radicals and their object seems to be to stir the working masses into some sort of revolutionary activity, not clearly defined. It seems they have built great hopes on the participation of the I. W. W. They know we are a compact mass of industrial workers, able to manipulate such great affairs as the general strikes in Seattle and Butte, the strike of the silk workers, the strike on the Mesaba Range, and so on, and we are just what they need for their purpose.

For this reason, we have met with an unusual amount of courtesy and consideration of late, but we are sorry to say that we do not consider it disinterested. If these revolutionists were sincere in their friendship for us, they would throw everything aside and help us to build up industrial unionism, but that is exactly what they are not doing to any considerable extent. Their activities are directed on aims that are strange and foreign to us. Some of their adherents in overalls are getting into our ranks because they work in the industries we have organized or because our recruiting unions are open to them, and their activity is frequently annoying to us, as it has little or nothing to do with industrial organization of the workers.

Let it be known again that the I. W. W. is an economic organization which has for its exclusive aim the organizing of the workers industrially, partly for the everyday struggle and mainly with a view to taking over production and distribution. We have no other business and we shall exert ourselves to the utmost to keep the movement along these lines, resisting every attempt of elements strange to us to rush us from our path.

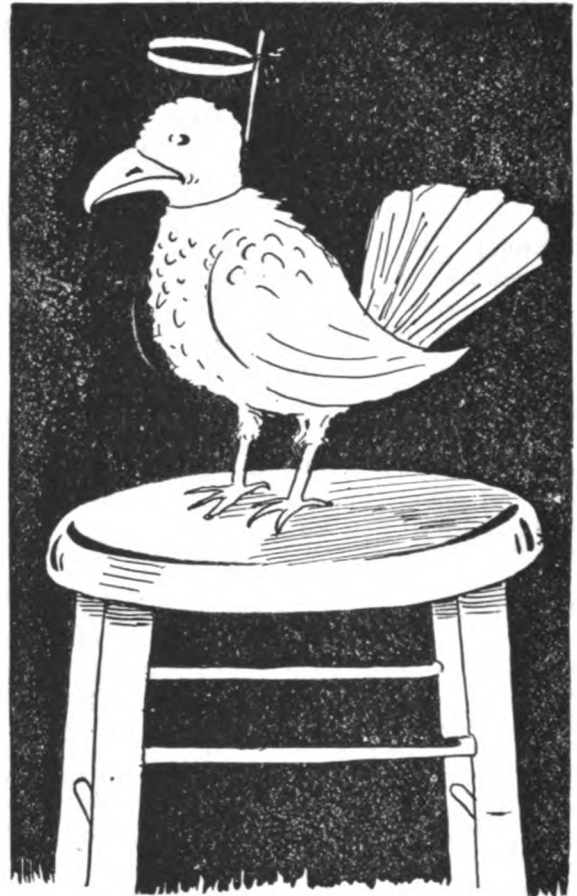
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### JUST FOR FUN.

Parting makes the heart grow stronger, just as persecution makes the I. W. W. grow the same way.

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According to press dispatches: "Influenza epidemic increases 50 per cent." It will have to spread faster than that to catch up with the increases in I. W. W. membership.



**STOOLPIGEON.**  
*(Species: Finkus Scaborium)*  
 An insect found in many lands and is a social scavenger. Some ethnologists claim that the Stoolpigeon bears some remote relation to the human race which contention however, having no scientific foundation is repudiated by the best informed investigators.

---

The reason why armies mutiny is generally that they do not get food, clothing and shelter and wages that will satisfy them. The reason why peoples mutiny is about the same. Capitalism has failed to supply these things of late. Capitalism will have to go.

# The Anti-Syndicalist Laws

**I**N several states, particularly in the West, there have been adopted or are now proposed several so-called anti-syndicalist laws and anti-red flag laws. In order to make these laws more appetizing to an unreasoning multitude, they are called laws against "criminal syndicalism." The wording is of such a nature that the average man takes no exception to them, but it is with these laws as with so many other laws, it isn't the working that decides what they are, it's the motive behind them and the use they are being put to.

Everybody knows that these laws have been made and are intended to be used for the purpose of exterminating the I. W. W., and silencing radical agitators in general. It would of course, not do to say this expressly in the laws, because then they would be called class-laws, but with the machinery of justice completely controlled by our enemies this legislation becomes class-legislation of the most pernicious kind.

Capitalism has now reached the stage where it can no longer stand publicity. Light has to be shut off from the processes of the world as conducted by the capitalist class or there is danger that mankind would take things into their own hands and exterminate capitalism. For that reason, we are being deprived of our "inalienable" right of free speech, of free press, of free assemblage, of free use of the mails and other elementary liberties. Capitalism has reached the stage where it not only is compelled to shut off the light from its doings but production and distribution can no longer be carried on in a normal manner, but only at the point of the bayonet, which is always within easy call if it is not prodding us for the moment. The jail sentences which we have to serve for exposing capitalism and trying to right what is wrong, should properly be served by the capitalists themselves. It isn't syndicalism that is criminal, it is capitalism, and instead of having anti-syndicalist laws, we should have laws against criminal capitalism, if we should have any.

The crime of capitalism is that it appropriates the earth with everything that is on it, and places it all in a few hands. The unborn are robbed. When we come to life, we do not come here any longer as part owners of the earth; we come here disinherited in advance, and condemned to wage slavery under capitalism. The swindling of posterity is a crime that is greater than any crime on the law books, for it throws all mankind into poverty and misery, results in the destruction of the human race, mentally, physically and

morally, and would end with complete degeneration if it were not for the efforts of the workers themselves to put an end to this capitalist crime.

The world is turned upside down under capitalism. The noble fighters for truth, justice and liberty, the champions of the poor and the defenders of the defenseless, are labeled criminals and are lynched, murdered or locked up in jails, while the conspiracy of crook-dom succeeds in draping itself in the cloak of respectability. We hope that this shall be turned right again, that the eyes of man shall be opened and the real criminals be punished.

That is how we feel about it. Another question is what to do under the circumstances. Of course, we all know that capitalism is working out its own destruction and that this state of things cannot last forever. But capitalism works out its own destruction only by oppressing the masses until they take action against it. If we lie down and await developments there is going to be no developments. Capitalism is going to keep the anti-syndicalist laws on its books and is going to enforce them to the limit of its sweet will. In order to bring about the overthrow of capitalist rule, we will have to carry on our agitation in spite of persecution in accordance with these laws. Naturally, we may have to change our methods or we would all be locked up most of the time, but the work of educating, agitating and organizing should not be allowed to stop for a moment. It will have to be done on the job instead of in the public meeting hall, in the union meeting instead of on the street corner, in the home or any other place where we can get in contact with the workers.

Besides, it is not necessary for us to advise you in this matter. Conditions will be so unbearable that you will take proper action without our advice.

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The capitalists believe in the One Big Union principle and live up to it. That is why the workers, organized along craft union lines, are always beaten. Take the lesson to heart.

\* \* \*

Do you believe in liberty, democracy, kindness, justice, decency, and peace for the working class? All these things are embraced in the One Big Union Movement, and have their only hope in its success.

\* \* \*

Under the One Big Union that ever ever tantilising overlapping of unions, involving much expense, will be done away with. And the workers will also get better service for their money.

## Political Socialists

**T**HERE is no question but what the Socialist propaganda carried on by political Socialists in different countries has been of great value in awakening the workers and pulling them away from capitalist thought. But political Socialism has been of no true good to the working-class. For 25 cents initiation fee and 25 cents a month, the political Socialists have sold hope and peace of conscience to their members, requiring of them only that they put a piece of paper in a ballot box every two or four years. Of the mass in general, political leaders have asked nothing except that they throw their vote for the Socialist parties.

Now, if never before, it has become apparent that political Socialism cannot fulfill its promises. In Russia, the political Socialists with Kerensky at their head overthrew the old regime with the sword and not by the vote. Five months later, the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky regime not by votes but with guns and powder. Having reached the goal of all political Socialism, the Bolsheviki did not proceed to establish a new society by means of voting; they dispossessed the property-owning class by force, and even took the lives of a great number of them.

German social democrats, who, we may say, are the initiators of political Socialism, did not vote the old regime out of existence but overthrew it by force. The German Bolsheviki, who are also essentially political Socialists, are now trying to replace their ex-comrades in the government offices not by force of the popular vote, but by the force of swords and machine guns. When the German Bolsheviki get into power, which we hope will be soon, they are almost sure to do as the Russian Bolsheviki when it comes to dispossessing the capitalist class.

In both countries, the political Socialists are finding out that they greatly wronged the I. W. W. and the Syndicalists when they fought against their programs, principles and activities, for after having gotten into power they find that this power is useless when it comes to building a new society. They are now gradually being compelled to reconstruct society along the lines laid down by the I. W. W. Had they devoted themselves earlier to the task of building the new society within the old, they would have saved the people immense

suffering and the new society would be much closer at hand than it now is.

Political Socialism is a failure. The sooner the workingmen in the Socialist political parties see this and join with us in building up industrial organizations, the better it is for all concerned.

## The Probable Reasoning of the Capitalists

**"I** know the world is going to pieces. We cannot hold it together any longer. Capital has multiplied so rapidly since the start of the war, that the working people will not be able to pay the interest on it all. We nearly got them into despair creating rent, interest and profit before the war. Now we have added a couple of hundred billions in war cost on which we want interest in addition to the old. I don't think the working people can do it, even if they wanted to. They would completely break down under the burden.

Anyhow, it is no harm in trying to get what we can of them.

I know they are getting mad and want to take it all away from us and keep it themselves. But we will make them fight for every dollar's worth. If we give in we will have nothing. We will have to go to work. If we do not give in, the worst that could happen to us would be that we lose what we have. We would be no worse off, than if we do give in now. In the meantime we can continue to live without work. I would not go out and fight for my wealth personally; that is dangerous. I might lose my life. But as long as I can hire men to fight for me, I will do that. It increases my profits. Should conditions get so bad that we can no longer increase our wealth, I still will continue to spend my money on hiring others to fight for me. I will keep it up until the last dollar is spent. We are so bad anyhow, that we could not live in the new society with any pleasure. Our spirit would be outlawed in their society. Being that our spirit has no chance to live again, we might as well enjoy ourselves while we have our body and do all the deviltry we can to the new spirit and the people that serve him. As long as there is one of them that will take our money, we will keep them in hot water. And after that good night for us. It would not be so bad if it were not for those I. W. W.s. Those rascals won't take our money. They seem to think that they can do better by leaving it alone. Those fellows are bound to get us in the long run when they get numerous enough, but we are going to keep them back as long as we can. That's the best we can do.

Humanity can go to hell as far as we are concerned."

# Persecution Against the I. W. W.

**I**N looking back over the past few months, we find that the capitalist class and its tools must be really and seriously alarmed at our existence. True, we feel strong, and we are confident the future belongs to us, and we admit that capitalism has everything to fear from us.

Our plain, outspoken purpose is to abolish capitalism, but having announced this purpose we thought we had done it in such a manner that no sensible people would try to resist us or try to beat us down with violence or other means. We thought we had conclusively proven that we are the tools of economic evolution and that the forces in whose service we work are as irresistible as geologic forces, and that the powers that be would see the futility of fighting us on that score. We can understand their trying to resist us in our immediate demands, as capitalists have always done when workers ask for better conditions, but how they can entertain any hope of wiping out the ideas underlying our organization, is past our comprehension.

Still, it has recently been announced publicly by Ralph L. Sisson from Decatur, Ill., here in the city of Chicago, that a fund of \$300,000.00 to begin with, has been raised to back up a movement called "American Anti-Anarchist Ass'n", which has that very thing for its aim. Behind the movement stand such men as ex-President Taft, Senator Overman, Myron T. Herrick, and a lot of other prominent men. The slogan of this new movement was announced to be, "Kill on sight and exterminate their very name."

Recently the brewery interests of this country published a whole page ad in perhaps a thousand papers, or more, depicting us and the so-called Bolsheviks as actual monsters of vicious depravity, anti-social brutes, whose one aim was supposed to be disorder, bloodshed, violence, etc., the result of our activity being all the ills which now beset the country.

Appealing to the patriotism of the American people, they called upon every true-blue American to join them in a war of extermination against us.

When the liquor interests made their last stand for anti-prohibition, they threatened the American people with the direst results, which direst results were Bolshevik and I. W. W. rule. The new organization recently referred to, of which ex-President

Taft is said to be a figure, boasts that it is going to use the services of 14,000 newspapers in this country in their fight against us. The National Security League and similar organizations are also doing their utmost to persecute us. If all this agitation and persecution has not already resulted in wholesale slaughter of our members, it is due simply to the splendid common sense of the American people generally. The same elements that are persecuting us have swindled and betrayed the American people so many times before that they are putting no faith in their propaganda. Still, of course, it has some influence on our lives. To this propaganda is due the murder of several I. W. W. men, etc. Their lying statements about us have also aroused hostility in many places and our members are finding it hard to obtain employment or are treated in an unfair manner, but that is as much as they have accomplished to date. For the rest, the American people are themselves vindicating us in the best possible manner. When the working men of Seattle enter into such a great adventure as the general strike with the plain understanding that the moving factors are I. W. W. and Bolsheviks, it shows they are no longer afraid of us, but are willing to co-operate with us. When the working men of Butte, who only in part belong to our organization, spontaneously placed themselves at our side under the I. W. W. banner, in their late general strike, they gave us the same kind of vindication. That proves to us that if we hold fast to our lines we will continue to gain the respect and the good will of the American workers generally, the only ones that we care about. Not even the soldiers and sailors in uniform have they succeeded in raising against us, for they almost unanimously voted to stand by us when they had the chance to do so in Butte. Still, there is great danger of mob outbreaks in certain places if this persecution is allowed to continue,—outbreaks that will be a blot on American history, and we take this opportunity to submit to the labor press of the country as well as other self-respecting periodicals, whether it might not be well to make a concerted stand against this sort of pogrom propaganda?

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No man ever put faith in the capitalist class without being punished for it. They have neither honor nor decency, and they have no love except for property and the power to protect it.

## Still in Jail

**W**EEK is added to week and month is added to month, and our fellow workers are still in jail. Not only that, but new batches are constantly added for shorter or longer sentences. We wish we could report a let-up in the mad carnival of persecution, but not only does it continue with unabated or increased force, but the very same powers that are putting and keeping us in jail, seem to have instigated or at least tacitly given their endorsement to the basest persecution against our fellow workers inside the jail.

From Leavenworth comes the report that the fellow workers are being brutally maltreated, that they are being deprived of the so-called privileges of prisoners, and that repeated attempts are being made to frame up offenses which could be laid at their door in order to give occasion for a still more intense persecution. The prison guards and their superiors in common with other people, naturally would like to make their task as easy as possible. If they break with this general rule and go to special trouble spending time and energy on thinking up and executing the hundred and one kinds of fiendish deviltry that we have heard of, there must be some outside power prompting them to do it, either by pressure or cash. We know our persecutors and enemies hate us enough to commit any dastardly act against us.

But what is the use of lamenting. The last greeting we have from Leavenworth through a released prisoner is a repetition of the old greeting sent out by Joseph Hillstrom before his execution, namely, "Don't mourn, but organize."

In the meantime, let us review our efforts during the past month in that line. Go to yourself and ask yourself if you have done your share in carrying out the object of that greeting. For every member added to our organization, we take an hour off their sentence, for every new union formed, we take a day off their sentence, but in order to open the jail doors and release our fellow workers, we will have to organize at a much more rapid pace. We must not let the persecution, the raiding and arresting which is daily reported, lessen our efforts at building up the organization. If we do, we have left our fellow workers in jail in the lurch. The whole world is moving with the rapidity of a landslide in the general direction of our aims, but no matter how fast the rest of the world may move, unless we in this country also are moving there is nothing going to happen. What-

ever the capitalist class, the ruling class, undertakes, it does under pressure. If we let up, if we let the pressure go down, they will strengthen their hold and increase the pressure on us. The only way to make them relax their hold, the only way to drive them back, is for us to increase the pressure on them by adding to the strength of our organization.

In this connection, allow us to repeat again, that there is money lacking for the defense, and money is needed for the support of the prisoners families and for the weekly allowance to the prisoners. The strongbox of the General Defense Committee is practically empty, and cries out to you to step in and help. Donations for these purposes are always in order, and will be cheerfully accepted even from those who are not members of our organization.

## The Fog Horn in the Storm

**A**NYBODY can sail a ship in a light breeze and in clear sunshine, but when it storms, when the fog is thick, when the rocks and the breakers are near, then it is difficult.

The working-class of every country is at the present time traversing the most dangerous water it has ever been into, and never before has it weathered a storm so tremendous as the present one; never before has the social ocean been in such a deep fog as just now.

To be the fog-horn of these dangerous waters is the mission of the I. W. W. Most every sound that pierces the mist and enters the ear of the worker comes from the deceitful sirens who would lure them to destruction. The I. W. W. alone is a pure working-class organization. It consists of working-men exclusively. It has exclusively working-class aims. It has the permanent welfare of the working-class for its aim and could have nothing else, being composed of workers. We cannot possibly be accused of having any aims and purposes strange to and detrimental to the workers. There would be no sense in our having them. It is as natural for us, as workers, to have working-class aims as it is for other classes not to have working-class aims. The I. W. W. guides and directs the working-class ship into safe waters, no matter what the sufferings may be in getting there. Those who place their faith in the hands of their own kind will never have occasion to regret it. Those who buy temporary ease by following the voices of sirens will find with consternation that some day they are on the rocks, led to miserable shipwreck by movements and tendencies actuated by the selfish motives of people from other classes.

# Slipping in with the Sack

**I**N our previous issue we had occasion to show how Standard Oil is trying to slip into heaven with its sack on its back, and in order to do that they are willing to strike some sort of compromise with labor by admitting them to industrial representation.

It seems that the Standard Oil, as a representative of capitalism, is not the only party who is trying to jump the fence into the new society in these days. Everybody is calling for unity and co-operation against the common enemy. We, the I. W. W., are from all sources importuned to submerge ourselves, and to refrain from all sorts of criticism, in order not to offend. All that is needed now is unity, it is said, and the common enemy capitalism is going to be done for.

We are requested to abstain from criticising Bolshevism, we are urgently requested to pander to the socialist party, to keep peace with the anarchists, to leave the American Federation of Labor alone, to be lenient against the church people, to believe the capitalist class is not as bad as it is painted, etc., etc.

Frankly we are getting tired of this.

The I. W. W. has a mission to perform. It proposes to organize a new society within the old; it proposes to organize the whole world industrially, so that people shall have food, clothing and shelter. In fact, we have made it our exclusive business to order world production and distribution in a manner that will keep the world going when capitalism breaks down. If anybody stands in our way he will have to get out. We do not want any half friends who try to smuggle their respective sacks into the heaven of the new society, because we do not want to live in any society of a different kind from that outlined in the I. W. W. program.

We think that other people ought to acknowledge their mistakes without hope of leniency. Least of all ought they to ask intellectual leniency and spiritual mercy of us who have several hundred of our members in jail for a large number of years with more of them to come. We have proven that we are as good as our word, that we are willing to go the limit in defense of our principles, why should we be courtseying for the good will of spirits who strive for different things.

If you mean it earnestly with your frequently expressed sympathy, you will not only come out wholeheartedly in our defense, but you will be thankful for any criticism of you, believing that it is earnestly meant and given in good faith.

If you want to set us right on any point, if you are able to do so, do so without clemency. We ask it as a favor. But we reserve the right not only to expound our own program, but to attack tendencies that in our eyes are erroneous. We ask for no pardon, and there is certainly none given us. We give none ourselves. Not because we are naturally cruel, but because it is always better to speak the truth as you see it, than to obey all the trespassing signs. These trespassing signs may hide something that is worth knowing. We will go for them no matter what the risk is.

The new society is not going to be a compromise society embodying all the nostrums of the past. It is going to be the society of the most logical thought. We do not want social democracy, we do not want anarchy, we do not want government ownership, we do not want capitalism; we want industrial democracy, or bust. If you want to help us—all right. If you do not want to help us, it is also all right. We will take it anyhow, for we are the industrial workers.

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## POINTED QUESTIONS.

The combinations of capital are now larger, stronger, and more interlocked than ever before. When will labor combinations be likewise?

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Congress appropriates one billion dollars to finance a "war" corporation to stimulate and stabilize foreign trade; but not one cent for U. S. Employment Bureaus? Treating Capital and Labor alike; eh?

\* \* \*

All over the country, as in the Brooklyn, N. Y., shoeworkers' strike, bosses unions of workingmen are getting the cold shoulder for the real article. Good sign, indicating wisdom and sense; don't you think so?

\* \* \*

The great increase in strikes should leave no doubt about the efficacy of arbitration awards and the identity of interests that exist between capital and labor. Their mutual affection is beautiful; isn't it?

Gompers is quoted in cable dispatches as saying: "It is our hope that after the peace is signed the workers will no longer be slaves, but will be able to live the lives of free men." He sees what the workers of Europe are doing, of course. As far as his own vestpocket union, American Federation of Labor, is concerned, it is built on the continuance of wage slavery, and is a great obstacle in the road of those American workers who would make the workers free men.

Gompers preaching of liberty and freedom is like a pickpocket preaching of uprightness and honesty.

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Lots of people want a revolution, but the trouble is that most of them want a revolution that will benefit hem personally even if the mass has got to suffer.



Labor Needs No Don Quijote



# The Little Rebel Speaks

BY ---

CLASS WAR PRISONER No. 13,104  
Leavenworth, Kansas.

I'm very blue and lonesome, 'cause I miss my Dada so!  
They came and took him from me such a long, long time ago,  
And it always makes me feel this way whenever evening nears,  
For it seems he hasn't kissed me for a hundred million years.

I think about him all the time, for since he went away  
He's got a number on his back, and wears a suit of grey.  
He is locked up in an iron cell far from the air and light,  
But he's my dada, and I know such things aren't right.

He was handcuffed in the courtroom, and we all were feeling sad  
When he went right down and kissed me—it's the last, last kiss I had!  
My Dada is a rebel, and I'm proud to know he's true,  
But I like to tear that prison down, that's what I'd like to do!

That funny thing called "justice" must have got an awful smudge  
From those heavy-jawed detectives and that old grey-head judge.  
I wonder if some grown-up folks know what they're driving at,  
For even little children when they play don't do such things as that.

We used to roam and feed the squirrels and ramble through the park  
Or row upon the big lagoon till a long time after dark;  
And in the woods, when coming home, he'd kiss away my fears,  
But now he hasn't kissed me for a hundred million years!

He'd tell me dandy stories, too, about wild bears and things  
And pirate ships and Indians, and workingmen and kings,  
And I would take in every word, while sitting on his knee;  
Somehow I felt so happy then—as happy as can be.

I don't care what some people say, I know he isn't bad,  
He's just about the finest pal a fellow ever had.  
I made him promise not to stay and keep us long in doubt,  
And to make me lots and lots of toys as soon as he gets out.

I love my mother, O! so much—with all my heart and might,  
But sometimes when she tucks me up and kisses me good-night  
I feel so awful lonesome then—I can't keep back the tears;  
My Dada hasn't kissed me for a hundred million years!

# Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow

By ROBERT A. BRUNER

Part I. Yesterday.

**Y**ESTERDAY I was a blind, rebellious, oppressed, aristocratic slave cleaving to a philosophical hash which would send me to hell when I died, if I raised myself to a more endurable position in my work. Yesterday I was called a **success** by those other slaves immediately above me who were as madly pursuing "pelf and place" as was I. But yesterday, while I knew I was a slave, I never admitted it to anyone, for by such a course of action I would be condemned by my own peers and by my own philosophy as a **failure**. Therefore I kept up the galling attempt to reconcile my unbearable position with the "philosophically true state" which embraced "ethics," "personal charm," "initiative," "skill," "adaptability" and any number of other **qualifications** which **may have** represented ideas but which **really did** represent whips to keep me in my place by teaching me to "co-operate" (oh, crowning lie of all!) with those slaves immediately **above** me; always those **above**. It is true that those **below** were affected but the weight I was on them did not concern me in my mad rush for individual relief.

I was living a paradoxical life. The affairs about me were managed on an efficient basis. I knew it, without pausing to realize that those above were the beneficiaries while those below did the work. In other words, the work done at the lower strata of society tended always to benefit the upper strata of society, thus adding to the abundance of the "good things of life" they already possessed. While I had more than I had ever possessed before in life, my wants were greater than they had ever been, and I saw more misery about me in the midst of more affluence than I had ever seen before.

My intelligence was under the spell of an opiate or I should have discovered that we ourselves had brought about an efficiency in development of the vast resources of nature to the highest extent, but that the workers who had produced these results did not reap the harvests of their labor. Neither did I see that every act of my life had been the act of an **individual** to better the **individual** place I occupied. Such admission would obviously have conceded selfishness, and selfishness by my philosophy would have been damnation. Yet such was the case. Each act was prompted by the desire to better **myself**. Why should I not have been doing that very thing? It was a natural thing to do. Every one of my fellow workers was doing exactly as I, garbing with various cloaks this direct contradiction to the philosophy of "noble self-denial."

There was but one acceptable explanation to this course of action; that of "business efficiency," words which condemned those above and enslaved

us more completely.

"Business efficiency" caused each individual to spur himself to the utmost to contribute those wonderful products of his brain and hands till the world has reached the full flower of "business efficiency." The brains and hands of people such as I, have contributed these things to the world till the world is indeed a wonderful place in which to dwell. Yet the people who have contributed collectively do not have the use of their collective contributions, unless they secure it individually by paying cash for it.

In my slavery of yesterday; individual strife was the only way of solving the problem of living, I thought. Any other way was the idle dream of a Utopian or of a discontented **failure**, who was eccentric enough to imagine he could give any explanation for his individual state other than that of not being able to cope with conditions of the business world in which only the most efficient (to the business interests) may survive. My thought did not go farther than individuals. No suggestion of the power of all individuals organized into one potential workers' union ever crept into my benumbed mind. Therefore I dressed myself the way these failures (?) **didn't** and the way those above me **did**. It was a balmy reward to find that the shoes priced for my masters' purses felt better on my feet and consequently made me more efficient, by removing the trifling yet constant irritations of discomfort. I could display more of those qualities which won for me the approval of my only judges, those **above**. It is true that those below played their part; but, to quote one of my fellow slaves (who would be horrified at such classification), the judgment was based on "how they reacted to my efforts." This reaction, I might add, when taken down to its last analysis, meant the greatest amount of work with the least amount of resistance to slavery. Thus I went on in my pursuit, grasping for the material relief of good clothes, good food, attractive surroundings—all of which could be procured with cash. In my mind the tatters of the rag of my philosophy were fluttering in ever shorter shreds. Just enough of the threadbare emblem remained to keep my combative tendencies busy condemning those of my fellow slaves who resorted to methods I could not excuse. I still held to the idea of individual fairness to the individual and censured bitterly those who selected qualities in myself or others as pretexts to shove us aside so that the "shovers" could get a gasp of freedom. It was even worse to secure the good things of life by means of pure "personal charm," as was often done in the matrimonial market,— and in other

markets not of a sex nature.

It never occurred to me that the smiles I gave those above me were often in direct similarity except less productive in immediate results of cash or "honorable position" and that they were proportionately more contemptible than the serious evils of society. And while I yielded my allegiance only where it was least irksome, still I yielded it, and while I still talked of personal independence, **thinking** of it became more infrequent. I blinded myself to the fact that I had but sought a more comfortable slave-master, who with all of us was slave to "business efficiency." Neither did my intelligence piece together the chaotic mosaic of individual conflicts, into which I threw myself. That these conflicts were for the masters' benefit I did not know. Like others of the unawakened slaves, I could not know that as long as we fought among ourselves, the system of "business efficiency" was safe from our joint attack. A shortsighted sense of self-preservation lost me the greater and more distant vision of what such united action would have meant. Of course, I could not see that conflicts of any nature between individuals was tacitly encouraged. These fights among ourselves served a great purpose for the powerful until carried beyond a certain point. Beyond this scientific point labelled "Stop, thus far and no further," a conflict militated against the labor power of the slave. Therefore checks on excessive contentions had to be imposed. These checks were cunningly devised. They were camouflaged under the paint of morality, of religion, of law, social welfare, of family ties, yes even of love. No thought or emotion was too sacred but that it could be spread out to cloak the real purposes and motives of the masters' minions. Like other phases of development, these very checks resulted in efficiency of the worker, the rewards of which went largely to those above.

Loss of prestige and consequent loss of place or a shifting to a lower form of slavery,—that is, to a place where one must suffer more humiliation and pain (and draw less cash)—these losses and shifts did not always result in insanity or suicide. When they did so result I, in common with millions, decried the act as an individual misfortune or error which I must seek to avoid personally) and I went on blind to the increasing strength of the cause and its effect on me and my fellow slaves. I could not see that it required generations to bring this state about, and I could not conceive that there were those who might realize a greater freedom in open defiance to the miserable life of slavery where only those who smothered rebellion were "**respectable.**" Respectability! When was there a filthier garment to cover the nakedness of the putrid body of competition!

Late yesterday I was unaware of these facts. But every day has its midnight and after that begins the new day. Yesterday had its midnight. In the deep blackness of the hour, I could behold the futility of hoping for personal liberty while serving in slavery. To prate of independence would be but

making discordant noise upon my chains. I hated and rebelled but I must admit myself a slave in mind and in body if I went on. Preferring death to the continuance of slavery but fearing a more intolerable future, the dark found me sick and blind.

My old philosophies came creeping round like hypocritical quacks to prescribe for my malady. I would have none of them. Too often had they duped me. And then came the dawn of today!

Its dawn I frankly dreaded lest it prove another yesterday—another hypocrisy. Still as the light grew stronger I saw what I had not seen before. I looked at my master, and the master of my fellow slaves, in the face. I gazed at him searchingly and recognized the hideous pretender as my foe with whom his slaves had nothing in common, nor could have. Greed and lust were his characteristics. I saw that in him there was no real power, tho he exercised all power. I saw that the real power had always been in us, his slaves. I shook myself. Was I waking to reality or dreaming a futile dream? No, I was awake. I was awake but still a slave. The only difference in my situation was that I knew the perfidious rot of the master. I knew I was still, as an individual, in his possession, but in my mind there is no terror. His is the terror, for I see his eyes fixed on various groups of my fellow slaves who are waking. The grim spectre's power is a phantasm. His power is unreal. It exists only in the minds of us, his slaves.

Displacing my yesterday's fear of being unsuccessful in business is a high, calm courage. In us is the power! His prey is we, ourselves. Without us, whose wants are denied satisfaction, he cannot exist. We are to blame for our robbery because of a fearful adulation to the idol of our blind sloth! But that idol cannot endure! His terror inspired and inspiring acts are precipitating his fall. Therefore I take today as my ruling motive, that of assisting in the work of relieving oppression for all but united we can say to each other:

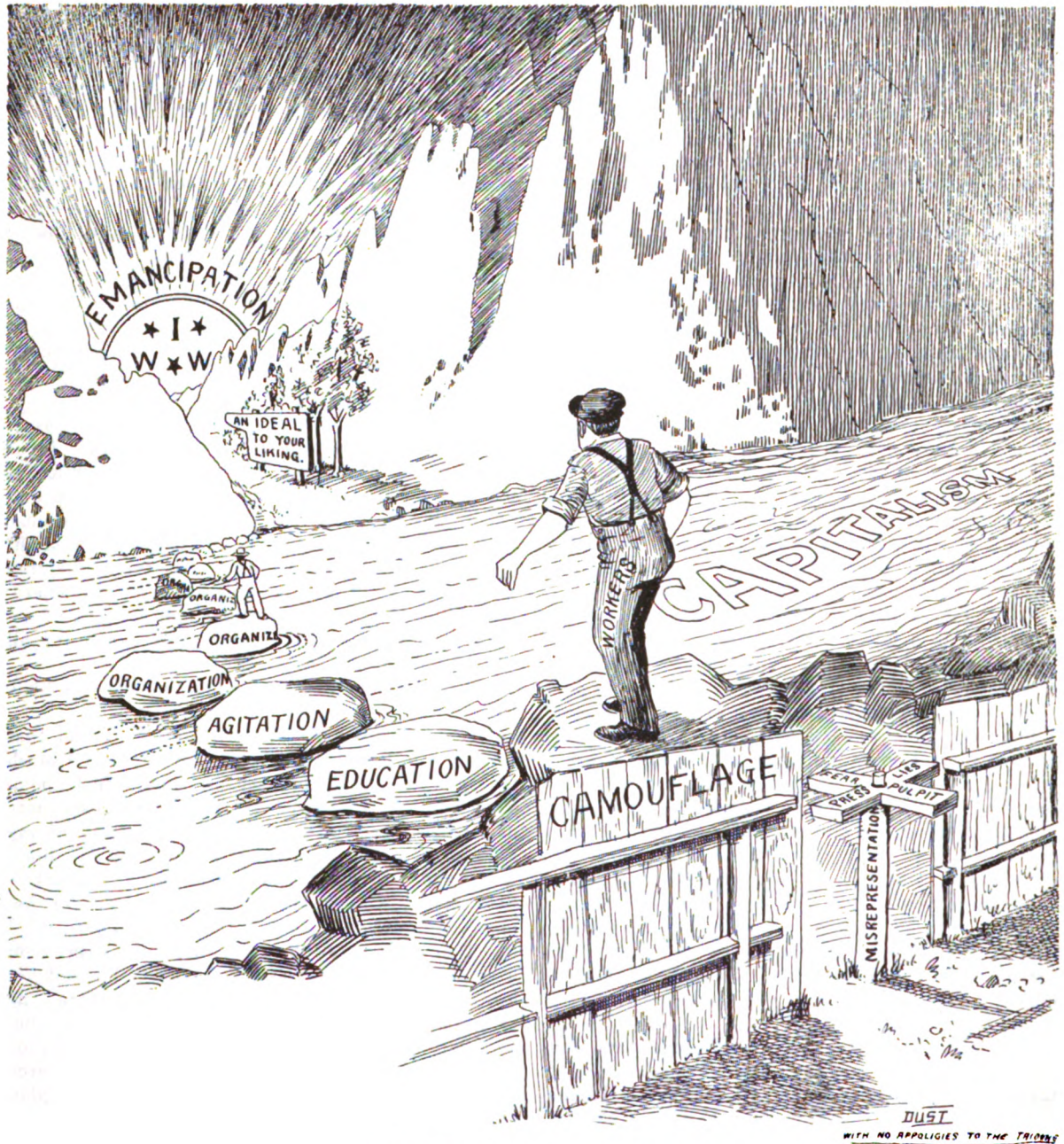
It is true that a single individual can do little time.

"Ye are many, and they are few!" I find that I am late in learning the truth. So late that I blush at my mental incompetence. I should feel apologetic but that I can account for it—not extenuate or excuse it—and that I can see so many of my kind around and about me still degraded by abject ignorance. In short, there is such a productive field laying fallow, that I have no time for be-moaning procrastination of the past. Moreover, I find that as remotely as 1848 there was expression of real truth and the resulting activity has not yet awakened every sleeping slave. Therefore the program is—work! But not for the master; no, we shall work for ourselves. There are many of us today who see the utter depravity of the force which holds us slaves. There is a constructive plan for perfecting our condition in life. There are principles which cannot be repudiated by tyrants above nor by Judas's below.

Yet, in order to be practical in eliminating this monstrous chimera, we must placate him while we seek to throttle him lest he direct our more abjectly blind fellow-workers against invincible truth. This truth cannot be vanquished. Instead, any onrush against it must result in the destruction of the offensive. We would not see our fellow workers destroyed in a blind effort to perpetuate a foul system which at best can only be prolonged but briefly. We realize that as individuals we must live in order to be strong for united action.

While we feed the foul fiend, we do so knowing that we follow the line of least resistance to our-

selves. We shall conserve the strength of our minds and bodies by caring for them. Taking food for growth and exercising "at the point of production" on every opportunity, we shall resist petty individual irritations in our onward march to solidarity. We shall keep an intelligent eye on the fallow fields already broken by tyranny and oppression. We shall keep a high purpose in view, never swerving till we reach the goal. Then, when the moment comes that we can free ourselves at the least cost to our class, the working class, we shall act valiantly and we shall be free.



STEPPING STONES

# The Life of Democracy—A Reply

By L. E. FERGUSON

(The point of view which is here suggested by way of reply to the article in the March issue by Harold Lord Varney is one that I hope to find the opportunity to develop affirmatively in these pages in the near future. Meanwhile I must content myself with a brief negative of certain implications of Fellow Worker Varney's argument as respects Socialism and the Socialists.)

I am using the title of the article of last month, otherwise I would have chosen to phrase it "The Death of Democracy." As the article so accurately emphasizes, the new thing that is being born in Russia is not a novelty of governmental forms, to be classified on the old standards of monarchism, republicanism or democratism. It is instead the bursting asunder of the shell of capitalism and the emergence of the civilization of the proletariat. Everything about it is of new life, curiously strange, and yet inarticulate of its own genius. We know only that it is born of a deep passion for freedom and justice, and that it must speak the heart of those who toil. It is life of our life, bone of our bone—it is born of the blood and hopes of the struggling proletariat of the world . . . That new life of humanity, we have no old names by which to call it. Proletarianism, yes, dictatorship of the proletariat, a new mastery of human destinies. But to what end? No doctrine of politics now known to humanity is that of this new life; no doctrine of industrialism. It is plastic, of potentialities staggering to the imagination made fearful by the old social habitude. We can only look toward Russia as the pilgrim toward his shrine of faith, reverently, hopefully, joyfully . . .

The Bolshevik Revolution is confused in its two stages of revolution, then social reconstruction. The attempt to "hog the market" of propagandizing the Russian Revolution in the United States for the I. W. W. is leading to excesses which ought to be checked right now, else these excesses will accomplish injury to the American Socialist movement. This does not mean to repudiate the claims of the I. W. W. to any extent, but to controvert the negative proposition that **all of the American revolutionary socialist movement is and necessarily must be within the folds of the I. W. W.**

Mind, now, I am in the I. W. W. because of my high consciousness of its revolutionary calibre, impressed by the plain record of frontier labor fighting of a kind so determined and so essentially noble that it is my only pride today in calling myself American. I could not remain with spiritual contentment outside the ranks of the organization which bears the brunt of the most terrific onslaught against the advancing forces of the American proletariat. For months I chafed under the feeling that to be outside the I. W. W. at this time was to be out of the fighting in the class war. To use a military comparison, as a Socialist I felt like a Red

Cross warrior; a stray shell might come our way, and we had quite a list of casualties, but the trench fighting was being done by the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is the liveliest thing in the **American Socialist movement**, therefore, truly, the **GREATEST THING ON EARTH** for the American working class. But note that Fellow Worker Varney writes of the I. W. W., in relation to the Bolshevik Revolution, as **true Socialism**. In other words, in so far as the I. W. W. is a movement for revolution it is a true Socialist movement. As an industrial organization the I. W. W. represents the best form of unionism, indeed the only form capable of meeting the concentrated power of present day Capitalism. Getting results "on the job" is the business end of the I. W. W. Getting rid of the job and the masters—the business of revolution—is the ideal of many who are active in the organization; it is, at this time, the dominating spirit of the organization. **It is not inherent in the organization.**

The coincidence that the Soviet form of government corresponds with the broad conception of industrial unionism as the basis of a new industrialism does not prove that the Russian Revolution was an I. W. W. revolution. It was **Bolshevik** revolution, resulting in a form of industrial organization which corresponds to the form urged by the I. W. W. as the best form of unionism to win immediate battles against the bosses for more pay and shorter hours.

When the same organization carries on the business of unionism and the business of revolution at the same time, it is more than likely, when it becomes overburdened, to throw overboard the more remote job in favor of the more immediate one. Revolution is a political proposition, or, if you please, anti-political. Its direct task is the overthrow of the capitalist state, the bulwark of capitalist industrialism. There is no question in the world but that the I. W. W. form of labor organization is the most powerful possible weapon for the overthrow of the capitalist state, because of its adaptability to great mass protests and mass movements of the proletariat. But only **an organization with the sole aim of revolution** can take the responsibility for leadership in this fight.

To put this another way, it is only the temper of the present membership of the I. W. W. which accounts for its revolutionary character. (And I will add that it is not because they are **proletarians**, but because they are **rebels**.) Without this control, there is nothing in the world to prevent the I. W. W. from becoming a machine for job results, like the A. F. of L., except in its greater effectiveness, or up-to-date-ness.

My point of attack is the twisting of legitimate criticism against Socialist parliamentarianism into

a dismissal of Socialism and the Socialist movement. Bolshevism was honest Socialism—and this by no means is non-existent in the United States. What I want Fellow Worker Varney to do is to help nourish and build up an honest Socialist movement in the United States, instead of evading the issue by trying to crowd the whole working class movement for power and dominance into the single mould of industrial unionism.

The Bolsheviks are indeed **political** Socialists. They are no compromisers, they have no illusions about parliamentary action and its role in the class struggle. The Socialist Party of most countries, assuming a dual role such as the I. W. W. now carries, of getting immediate results and revolution at the same time, became stranded on the reefs of immediate gains. Socialists talked the Communist Manifesto of 1847, with its challenge of proletarian revolution, but they acted only to get results now—"on the job" of politics. Results on the job are not revolution; in fact, they are often the strongest bulwark against revolution, as the results heretofore won by the trade unionists. And it cannot possibly make any real difference how the results are won, whether by strikes or by legislation, except that the discipline of strikes is of itself a thing of inestimable value—if it is **propelled toward revolution**. Strikes, bigger strikes, and bigger strikes do not make a revolution. Strikes for conquest of political power are splendid weapons of revolution. That is where the Bolsheviks come in. They are the men and women who are banded together on the proposition of combining all the fighting forces of the working class for use toward the revolution—this proposition and no **immediate** purpose upon which to rest the fight.

I am confident that most of the members of the I. W. W. are good Bolsheviks. I know that many are not. Some say the organization is **neutral** on politics! Think of it, the front trench soldiers of the class war, **neutral** as to the present capitalist government of the United States! Well, those magnificent fighters at Sacramento, who defied the Government of the United States in its holy of holies—the Federal court—were a long way from neutral!

Every **rebel** in the I. W. W., every **rebel** in the Socialist Party, every **rebel** in the S. L. P., every **rebel** in the A. F. of L., and every other **rebel** who wants to commit himself to the politics of Bolshevism, should find a common meeting ground in some organization dedicated to the single purpose of overthrowing the capitalist state by the mass power of the American proletariat. The criticisms which I. W. W. writers make against the Socialist Party are made more bitterly and more persistently by those within the Socialist ranks who realize that the party has long since ceased to be an organ of revolution. But that does not get us away from the fundamental fact that some organization must exist for the sole purpose of carrying forward the challenge of the Communist Manifesto of 1847. If the American Socialist Party is beyond redemption

for this purpose, let all rebels unite in a new organization.

The job ahead of us is too big and fearful, too clearly projected in the warm blood of fellow workers and comrades, to warrant attempts to divide our forces now by antagonistic theoretical claims. It is silly to classify men and women as of revolutionary caliber according to their classification in present-day industry. The jibe at the Socialist whose fate in the first twenty years of his life allowed him to get an education, or who happened to earn or inherit some property, is a form of bigotry which shocks me in so exceptionally able a writer as Fellow Worker Varney. Even a "sky pilot" honestly headed toward the heaven of a proletarian revolution, if he unclasses himself, ought to be greeted as a man—a man worthy of the fellowship which he seeks among those who toil. Be wary of such leadership, yes indeed. Leadership, for instance, such as has stultified our American Socialist Party. But that is largely accounted for by the un-proletarian basis of the party propaganda, the political fakery under which it has invited the petty bourgeoisie and repelled the revolutionary proletariat.

Coming back now, by way of summary, let me call to mind the widely distributed pamphlet "The Truth About the I. W. W.," made up of quotations from eminently able students of broad sympathies who had made a special study of this organization, including John Graham Brooks, Robert W. Bruere, John A. Fitch, Carleton H. Parker, Thorstein Veblen and George P. West. The selection of the material came directly under the charge of Roger N. Baldwin, who has shown rebel staunchness of the highest order. What did these investigators conclude? That there was next to no **inherent** relation between the I. W. W. **work** and the I. W. W. **propaganda**. On the back cover is this quotation from the President's Mediation Commission: "Membership in the I. W. W. by no means implies belief in or the understanding of its philosophy. To the majority of the members it is a bond of groping fellowship. . . . The I. W. W. is seeking results by dramatizing evils and by romantic promises of relief."

This pamphlet was used by the organization in its campaign for defense funds. I do not think anyone would gainsay its scientific accuracy, only I am quite sure that the recent court experiences and the inspiration of the Russian Revolution have quickly awakened the membership to revolutionary understanding. But assuming a large recruiting of membership into the I. W. W. from the A. F. of L., on the practical basis of better and surer results "on the job" through the industrial form of organization, what would then be the situation?

\* \* \*

The United States needs an organization based on the aim of getting rid of the political institutions which force the toilers to pit their starving power against the masters' profits for such gains

as may be won "on the job" to mitigate the degradations of Capitalism. Toward that end the I. W. W. is functioning today mightily. But the I. W. W. and its members must seek unity with all elements, and the use of any and all methods which meet the test of revolutionary appropriateness, toward the goal of a proletarian-dominated United States. Let the discrimination be made between one kind of Socialist and another. That Plechanov, Kautsky, Thomas, Walling, Spargo and Russell spurned the Bolshevik triumph proves nothing against Socialism. A reckoning must be made of Lenine, Trotsky, Liebknecht, Luxembourg, McLean, Gene Debs—but why

name individuals? There are millions upon millions in the rank and file of the Socialist International who have not wavered from the call to revolution issued by those dauntless exiles of 1847. Who will rally these men and women in America under the red flag of world proletarian solidarity? Who, if not intrepid rebels who now make the I. W. W. a thing of inspiration and hope?

Will the I. W. W. go the way of all flesh and devote itself only to its purposes "on the job"? Or will it seek unity of the American revolutionary elements in the bigger task of overwhelming the forces of American capitalism?

## A Reply to a Reply

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY.

THE criticisms of Mr. Ferguson are characteristic. I. W. W. opponents have been uttering them for years. I. W. W. doubters have found these the reefs upon which they have lost their faith. They are fundamental and they bring out in relief all the wavering questionings which have kept revolutionists out of the I. W. W. ranks. Therefore, the discussion is timely and a consideration of Mr. Ferguson's paper will be a constructive and needed act.

Perhaps the best way to characterize his intellectual attitude would be to call it "European." Like the Left Wingers of the Socialist Party; like the editors and writers of the REVOLUTIONARY AGE and the CLASS STRUGGLE; like the Eastmans, the Nearings and the Frainas of our American movement, my critic is obsessed with Russia. To him, the Bolsheviks and their mass action revolutions are like dazzling, fiery suns which blind and obscure all rivals. Because the revolution came in Russia by the pathway of mass action, he reasons that America must follow suit with slavish imitation. Because in Russia it was Bolshevism which "got the goods," therefore, he reasons, let us discard our belief in the One Big Union and change ourselves into American Bolsheviks.

Without emphasizing the apparent inconsistency of Mr. Ferguson when he accuses us in one breath of attempting to "hog the market of propagandizing the Russian Revolution in the United States" and in the next, of not following the example of Bolshevik tactics as we should, I wish to state briefly and emphatically, the true I. W. W. attitude toward the Bolshevik Russian movement.

As proletarians, we I. W. W.'s rejoiced at the Lenine triumph. As proletarians, we have unwaveringly supported the Bolshevik regime in all our propaganda. Those of our members who happened to be in Russia when the October Revolution came (and there were thousands of them) were all found in the Bolshevik army. Bill Shatoff, Volodarsky, Martoff, Kornuk and others who have been leaders in the Bolshevik army were all old members of the

I. W. W. In brief then, were we in Russia, all I. W. W.'s would be Bolsheviks.

But from this it does not necessarily follow that in America, the I. W. W. must turn Bolshevik also. We fail to see the logic of those enthusiastic minds which dismiss so easily the abysmal differences of national genius. We realize that mass action won in Russia. Does it necessarily follow that it will win in America?

As materialists, we must agree that revolutions are the offspring of economic conditions. The forms of revolutions are determined by economic causes. If these conditions vary, the resultant revolutions will be dissimilar. And who can question that the economic life of Russia and of the United States presents a total contrast?

Great revolutionary movements do not sprout from theory; they are the product of spontaneous growth. In Russia, the revolutionary urge grew into mass action; in the United States it grew into industrial unionism. That mass action has already gained the power in Russia does not prove its superiority; an historical accident gave it the chance to win first.

Anyone who is familiar with the history of the American labor movement knows that the I. W. W. was the product of all the revolutionary urges of America. It was the culmination of a host of similar experiments which had preceded it. At the organizing convention in 1905, the I. W. W. formed itself by an amalgamation of several of these organizations. Thus, though new, the I. W. W. could truthfully trace itself back through all the revolutionary traditions of American history. And an idea which, like the One Big Union idea, has been so hauntingly persistent in every program of the past, must have nourished itself upon economic realities and followed a goal of undeniable economic truth.

Mr. Ferguson's proposition is that after all these years of struggle, we should now discard this One Big Union goal and unite with political socialists to create an American Bolshevik. And in that proposal he demonstrates the impractical artless-

ness of the Left Winger. The I. W. W. is a socialist who is a materialist. The Left Winger is a socialist who is an ideologist. The I. W. W. seeks for verities and for concrete, ponderable power. The Left Winger follows the intoxicating dreams of his own imaginations.

For long and stricken years the revolutionary unionists of this country have attempted to gain ECONOMIC POWER. Well have they realized that movements based upon emotion will come and go with all the fleeting uncertainty of the clouds. Well have they known that, in the final analysis, it is he who wields the flail of economic might who is the arbiter of revolutions. At last, at an almost deadly cost, the I. W. W. has attained a vestige of economic power. It has "penetrated" the essential industries of the country. The future is radiant with a promise of unprecedented growth. And it would seem that this movement of ours has caught the very essence of the American revolutionary spirit, for its name has a magic which has lured thousands to sacrifices unbelievable. Shall we now forego our certain future to follow the *IGNIS FATUUS* of the Left Wingers' dream?

But Mr. Ferguson rejoins that the I. W. W. is not big enough. That we should seek unity with other "revolutionists." That we need something broader in America; something which will take in all the forces which are willing to work for Bolshevism.

Of course, the I. W. W. wants unity. But we will have no unity with any who are not willing to accept the proletarian conception of socialism. We will have no unity with any who do not belong to our class. And we will have no unity with any who flinch at the "radicalism" of our program. By all means let us have a broad movement but let Mr. Ferguson or any other doubter specify how any purely working class movement can be broader than the I. W. W. is today. Has he read the Preamble? Can he conceive a broader platform upon which to rally the workers of America? It has been my experience in the past that those who clamored in the I. W. W. for "broader movements" were really eaten by the fact that the I. W. W. is too broad. Their substitutes, when analyzed, have usually withered into some dogmatic creed, in which the working class would find a prison, not a revolution.

And similarly, Mr. Ferguson. As we read his criticism of our narrowness, we wonder curiously what Fortunatus purse of wonder he is planning to flash. But when he becomes concrete, we learn wearily that his remedy is naught but our time-honored old opponent—political action. And such would be his step—from the "narrowness" of the One Big Union, Mr. Ferguson would lead us to the vasty domains of one big political party.

I shall not allow myself to be drawn into a discussion of this matter. The I. W. W. is not anti-political. Its members are free to be members of the Socialist Party and thousands of us, the writer

included, do carry Socialist cards. But I believe that we all feel, as even Mr. Ferguson himself expresses it, that the difference between our S. P. membership and our I. W. W. membership is the difference between the labors of the Red Cross and the actual fighting in what Lenine has described as "the iron battalions of the proletariat." And those of us who have been in the I. W. W. for any length of time, cannot but feel that we would hardly make our movement any stronger if we weakened its stern rigours in order to lure the timorous "Red Crossers" of the Socialist Party or Left Wing Socialist movement. Numbers have not made the I. W. W. Numbers, if those numbers be won by compromise, may bring us weakness rather than support.

Those great masses whom Mr. Ferguson sees outside the I. W. W., are outside of the I. W. W. because they will not pay the price. We can secure unity with them only upon their terms, not ours. And such a unity we, as revolutionists, spurn. We want no socialists who gone in raptures over Russia but who remain cold to the challenge of their own people. We want no bourgeoisie who, in the great phrase of Tolstoi, "will do anything for the workers except to get off their backs." The broadest labor movement in the world was that which was formed in Chicago in 1905. Let our Left Wingers prove their sincerity and the doors of that movement await them.

But then Mr. Ferguson makes another indictment. We are not revolutionary. We are merely a union. We are obsessed with immediate demands. It is only the temper of our membership which accounts for our present revolutionary attitude. But we are not an organization "with the sole aim of revolution."

Were Mr. Ferguson a Marxian, he would not have reached this conclusion. For again he is trapped by his ideological mind. Once again he reveals that to him a revolution is a thing of phrases, of formulae and of manifestoes. Like the average Left Winger, he believes that it is more important to say that one is a revolutionist, than to be one.

The social revolution is not a thing of theories. It is merely the final act of working class organization. It is the historic mission of the working class to mount to supreme power. They do this, not by debating nor by marching in the street; they do this by the slow process of organization. In their union halls, the workers learn class consciousness. In their union halls the workers learn self-government. In their union halls, the workers are disciplined and solidified for the "final conflict." Every strike is a revolution in miniature. Every gain which organized workers make, by a CONSCIOUS act of their own, weakens capitalism and is revolutionary. In short, the union movement is the school house of the new society.

I know that the average political socialist scoffs at the backwardness of the union movements. But such an attitude is superficial. Our ideal of a new



society is of an industrial DEMOCRACY. This implies that the workers must have learned the art of self-government. Otherwise, the new society will be no democracy: it will be as Russia now is, a tragic dictatorship. As a preparation for industrial democracy, unionism, not politics, is needed. Revolutionary parties may teach the workers to read books, but revolutionary unions teach them to rule industries.

Of course, Mr. Ferguson is not correct in asserting that the I. W. W. does not have "the sole aim of revolution." In our Preamble, he will find the boldest revolutionary utterance which has ever been penned. American capitalists appear to confirm this, since they have outlawed it. But even were we silent in revolutionary words, our very form of organization and mode of action stamp us as revolutionists. We are organized against capitalism. We are an army that is ever battling. And though we read higher wages, we absorb every recruit. And recruit our members with the cry of shorter hours it would be well to bear in mind that even the Bolsheviki whom my critic idealizes, did not shrink from offering Russia the immediate demands of Demobilization and the Redistribution of the Land.

It is the crassest of errors to compare the immediate demands of the reformist Socialists with the immediate program of the I. W. W. The immediate political demands do, as Mr. Ferguson says, strengthen the capitalist regime. But how can one assert that the victory of a revolutionary union, the reduction of surplus value by the raising of wages and the relief of surplus labor by the lowering of hours, strengthen the master class? Power breeds the thirst for power and a victorious union movement would create a revolutionary ideal even though one did not already exist. Let our doubtful one have no fears for the future of revolutionary unionism.

To quote from Baldwin's book is no proof of the reactionary character of the I. W. W. rank and file. With all due respect to Roger Baldwin, I know him well enough to believe that he would be the last to set himself up as a judge of our members. The book which he issued was one of propaganda and written to further the collection of defense funds.

If the One Big Union scheme is nothing more than a wild dream, why do the capitalistic newspapers throw such fits every time it is mentioned?

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Poverty is the child of ignorance. When the workers learn to demand what they have created they will banish the forces of darkness and the spectre of poverty.

\* \* \*

At the present time, when the miserable, overworked, and underpaid worker wants to find sympathy, the only place he can find it is in the dictionary

But if Mr. Ferguson wishes a criterion by which to judge the revolutionary soundness of our rank and file let him turn to the action of our members under persecution. He may dismiss the Chicago defendants (of whom, only one turned yellow) as leaders, and picked men. But I would refer him to stood the fearful test of jail torture for a year and Sacramento where fifty unknown, humble members then went into court with a revolutionary fortitude which thrilled the nation. If our rank and file are so unstable, what magic was it at Sacramento which held these humble prisoners in their iron silence when a whimper of surrender would have set them free? And is it not a startling commentary, that of all the defendants, it was the three educated and book-trained leaders who turned to lawyers for defense and separated their cases from the silent defiance of the rank and file?

Verily, I believe that Mr. Ferguson has allowed his nightmares to run away with him. It is a straw man which he has erected and which he so ferociously assaults. The real I. W. W. is something far different from that.

The real I. W. W. is not to be read in the books can be read in the ineffable tales of anguish which of the intellectuals. It does not flash in phrases. It is written in the hearts of strong, silent men. It ring from the prisons of the land. It can be read in the tragic sacrifices of the Littles, the Joe Hills, the Barans, the Looneys, the Johnsons, the Rabinowitzes, the Gerlots, the Jack Whytes whom destiny has claimed from among us. Its chapters have been penned, not with words, but with the living dramas of Spokane and San Diego, Lawrence and Paterson, McKee's Rocks, Everett and Mesaba Range. And are there any traditions in the history of America which live more warmly than these?

To Mr. Ferguson and others of the Left Wingers, who sigh for broader movements, let me present the I. W. W. case. While we look with longing eyes to the spectacle of Russia, let us not neglect to do our part in the deathless struggle of the I. W. W. Let us not be carried away with futile yearnings while revolutionary work remains at hand undone, and while the eloquent silence of the imprisoned ones of Leavenworth calls us to the fray.

As long as each nation can only hope for peace while it is prepared for war there can be no peace. Preparation for war is itself part of the business of war.

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Unity is Strength; the One Big Union points the way.

\* \* \*

Hypocrisy and tyranny--two vultures--have fed upon the liberties of man.

\* \* \*

The One Big Union scheme is based on the lessons of the past, the experiences of the present, and the aspirations for the future.

# A French View of the Berne Conference

By RAYMOND PÉRICAT.

**D**URING the last four and a half years of war, the leaders of the Socialist Parties and trade union bodies, have all been opposed to every attempt at an international conference.

Today, when the torment is past and the soldiers have put their guns down, our internationalists who killed one another while the cannon talked, now talk to one another when the cannon is silent.

If you read the names of the larger part of the delegates who came to Berne from all corners of the world, you will without difficulty discover from each country the heroic phalanx of rearguard patriots,—the fight-to-the-finish brand, the worst enemies of the world proletariat.

Proletarians, on guard!

What you will have is a caricature of an international.

The nationalistic socialists and syndicalists, who, even up to yesterday, threw in our faces as an insult the names of Lenine and Trotsky, those who cursed the Russian revolution, those who for several years have endeavored to legitimate their acts by labeling them "The superior interests of our own countries," they have not the qualities to reconstitute the international.

Still, these are the very people who, since the opening of the conference, have been throwing out accusations against the German majority representatives.

Responsibilities! Complicity! Which one of these nationalists reunited in Berne has not a great share of it? The embracer of priests, Ex-Minister-Ambassador Thomas, the inciter of war, that is a good type of the present internationalist.

Infamous comedy! Renaudel, Poisson, Dubreuilh, Thomas, cannot be accusers, because they are accomplices.

And what has been the result of the labors of the conference? What did the Morgaris, the Lazzaris, the Fritz Adlers, the Loriots, the Ramsay MacDonalds have to do in this conference?

At a time when the revolution is sweeping over the world, when the cyclone started in the East is overturning autocracies and thrones and threatens the proletarian dictatorships, these conferees have sat down to discuss the League of Nations, which was to arise at Paris from the Peace Conference! The work of men like Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson is going to constitute a formidable weapon against the revolutions, against the international.

It is going to be a formidable syndicate of capitalist states, a trust of bourgeois governments, an association for the exploitation of people who are kept in a state of servitude.

This League of Nations which before seemed to me as a necessary stage of universal evolution, appears to me today as a useless obstacle detrimental to the rapid progress toward the establishment of the universal socialist republic. It does not signify progress, it is an obstacle. It is not going to be an alliance of associated peoples but a coalition of capitalistic and governing elements in every country. Enlarging their field of action in this manner, the governments will be better armed against the revolutionists. The military powers, allied through a new pact, are going to constitute an international police charged with maintaining social bourgeoisie order. In face of the hostility of these elements against the proletarian revolution, is it possible to associate the proletariat—by the participation of its delegates—in the labors of the diplomats, who under cover of the Wilson formula, "The rights of the people to dispose of themselves," are going to legalize the spoliation of peoples?

The international cannot be re-born at the hands of those who have killed it. A Gompers, a Jouhaux, a Roussanoff, an Albert Thomas, cannot be the associates of a Lenine, a Trotsky, a Fritz Adler, a Haywood, a Morgari, a Borghi, a Lazzari,—the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans. These names cannot be united; these men cannot listen to one another, or comprehend one another. Together, they would not be able to do useful work. This group is anti-socialistic. To the rear, with you, Vanderveldes and Thomases. In associating with the war governments, in placing yourselves on the benches of ministers of state, you have banished yourselves from socialism and the international.

The conference at Berne is a manifestation of impotency, it is the grave of the old international.

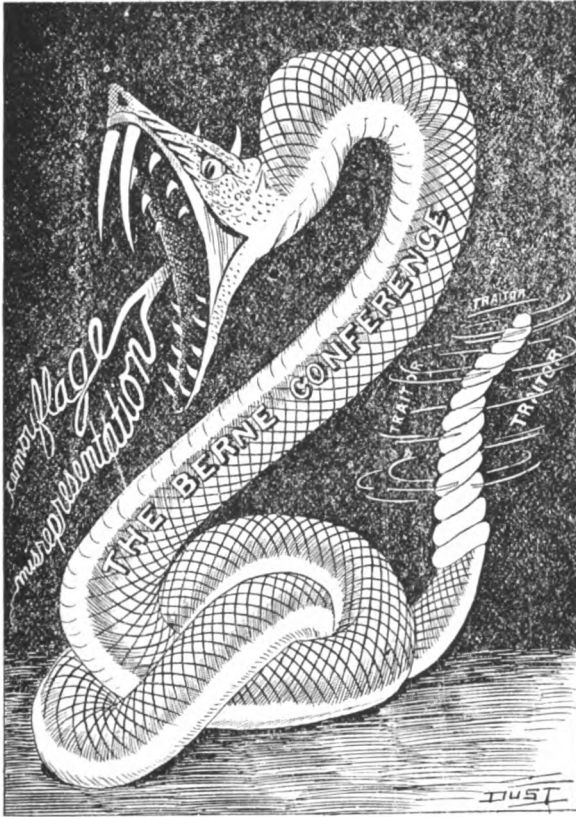
The national antagonisms, the industrial jealousies, colonial competition, which beset all peoples and races,—all these hideous barbarities cannot disappear except under the persevering efforts of men who in every country courageously face the nationalists, royalists or socialists and proclaim themselves citizens of the world. The only internationalists are those who have for their brothers people of every country and of every race. It is these who have only one fatherland,—Humanity.

These are the only ones who are qualified to construct a real international.

(From "L'Internationale" of Paris.)

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Several Industrial Unions, f. i. Miners and Textile Workers, have been too busy striking and growing, to send their reports. We will hear from them in the next number.



## Pulling Back the Curtains

THE special House Committee investigating the National Security League has submitted a report. It shows that the league originated with S. Stanwood Menken, "an attorney representing sugar, steel and other large interests," while he was in London. J. P. Morgan, financier; John D. Rockefeller, oil-king; Du Pont, the powder patriot; and others of like standing were among its supporters. The committee's report says:

"Upon entering the league's office in New York one would see only Mr. West, the lobbyist; Mr. Orth, the sisal importer, and Mr. Harvey, an everyday newspaper man. But, if the curtains were only pulled back, the hand of Rockefeller, of Vanderbilt, of Morgan, of Remington, of Du Pont, and of Guggenheim would be seen, suggesting steel, oil, money bags, Russian bonds, rifles, powder and railroads.

It suggests, also, the source of much of the attacks on the I. W. W., in the name of democracy. No doubt, when the American Protective League is investigated, it too will be found, in its origin, to be more plutocratic than either protective or American.

Pulling back the curtains lets in lots of light on dark places and persons.—X.

## The Disgrace of Albert Thomas

THE French radicals are whip-lashing their Socialist Cabinet Minister Thomas, as the French people only can. One of the names they apply to him is "The embracer of priests."

This is how he came to get this nick-name:

Claude Anet, in his book, "The Revolution in Petrograd and the Armies," tells us an episode of Albert Thomas' voyage in Roumania:

"To secure lodgings in Jassy in Roumania is a difficult problem to solve, but for Albert Thomas the Roumanian government has made the necessary arrangements. Albert Thomas is the guest of the Metropolitane or Bishop, who received him in his beautiful palace. This bishop is still a young man with an open and intelligent face, and he directs a little address of welcome in Roumanian to the minister. Thereupon, he embraces him and kisses him upon both cheeks. How sorry I am that I did not get a picture of this Cabinet Minister of the unified Socialists in the arms of the head of the Roumanian Church."

"Darn this journalist, who doesn't know his business," says the French writer. "If he had taken this photograph, we could now be revelling in the sight of Albert Thomas in the arms of a Roumanian priest."

## The Pro-Beer General Strike

THIS "no beer, no work" agitation, when viewed from the standpoint of "personal liberty," is a joke. Have we ever had such a thing? And if we did have it, haven't more important things, aye, even life itself, been taken from thousands of us in the past few years, without any protest from the same sources?

The "no beer, no work" agitation, when viewed from the economic standpoint, is interesting. It shows that the destruction of property interests is permitted in civilized society; but it all depends who does the destroying. No doubt, capitalists in the brewing industries, especially the small ones, would like that property saved and they count on the workers to save it for them. This is made possible by the fact that brewery workers lose jobs if breweries are destroyed, and so, for the sake of a job, they rush to pull their employer's chestnuts out of the fire and urge other workers to help them do likewise.

Will the "no beer, no work" movement succeed? Not if the American Federation of Labor trade contracts can prevent it. And, up-to-date, they give every indication of doing so. The Pro-Beer General Strike is foredoomed to failure.—A. F. of L. Member.

# The Story of the I. W. W.

## By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

### CHAPTER TWO

#### DANIEL DE LEON; INTELLECTUAL FORBEAR OF THE I. W. W.

**T**HE genesis of the I. W. W. marked the fusion of two contemporary streams of propaganda. Unconsciously, these two parallel movements had been evolving toward the same solution. The one group was working out the problem on the field of unionism. The other group approached it through the mazes of political socialism.

The story of the I. W. W. has been so closely interwoven with the evolutions of the political socialist organizations, that a chapter upon that subject is necessitated. Long before the 1905 convention, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism had been debated in the socialist organizations. Industrial unionism was the crux of many a bitter controversy. Nearly all the theories which the I. W. W. later voiced, were formulated in the halls of political socialism. From that source, came the intellectual substratum of the new organization.

These theoretical controversies naturally clustered around the personality of one man, Daniel De Leon. Although De Leon's role has been overestimated, although his part in the creation of the I. W. W. was a minor rather than a major one, nevertheless his personality determined the history of the organization for over three years after its birth. A great controversialist rather than a great thinker, he possessed the rare faculty of popularizing new ideas. This was the part which he played in the story of the I. W. W. The political phases of this story are centered about his career. The political socialism of the decade between 1890 and 1900 passed through many complexities. We can simplify the details by viewing them through a single point of view. For that reason, we shall study the socialism of that period through the personality of its strongest protagonist, Daniel De Leon.

De Leon was the first of a long family of college professors who have abandoned their academic chairs for the platform of socialist propaganda. Born a South American of Spanish descent, favored by a university training which steeped him in all the culture of the day, he became, first a lawyer specializing in international law and afterwards a lecturer at Columbia University. Here he first came under the influence of socialist thought. When he finally accepted the philosophy of socialism, he threw himself whole-heartedly into the movement. De Leon's was one of those intense natures which cannot content itself with the mere observer's role. With him it was all or nothing.

The socialist movement of 1890 was not the movement that it is today. It was a small, obscure and fanatical sect. Its membership was almost exclusively foreign and its activities were the butt of popular ridicule. It required courage, to say the least, for a man to cut himself loose from the comfortable moorings of an academic career and stake his future upon the possibilities of such an impossible movement. But courage of this moral order, De Leon possessed in abundance.

The Socialist Labor Party, the organization which he entered in 1889, was the predecessor of the present Socialist Party. It was the original socialist political organization in America. Founded in 1876, it had experienced a checkered career of ups and downs. It had been weakened by a long struggle

to differ with his conclusions. For the first few years, these methods were successful. The S. L. P. needed to pass under the yoke of just such an intellectual mastery in order to be purged of the confusions which had deadened it. Under De Leon's leadership, the S. L. P. was molded into just that organic unity which it had so long required. But unfortunately, De Leon went too far. He tried to straight-jacket the growth of the movement to the measure of his own personality. The days came when the leadership passed from him. Only a little sect remained loyal. But, although the actual physical control of the socialist movement passed from his hands in 1899, he retained a tremendous intellectual influence until the end of his life. It was in this intellectual capacity that he played such a vital part in the preliminary period of the I. W. W.

De Leon's primary accomplishment was the Americanization of the socialist movement. Socialism, before his day, was of a transplanted European origin. It did not attempt to dovetail itself into the individualities of American life. It became the victim of a slavish imitation of the German Social-Democracy. De Leon early perceived that, although the basic philosophy of socialism was of German origin, its method of application must necessarily, be different in every country.

The great controversies that raged in the S. L. P. during the 90ies, hinged about the question of trade unionism. In Germany, the trade union movement came after the socialist political movement and was organized by it. In America, on the contrary, with anarchism. It was composed of a multitude of dissonant elements and clashing points of view. There was no central idea which the party could emphasize. It was paralyzed by a fatal vagueness. The Socialist Labor Party entered politics in the same half-hearted way. It had weakened itself by a fruitless cooperation with the Henry George movement in 1886-7. As yet, it had never entered national politics or nominated a presidential ticket. It needed the personality of a powerful leader to evoke the mighty possibilities which lay concealed in this puny movement. Such a leader was found in Daniel De Leon.

In 1890, De Leon became editor of the *Weekly People*, the official organ of the S. L. P. From that office he ruled the S. L. P. with an iron hand until his death in 1914. The *Weekly People* was the instrument which he used to effect his purpose. De Leon was, without doubt, the greatest editor whom the socialist movement of America has produced. His journalism was intensely personal in its style. It bristled with invective. He established an intellectual autocracy over his followers that would brook no opposition. With a fanatical zeal for the truth, as he saw it, he accepted the challenge of every disagreement with his ideas as a personal affront to himself. He would throw all his matchless powers into the controversy. A profundity of learning,—a richly colored style— a keen and incisive gift of satire, each of these would be drawn upon to annihilate the pretensions of his luckless opponent. As polemic literature the *Weekly People*, under De Leon's editorship, deserves the highest of ratings.

His greatest weakness, however, proceeded from that same source. The flaw in De Leon's temperament was an ingrained Jesuitism. His ideas were rooted in an almost religious fanaticism. He had an index expurgatorius for all those who ventured

the trade union movement was already in existence when the S. L. P. was founded. To add to the confusion, there was, in America, not only one trade union movement but there were two, the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

The first policy which De Leon espoused was a policy of support for the existing unions. He believed, as the present Socialist Party believes today, that socialists should enter the unions and "bore from within." Since the A. F. of L. was the younger organization, it was, at first, more amenable to the influence of the S. L. P. than the K. of L. For several years, the socialists exercised a very strong semi-control in the A. F. of L. The question of socialism had never come to the issue of a test vote in a convention. In 1890, however, a definite breach was established between Gompers and his administration following, and the socialists. This occurred over the question of admitting the Central Labor Federation of New York City to the A. F. of L.

The Central Labor Federation was organized, largely, by socialists. It had been under the control of the S. L. P. almost continuously since it was launched. The S. L. P. was one of the organizations affiliated with it and representatives of the S. L. P. sat on all its committees. In 1890, the C. L. F. was an organization of about 30 affiliated unions and applied for admission to the A. F. of L. Gompers refused them a charter on the ground that in the list of its affiliated organizations appeared the name of the S. L. P., a political party. This decision was appealed by the C. L. F. to the floor of the A. F. of L. convention and Lucien Sanial, a representative of the S. L. P. was sent to argue the case. After a long and acrimonious debate, the plea of the socialists was repudiated, the vote of the convention standing, 525 for, to 1699 against.

As the result of this rebuke, De Leon and the officials of the S. L. P. withdrew their support from the A. F. of L., completely. They next endeavored to capture the Knights of Labor. Many of the German and Jewish unions in New York City were dominated by socialists. De Leon induced these unions to join the New York District Assembly of T. V. Powderly, the reactionary Master Workman of the order and to elect, in his place, J. R. Sovereign. Upon his election, Sovereign promised to appoint a member of the S. L. P. to the editorship of the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, the official organ. This promise, he never kept. A bitter controversy ensued in which De Leon was the storm center. At the annual convention of 1895, De Leon was refused a seat, although he had been elected as a delegate from the New York District Assembly. The socialists retaliated by withdrawing from the K. of L. in a body. A general revision of their trade union policy was undertaken by the members of the S. L. P.

So far, De Leon had been groping in the dark. It was necessary for him to be disillusioned by his practical experience inside the conservative unions. The futility of such efforts was now strikingly revealed. Between the socialist, with his revolutionary ideal, and the pure and simple craft unionist, there could be no harmony. They were **incommunicable** elements. Unity could only be attained by a sacrifice of the revolutionary ideals of the socialist. The socialist who spends any length of time "boring from within" these conservative organizations, becomes the victim of that which he combats. He comes out of the struggle successfully only by the sacrifice of the best which is in him. He must quench the ardor of his temperament and narrow the scope of his ideal. Instead of combating the master class, he fritters away his life in wranglings with his brother workers. Thus, no matter what the issue of the conflict, the reaction-

ary is always the victor. This truth the basic realization which gave birth to the I. W. W. in 1905, De Leon began to stumble upon, ten years earlier.

Burning his bridges behind him, De Leon set out on a new path. If the old unions were wrong; if, as he claimed, they were imbued with inadequate ideals and cramped by antiquated forms, then the duty of the socialists was to create a new union which should be a shining example to the labor movement. They should demonstrate what unionism really should be. The time had come when the socialists should give the world a practical, as well as a theoretical example of their philosophy.

In the face of the bitterest opposition in the then only in the process of formulation. De Leon launched the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in the early part of the year, 1896. At this early period, the necessary structure of revolutionary unionism had not yet been planned. The conception of a union which should correspond, cell by cell, to the actual structure of the capitalist system, was then only in the process of formulation. De Leon had not yet emerged from shadow of his K. of L. training, when he organized the S. T. & L. A. In structure, he closely imitated the older union. The principle of a rigid centralization predominated. The autonomy of industries as practiced by the A. F. of L. was completely avoided. The unit of organization was geographical rather than industrial. The trade unions were autonomous, local bodies which, instead of being united in a national body of locals of a similar trade, were affiliated with a District Alliance with locals of all other trades. These, in turn, were affiliated with a centralized general office in which the supreme power was vested in a General Executive Board. It endorsed socialism and political action.

Although it was an experiment in the right direction, the form of the union was fatally faulty. Its usefulness was vitiated by the infusion of a political viewpoint. De Leon had not yet perceived that the industrial system which unionism is formed to combat, cuts completely across geographical boundaries. The administrative subdivisions by which the political government composes itself are arbitrary, and they no longer correspond to the anatomy of our industrial life. To De Leon, the S. T. & L. A. was a schoolhouse in which he worked out the final theory which he gave in its fullness to the later I. W. W. As such, it was useful. It created groups of workers in all parts of the United States who began to try with the idea of industrial unionism. When the idea at last developed into a conception of revolutionary industrial unionism, these workers were ready to throw their strength into that organization.

As a labor union, however, the S. T. & L. A. was a disappointing failure. It started auspiciously. All of those unions which had entered the K. of L. with De Leon, several years before, seceded and joined the new organization. The Central Labor Federation and the United Hebrew Trades of New York City, both affiliated. Large groups of unions in Brooklyn, Newark, Chicago and smaller cities came into the S. T. & L. A. At one period, it attained a membership of 20,000. But, as a labor union, the S. T. & L. A. was grotesque. It was forced to subordinate itself in all respects to the political movement. De Leon, at this period, believed that the industrial movement was only an auxiliary to the political and was of infinitely less importance. Consequently, the S. L. P. absorbed all the strength of the S. T. & L. A. without any corresponding assistance. Of course, such a faulty experiment was foredoomed to failure.

Although 228 organizations were chartered between December, 1895 and July, 1898, only 54 remained in good standing at the opening of the

third convention of the S. T. & L. A., held at Buffalo in July, 1898. Shortly after this convention, the Central Federated Union of New York withdrew, with all its affiliated locals. The S. T. & L. A. was left, a mere paper organization. It no longer functioned as a job union but merely as a propaganda league. Branches were maintained for propaganda purposes in most of the large cities but the membership of these locals was largely a duplication of the membership of the S. L. P. Finally, in 1905, the fragments of the S. T. & L. A. were installed as a part of the newly born Industrial Workers of the World.

To De Leon, the 7 years which intervened before that date were years of fruitful study. During that period, his ideas of unionism were clarified and remade. From the year 1895 until his death, De Leon never wavered in his belief that the duty of the revolutionary socialist was to withdraw his support from the old unions and to form a new, class-conscious organization. His experiment with the S. T. & L. A. was the means of his undoing as a political socialist. A large portion of the membership of the S. L. P. refused to follow him into the Alliance. They clung to the A. F. of L. and the resulting controversy wrecked the S. L. P. In 1890, the new Socialist Party was organized and so great was the exodus of membership, that the S. L. P. was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Possibly, this had an influence in embittering De Leon with political action. His experience with the Alliance, in which he had emphasized politics at the expense of industrial solidarity, was also enlightening. Anyhow, a subtle change came over his point of view. The columns of the Weekly People began to stress industrial action more and more. At last, after years of drifting in a vague sea of uncertainties, De Leon formulated the philosophy which is now linked with his name.

In this system, the industrial union is the leading factor. The industrial union is the essential form by which the social revolution is to be fought out. An industrial union is dual in its functions. It is the weapon by which labor shall fight the battle with capitalism. It is also the nucleus, around which a new civilization shall be reared when capitalism has, at least, been overthrown. Thus, it provides labor with the machinery of reconstruction. In order to do this, the industrial union must correspond intimately, in its structure, with the structural form of modern capitalism. The same groupings should be observed. By so doing, two objects will be obtained: it will generate the maximum amount of combinative strength in the everyday struggle with capitalism, and it will provide a scientific framework upon which the new order can be erected.

Another point which he commenced to emphasize, was the non-political character of the new socialist society which should take the place of capitalism. The Socialist party early adopted a position which assumed the continuation of the existence of the political government, even after capitalism had been destroyed. Consistently, then they put into their platform an advocacy of government ownership.

Against such a feeble philosophy, De Leon did valiant service. The S. L. P. and its Weekly People became the exponents of the idea of an industrial

socialism as opposed to a political socialism. The present order would not be overthrown by the voting of a political party. It would be destroyed by an industrial union, organized so thoroughly that it could paralyze the entire system by a great General Strike. And the day of capitalism's overthrow would witness the automatic death of the political government and all its sub-divisions. The industrial union, now the supreme power in the land, would spring into its place. Political forms would become only a memory. Life would become industrial.

With a single exception, these teachings of De Leon's were incorporated bodily into the new I. W. W. That exception was the belief in political action, as an auxiliary to the industrial union movement. De Leon still clung to the S. L. P. and although he minimized its value, he held tenaciously to the belief that the working class should enter politics. As this was afterwards the most fruitful cause of controversy in the I. W. W., I will only mention it in passing. The whole issue was fought out in the convention of 1908 and it will be covered at that point.

The intellectual contribution of De Leon to the formation of the new I. W. W. was immense. He popularized the theoretical framework of the new movement before it was even projected. Day after day, he hurled these new and untried theories upon the attention of his readers. He propagated them in the columns of his organ; he advocated them upon the platform; he bent the whole energies of the S. L. P. to the task of their diffusion.

The personal animosities which were kindled by his vindictive partisanship have often caused him to be belittled. This is unjust. It was the tragedy of De Leon's life, to see every movement which he organized, wrested from his hands just as it reached the period of success. It was the new Socialist party and not his veteran S. L. P. which was fated to make socialism a national issue. It was the I. W. W. of Haywood and St. John, not De Leon's pitiful Detroit handful, which were to put such terror into the letters, I. W. W.

But in his function as an educator, he stood supreme. To the labor movement of America De Leon made one of the greatest of contributions,—the contribution of a correct theory. He was the first to draw the lines between reformer and revolutionist. He gave a new definition of the class-struggle. He found a Utopian socialism and he made it scientific. For these deeds, he should be remembered.

But although De Leon was the foremost propagandist of industrial unionism, during this pre-I. W. W. period, it must not be assumed that he labored alone. There were advocates of industrial unionism in the Socialist party, in the American Federation of Labor; among the anarchists. Two other editors, William E. Trautmann and Thomas J. Hagerty were publishing articles on the new unionism of the future. There were many influences, simultaneously seeking the same object. There were propagandists at work whose personalities may not have been so colorful as De Leon's, but whose contributions were just as great. The mightiest of these propagandists was the Western Federation of Labor. This was the group which was fated to give to the I. W. W., its leadership, its tactics and its builders.

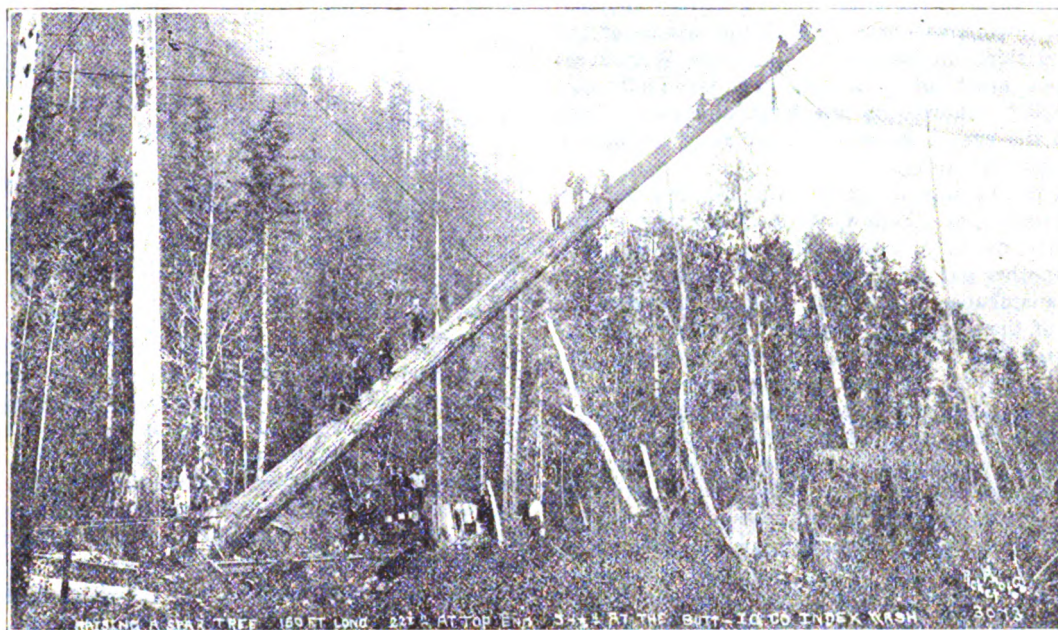
We are not entitled to any rest, as long as one of them is in prison.

Do to the prisoners as you would like to be done by, in case you were put in jail, as you are apt to be any time.

Remember we have several hundred men in jail. Your money is always needed by the General Defense Committee. Send in all you can and get others to do the same. Arrange meetings and other affairs to raise funds, and do it now. Adopt resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners.

# The Mainspring of Action

By C. E. PAYNE



In the fall of 1911 occurred the Aberdeen, Washington, Free Speech fight. Altho shorter than many of the contests of this character that took place thruout the West shortly before and after that time, it was, while it lasted, one of the most bitterly contested struggles in which the organization took part. Also, it was by all odds the most clean-cut victory that was won by the organization in struggles of this character.

One phase of the fight that has not to my knowledge been touched upon was the psychology of the men who took part in it at the time the final and winning attack was made to regain the use of the streets for purposes of agitation. I had an exceptional opportunity to observe this state of mind, which for a better term may perhaps be properly called a religious fervor.

I had been for some time the secretary for the Free Speech Committee, and had been in the town for about six weeks before the evening of January 10, 1912, when the grand rush was made to use the streets for "free speech." As I had the correspondence of the Committee in hand at the time, I was ordered not to take any part in the demonstration for that night. However, some one had been making it his business to find out my business, and his, together with my interest in the proceedings, made a change in the program, and this change gave me the opportunity to observe this psychological phenomenon.

The demonstration was timed for 6:00 P. M., when it was figured the members of the Citizens' Club would be at supper, and it was thought this would give some of the men a chance to make a few minutes talk before they could be arrested. Fifteen men had been selected to make the first attack. The manner of selecting them was by refusing to permit any one to speak unless he plainly stated that he would speak anyhow, permit or none. The Committee had decided that fifteen should be the number, but seventeen was the number that actually took part in the "speaking."

Wishing to be able to make a first-hand report of what took place on the streets, I went among the crowd, which in a few minutes after six o'clock had grown to some 3,000 persons, all eager to see the demonstration. These were gathered around the principal street corner, but there was no one in the center of the street. By common consent this was left entirely to the participants in the battle.

The first speaker would have been able to hold a crowd with a speech of half an hour or more had he been allowed the time, but he was arrested and hustled off to jail within less than two minutes after he had shouted "Fellow Workers." No sooner had he been taken thru the crowd toward the jail by two members of the Citizens' Club, than another man stepped out from the crowd and began, "Fellow Workers!" This man's voice had the twang

of the Down East Yankee, and his bearing was that of a descendant of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower.

Following him came a short, swarthy German, evidently from the Schwartzwald. "Mein Fellow Vorkers! Schust you listen by me while I tells you sometings!" But what that "something" was he could not tell before he was seized and hustled in the wake of the other two. After the German came a large, raw-boned Irishman with the brogue of the ould sod thick on his tongue. "Fellow Wor-krers! Oi'm not much of a spaker, but Oi don't suppose Oi'll be allowed to talk long, anyhow." That was all the speech he was allowed to make before he too was led away.

Next in line was an Italian who shouted the regular greeting of "Fellow Workers," spoke a few rapid fire words and was taken towards the jail. From another part of the crowd a five-foot man with the unmistakable rolling gait of a sailor sprang to center of the cleared street, shorted "Fellow Workers," and had time enough to make perhaps the longest "speech" of the evening. "I have been run out of this town five times by the Citizens' Club, and every time I have found my way back. This proves conclusively that the world is round." But when he had gone thus far with his remarks he was seized and half carried toward the jail. Behind the sailor came a lumber jack, no talker, but a power in the woods where men hold their place by strength and nerve. "Fellow Workers! There is one of the Citizens' Club fellows over there. He is going to arrest some one." The man pointed out at once made a run for the lumber worker, and he too was taken to jail.

Thus came one after another, made the common salutation of "Fellow Workers," started to talk and generally managed to say but a few words, when he too was hustled to the jail. The entire demonstration was over in less than half an hour and the crowd began to disperse. It was while leaving the scene of the demonstration that I was approached from behind by two men who came one on either side of me, and with the remark, "Oh, say! The chief wants to see you," they led me to the jail.

My arrest was the last one of the night. After being searched and questioned by the police, I was put in the "tank" with the rest of the "free speech fighters." My reception was the heartiest demonstration of welcome I have ever received. Their joy seemed to be combined with an appreciation of the joke on me, but it was none the less hearty.

After the greetings had been made, and things became comparatively quiet, I was able to look about me and see at close range the manner of men they were. Outwardly, they were of the careless, happy-go-lucky sort to whom *dolce far niente* appeared to be a more appropriate motto than any other that could be selected. Not one had any ties of kindred, job or financial interest in the town. Most of them had never been in the place before. Perhaps a majority never would have been there had not some member of the I. W. W. flashed the

word over the country that he and others were denied the rights they claimed. Many of them would never be there again.

Here they were, eighteen men in the vigor of life, most of whom came long distances thru snow and hostile towns by beating their way, penniless and hungry, into a place where a jail sentence was the gentlest treatment that could be expected, and where many had already been driven into the swamps and beaten nearly to death by members of the Citizens' Club for the same offense that they had committed so joyously tonight. All had walked the three miles from Hoquiam in a rain to take part in the demonstration that all confidently felt would mean that they would be sent to jail until midnight, and then be driven into the swamps with clubs and guns, and that perhaps some of them would be killed, as had nearly been the case with others before them. Yet here they were, laughing in boyish glee at tragic things that to them were jokes.

One man said, "This is cold after the orange groves of California." The man he spoke to replied, "It is not as cold as the Canadian railways." One man remarked, "The snow in the Rockies is a he had composed regarding free speech fights. One man remarked, "The snow is the Rockies is a fright," to which another replied, "It don't be worse than the Siskyouss."

A ponderous German recited the Marxian battle cry. Two men compared notes on their arrests, and laughed gleefully at some joke on a policeman. One boy who had taken a "vacation" from college to attend the Free Speech fight had composed a "yell," and this was frequently shouted with all their power. "Who are we? I. W. W., don't you see! First in war, first in peace, in the hands of the Aberdeen police. Rah! Rah!! Rah!!! I. W. W." As the city council had been called into extra session to consider the situation, and their meeting hall was just above the tank where we were locked in, there was always extra emphasis put on the "I. W. W." for their benefit.

But what was the motive behind the actions of these men? Clearly, they would take no part in the social, political or economic life of the town, after the fight was over. No place in the country could treat them worse than Aberdeen was trying to treat them. Why were they here? Is the call of Brotherhood in the human race greater than any fear or discomfort, despite the efforts of the masters of life for six thousand years to root out that call of Brotherhood from our minds? Is there a joy in martyrdom that the human race must sense at times to make its life complete? Must humanity ever depend on the most despised of its members for its most spiritual gifts? Is it among the working class that we may see the fulfillment of the prediction that there shall be no Greek or Barbarian, no Scythian or Parthian, no circumcision or uncircumcision, but all one? These things have I often pondered as the result of the twenty-two hours in the Aberdeen jail.



## The Syndicalist Movement in Germany

By ALBERT JENSEN.

THE great revolutionary strikes in the Ruhr District are a sign of the awakening of syndicalism in Germany. While in the great industrial cities the revolutionary flame, lighted by the November revolution, seems to be flickering, the opposite seems to be the case in the Ruhr District. The mining slaves have resorted to direct action and the employers are held in check by the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. In Mulheim, the bourgeoisie succeeded in getting the red flag torn down by the aid of a regiment of returning soldiers, but one single night was sufficient to convert the soldiers, and the following day the red flag was again waving in its accustomed place as a sign of the power of the revolution.

Fritz Kater, one of the leading champions of German syndicalism, writes from an agitation trip in the Ruhr District, that now has happened what even the syndicalists did not dare to believe: Syndicalism is rising like a new bird Phoenix out of the ashes. Branches are being formed everywhere, often with thousands of members. Back of the revolt of the miners against the industrial kings of the district, Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen and others stand the initiative and impulses of the syndicalists.

A ghost is abroad—the ghost of syndicalism. The Social Democratic, the yellow and the Christian organizations do everything to keep the workers away from the new heresy, but the revolutionary times are not in favor of moderation.

"Miners, wake up" says a fly-leaf sent out by the new syndicalists of the district, "take your cause into your own hands. Look at your fellow workers in the mine called the 'German Emperor.' They have chased the trade-union bureaucrats to the devil, elected fellow workers, presented new demands and the result was such that the miners had never seen the like of it before." These victories were gained through syndicalist efforts, but when the trade-union bureaucracy in this manner had been chased away from one mine after another, they hurried to the employers and made an agreement with these without consulting the workers.

The general trade-union commission has made a secret agreement with the employers by which all industrial disputes shall be referred to the special institutions created for that purpose. These institutions with representatives from the organized workers and the employers' principal organizations are supposed to make all arrangements about wages and working conditions and so on. It is the trade-union bureaucracy that elects the representatives of the workers, not the workers themselves. The trade-union members have nothing to say; their officers decide everything together with the employers.

This is a new attempt from the side of the trade-

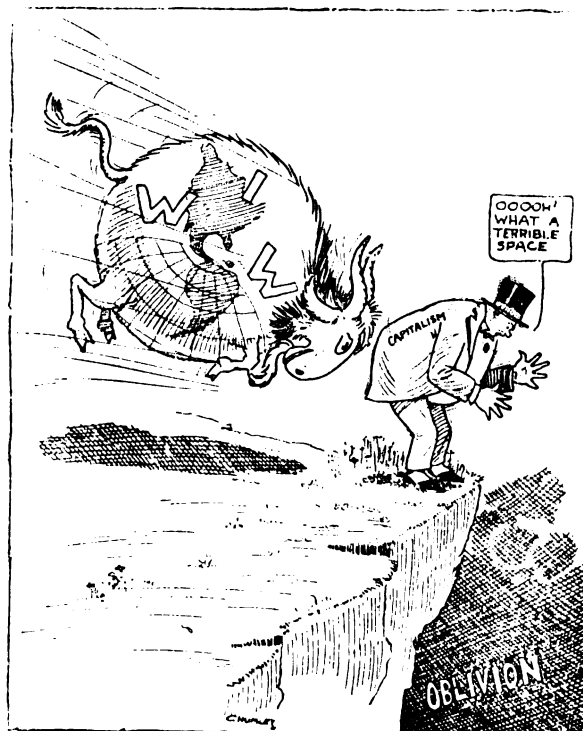
union bureaucracy to free themselves from the interference of the Workers' Councils in the places of work, but the workers are no longer willing to put up with such guardianship.

In the Ruhr District, for instance, there had been such an agreement made between trade-union bureaucrats and employers by which the advantages gained by the workers were again lost. This gave occasion for new suspensions of work and raising the demand for the immediate socialization of the miners. The Workers again forced the employers to back down through a threat of sabotaging the mines.

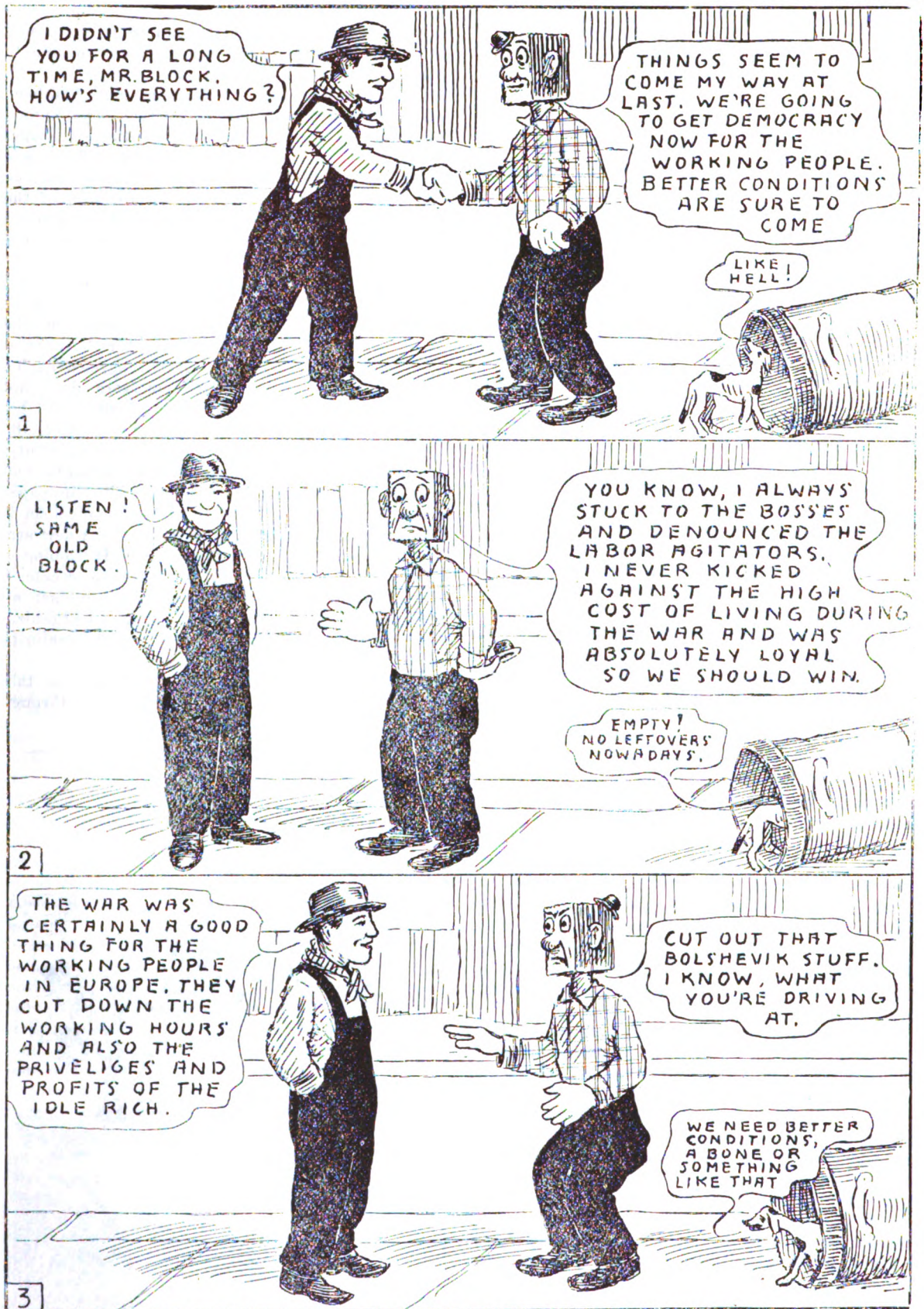
"Berliner Tageblatt" writes of the conditions: "Even the great trade-union organizations don't seem to be able to stand before the storms of the new times. The trade-unions have for the present only power on paper. The recent agreement between the unions and the employers does not change this fact. The trade-union leaders are becoming officers without soldiers. The Soviet, the Workers' Council, the workers in every factory, are feeling sovereign, due to their opportunity, and operate independently of their leaders." The paper concludes by stating as a fact that syndicalism is the form of industrial organization of the new era.

The syndicalist organizations are developing a lively propaganda activity in order to create a strong syndicalist working-class front against all the political parties from the Spartacus organization and the independent left wing to the majority Socialists and the old trade-unions.

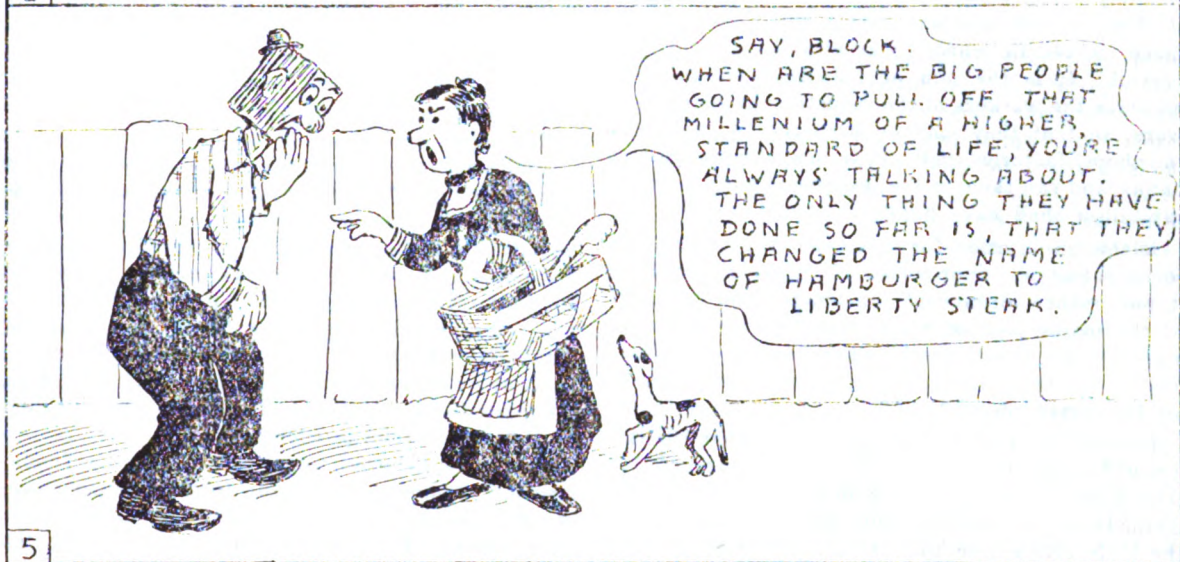
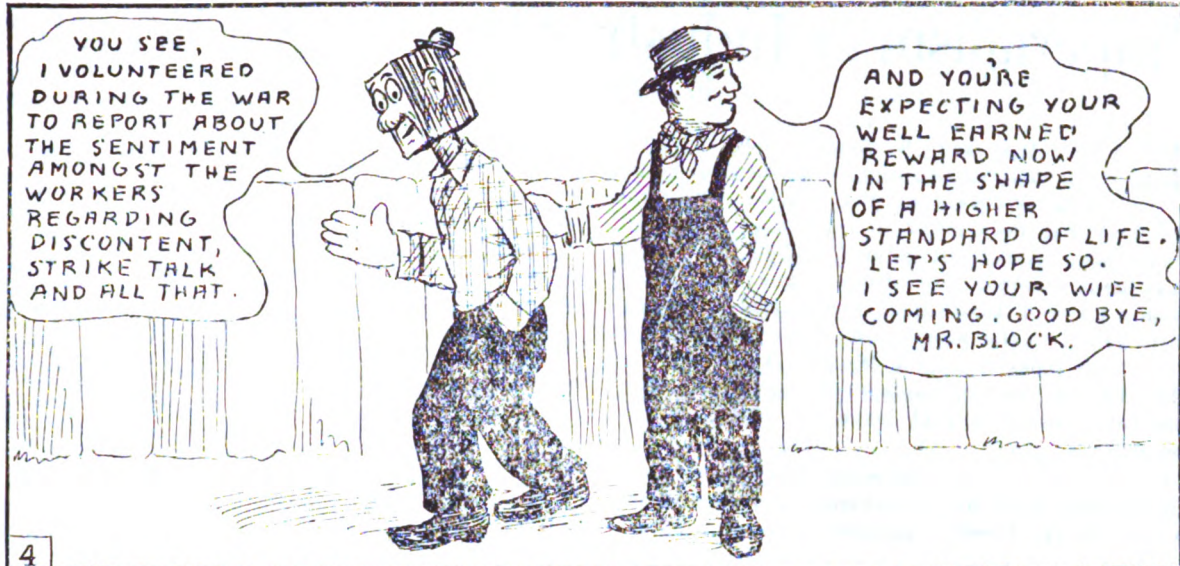
This means direct action for the purpose of taking possession of the means of production through the workers themselves.



# MR. BLOCK—He's Still Waiting for Better Conditions



# MR. BLOCK—He's Still Waiting for Better Conditions



# Imperialism or Industrial Unionism—Which?

By JUSTUS EBERT.

IT is time that wage workers learned the truth about industrial unionism, as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. Industrial unionism has been talked in the public press with "hysterical" and "destructive." The fact is that it is the most constructive force in Society. If there is any program that stands for expansion and development it is the program of the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World. The history of the past five years, as made by the upholders of the present "order," should leave no doubt on that point.

Industrial unionism believes that capitalism—the present method of producing and distributing wealth for the profit of private capitalists—will ultimately break down of its own weight; and that, if there is not another system ready to take its place, wholesale chaos, starvation and ruin will prevail. It is the aim of industrial unionism to organize the workers in the industries in which they work, so that they may be prepared to take over the shops, factories, mills, railroads, steamships and banks, and run them in the interest of society, when capitalism shall have finally collapsed.

Is this preparation for industrial democracy—or social salvation— anarchy? Is it destruction? Is it not, rather, organized construction on the part of the major part of society, the workers, and in accord with social development, which makes industry the foundation-stone of modern society, in all its varied phases?

Perhaps the reader does not believe that capitalism will break down of itself? Perhaps he believes that, even if it does so break down, other and better methods may be used to help preserve society and the little civilization that it still possesses.

To such a reader, world events of today have no significance. These events disclose a system in which capital becomes so congested that fields of investment become absolutely necessary for its continuance. For thirty years these fields have been found in "backward races" and "dying empires." Africa, Asia Minor, China, Russia, have been exploited, with the result that modern nations have reached such a pass that they must turn and rend one another in order to preserve the capital exports of their respective classes—of capitalism.

Note the stupendous warfare for world-supremacy during the past thirty years! And then ask yourself what do the next 30 years promise, when judged by the past thirty?

This system of imperialism—of world domination in order to secure fields of investment—will continue in the future with ever-increasing velocity. It will have behind it, not only the momentum acquired in the past, but the new force developed in the present. The congestion of capital will grow

ever worse, on account of the increase in wealth-production made possible by the war. Production will outrun and overleap consumption in the future, as it has never done in the past. The result will be a greater need for more exports of capital—for more foreign investments, trade and wars—more chaos and revolution.

Already is more war to be seen everywhere on the horizon of capitalism. Already is the invasion of Mexico being urged. Already does the British embargo excite U. S. hostility, and point to a conflict of interests between English and American capitalism. Already does Japan threaten China in an attempt to secure a monopoly of the Chinese markets. War for imperialist purposes threatens everywhere—war, with its millions of killed and wounded, and its aftermath of unemployment and social disorder. Who doubts these evident, palpitating facts and tendencies? Who does not believe that they are symptomatic of a breakdown of capitalism and the necessity for preparing against social collapse, as a result of it?

And who believes that the trade unions can solve this problem of the capitalist breakdown? The trade unions have conception of the problem of imperialism in its ultimate social significance. They are not organized to solve that problem. Nor will they permit other organized bodies to solve it. On the contrary, blind to tendencies, they stand for capitalist imperialism and reaction, as against industrial unionism and social reconstruction. Who, then, would look to the trade unions for a solution of this momentous problem?

And who believes that, in view of the fundamentally economic nature and force of Imperialism, political parties can help the working class in this final necessity? Has not Russia shown how the capitalist class sabotaged the Bolsheviki after the latter ousted the Kerensky government and placed themselves in control of the state? Were not the Bolsheviki compelled to organize the workers on the railroads, in order to secure the food supplies that this sabotage cut off? Were they not compelled to organize the workers in the industries in order to open the latter up and give employment, so as to remove the idleness and discontent that the capitalist sabotage created for the purpose of wrecking the political revolution? **In a word, was it not the applied principles of industrial unionism that saved the revolution and Russia?**

Who will say that the beginnings of Soviet Russia have no lessons for the workers of the U. S. A.? On the contrary, those lessons prove how essential the industrial organization of the working class is to Socialism and social preservation.

Why not, then, bend every effort to the promotion of industrial organization, if you are a workingman or woman, alive to social tendencies and prob-

lems? Or must you repeat the experience of Germany, for instance, where political socialism, by its parliamentary policies, has been compelled to become an inherent part of the state, sharing its capitalist character and responsibilities, and, as a consequence, furthering the reactionary, imperialistic aims of capitalism in general?

Do you, Mr. Workingman and Mrs. Workingwoman, want a repetition of Germany? Do you want to line up with the enemies of the working class, and of industrial unionism, for such terrible catastrophes? Do you want to support the capitalist newspaper and political factions of all parties, who misrepresent, denounce and villify the exponents of the great idea of social reconstruction by industrial means, the Industrial Workers of the World?

It may be argued that the foregoing is "a long look ahead," and that "evolution must run its course." This is, in a measure, true. But who survives in the struggles between capitalism and the

working class if not the side that takes "a long look ahead"? More "long-headedness" is required by the working class. And who can tell, with the revolutions that are being caused on all sides by capitalism, when evolution has run its course? Evolution and revolution are so much the same nowadays, that it is impossible to tell them apart. They are the Heavenly Twins of Progress.

Industrial unionism is evolutionary. It is an outgrowth of modern industry—a social philosophy and movement born of the conditions created by present-day industrialism, otherwise known as capitalism. It is the beginning of industrial democracy. Its complete realization will mean the liberation of the pent-up talents and abilities of the working class. It will mean the emancipation of the worlds' industrial workers, to the greater prosperity and good of all society.

Be a social reconstructor! An industrial unionist!! An Industrial Worker of the World!!!

## "What Have You Done?"

By COVINGTON AMI

THE following is from "Mr. Ford's Own Page" of "The Dearborn Independent" of Feb. 22nd: "Their (the American people) liberties are their own. Their future is their own. None but themselves can betray them.

They never yet bartered a single liberty, a single duty or a single right for a mere speech.

If anything, they have always had a slight distrust for a man who was an orator.

American history is filled with the names of great orators whose ambitions were unfulfilled.

Yet the ranks of disorder have orators by the score and hundred—beautiful, moving speech-makers who never lifted a finger or invented a single idea to make the worker's way happier and more prosperous.

Now, the great advances of the future as far as our industrial and social life is concerned will come through the application of inventive genius, not through speech-making.

And the American people, before they follow any man, are going to ask, "What have you done?"

Engineer's assertion that "The great advances of the future \* \* \* will come through the application of inventive genius," for I am an utilitarian and industrialist in all my earthly views, but the "dreamer" in me does challenge the mechanic's contemptuous reference to the orators, "Who never lifted a finger or invented a single idea to make the worker's way happier and more prosperous," and I challenge him on **historic facts**.

Since the birth of the first "labor-saving machine" the "inventive genius," the mechanical engineer, has had unlimited opportunity to develop his ideas, while the social orator has been among the first to go on the blacklist, there to suffer as one whose

ideas stirred up the "ranks of disorder"; yet with all their unlimited opportunities, I challenge the great Engineer to show me wherein their work has really "made the worker's way happier and more prosperous"? John Stuart Mill, the great English economist, said: "I doubt if all the great inventions of the last two hundred years have lightened the day's toil of a single human being," and so do I. For man's happiness and prosperity do not depend solely on skyscrapers and automobiles, titanic steel mills and wireless waves, but on his ability to secure the right to live in liberty and to pursue happiness, as well.

It is to the exercise of this right, the **right to live**, that the orators Mr. Ford sneers at have ceaselessly called the workers, and numberless companies of them have paid the penalty therefor. Christ was not the first nor will Little and Liebknecht be the last of the orators to ascend Calvary for "stirring up the people," for urging them to exercise the right to live.

### "What Have You Done?"

Of Socrates, of Jesus of Nazareth, of Cain and Tiberius Grachus, of Robert Emmet, of Sir Harvey Vane, of Wendell Phillips and Albert Parsons, of Henry George and of Pearce and Connolly, Abraham Lincoln, of Liebknecht and Eisener, and of the long, long roll of orators, named and unnamed, living and dead, who gave their all-in-all to the cause of human freedom, let Mr. Ford and all the Engineers stand before the Spirit of Truth, not in the pride of Craft, but in the humbleness of heart, and, looking at the 10,000,000 dead and 20,000,000 maimed boys and men piled up on the battlelines by the aid of "inventive genius," then ask of the social orators: "What have you done?"

"He stirreth up the people!" Dear, love me Frank Little, how old is that accusation of the Practical Men against the Prophet-Orator!



## How the One Big Unionist of Australia Reasons "On the Job" —New Union Scheme Outlined.

**O**RGANIZE on the job" is one of the latest slogans of Australian unionism, and the formation of shop or works control committees from among unionists engaged at the various works or factories is becoming increasingly frequent, the new development having some relation to the one big union agitation.

In view of the importance of the new development, the following circular, issued by the Melbourne branch of the Builders' Laborers' Federation, signed by B. Mulvogue, the secretary, is of interest:

Comrades! This circular is drafted and distributed among you in the hope that by so doing your conditions as workers will be improved. The time is drawing close when the working class must demand industrial freedom. You will never be free from wage slavery while you depend upon officials, politicians, arbitration courts, or any other capitalistically constituted institutions to emancipate you.

Your freedom from wage slavery, the transition from semi-poverty and starvation to that which you are entitled to as a producer—the full social results of your labor—can only be accomplished by industrial action. You must organize as a class, and act as a class; the organisation must be on the "job."

You will know that for three months your union has been trying to get a settlement of the trouble at the work you are engaged in, and finally had to call upon you to move. You acted with a spontaneity that should appeal to all, and does appeal to me, and in 24 hours you accomplished that which the union failed to accomplish in three months. Let your strength remain. Do not cast it out; organize on the job in the following manner:

On each job where men are employed appoint a board of control, consisting of three or four men.

Notify the foreman or person in charge and give him the names of the men.

Advise him that any objection must be lodged at once. The men elected to be the last men on the job.

When any dispute takes place the board of control takes charge of the dispute and proceeds to get the demands of the men granted.

In the event of the demand not being granted the workmen to act strictly in accordance with the direction of the board of control.

Stoppage of work or strike must not be allowed except by direction of the union.

When any dispute takes place the board of control to determine the amount of work to be done during the dispute.

The board of control to consist of president, vice-president, and secretary, the secretary to be the steward on the job.

The board of control to see that all money collected on behalf of the union is accounted for.

The board of control to interview every man on the job to see his ticket. Any additional man or men starting on the job must produce his or their union card or satisfy the board of control before starting.

When a worker is to be dismissed or removed to another job or place the board of control to ascertain the reason. If in their opinion the removal or dismissal is not justified the removal or dismissal shall not take place.

In the event of the employer persisting in dismissing or removing any member of the union, the members on the job shall take such action as the board of control directs; such action to continue until the member or members affected are reinstated and paid for all time lost.

This is a proper method of controlling the job, and members are requested to act on same at once.

(From The Brisbane Worker)

Those of you who would make a revolution a la Russia or Germany, have you ever thought of the fact, that when the "revolution" is done the next thing to do is to organize production and distribution. That is what the I. W. W. has made its business. We are organizing the workers industrially, so that production and distribution will not break down when capitalism collapses. The political power we do not care for. Somebody has called us the Red Cross Service of civilization, and in a way that is not far from right. Only do not forget that we propose to become the whole civilization organized.

The present age might appropriately be called the lying age. The ministry will not tolerate a minister who dares to speak the truth; the daily press will not tolerate an editor who dares to write the truth; the millionaire-endowed colleges will not tolerate a professor who dares to teach the truth.

# The Fundamental Weakness of Political Socialism Illustrated by the Thomas Van Lear Defeat

By GABRIEL SOLTIS

**I**n a recent issue of the "Class Struggle," a scientific Socialist monthly review, this magazine commented on the defeat of Van Lear for mayor of Minneapolis, as having no particular significance in relation to the Socialist movement, for the reason that Van Lear had failed the Socialist cause, in his nominal position of leader. Therefore, we propose in this short analysis of Van Lear's policies and attitudes, to point out precisely where he did fall short of being a Socialist, from the international point of view. Which by the way, is the only one that counts from the standpoint of Socialism.

It is, we hope, needless to state, that in judging the political action of Van Lear, and criticizing it, it is not a personal attack. For we cheerfully and most readily concede, that Van Lear is a fine fellow, a splendid personality, whom it is a pleasure to meet and talk to, and gaze into his jovial face, which always radiates a smile of sunshine. These good possessions and characteristics of his, are quite apart from his politics indeed.

Van Lear joined the Labor Alliance for Democracy. This organization was absolutely opposed to every class conscious effort of the working class. It was organized not by those elements within the Labor movement that aspired to an international understanding of the working classes, but by those positively opposed to it. That they were renegades to the workers of the world, and out of current with the proletarian upheaval is attested to by their reception in Europe, where they sought to speak for the great rank and file of America. Thus the committee which visited England, from this organization, met there a decidedly hostile reception. The "Glasgow Forward," which is the organ of the workers of the Clyde, said that when the American delegates (of the Alliance) spoke of the "International" they had in mind an altogether different thing from what the British workers had, when they used the word. That to the American delegation it meant a craft union, organized to collect dues and to advance the interests of a specific craft, while the British workers understood by that word, a common and joint effort of all the workers of the world to destroy capitalism. This delegation was made the theme of pungent criticism, by all the labor and Socialist press of Great Britain. Yet Van Lear, as a Socialist, deemed it wise to lend color to this reactionary organization, by his undoubted ability and influence, when he knew all the time that the Socialists in our own country, as well as those of other lands, were against it. Now, history has proven that they were right, and this alliance in question, wrong. Is it asking too much

of a Socialist, who is somewhat privileged by his leadership, to stand by the class struggle? We think not.

In the historic matter of the St. Louis platform, the position of Van Lear virtually amounted to a flat repudiation. He was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl in his stand on that illuminating document. Here was a case where the political necessities of the moment, superseded that of the educational importance to the masses. Clearly not a Socialist policy, whatever else it was. As to the possible argument that if so and so had been done, Van Lear would have been persecuted because of it, the answer is very simple: Regardless of the position that he would have taken on any question of public policy, the capitalist class would have hounded him none the less, as it took it for granted that Van Lear was a Socialist. In this respect then, no amount of camouflage would help Van Lear. In other words, they are class-conscious. The Paris peace conference has already vindicated the truth of the St. Louis platform.

The Thanksgiving proclamation of Mayor Van Lear, in which he called upon the populace to give thanks to God for the blessings enjoyed, most emphatically does not square with the Socialist conception of cause and effect. It may here be suggested that a criticism of that proclamation is really absurd. Not at all. The capitalists, thru their ignoble press, church, school and books, would fix the minds of the workers into a certain groove. The God-idea is one of the things which they propagated and with it, the gospel of the helplessness of man and his dependability upon God, instead, as the Socialists teach, self-reliance. Now is it the function of a Socialist to uphold the superstition taught by capitalists? If so, then Van Lear has the unique honor of doing so. But we think that the reverse is true.

When Van Lear refused to veto the red flag ordinance he betrayed the Socialist aldermen who voted against its passage. He dismissed the ordinance with the laconic "nonsense." However in our opinion, there was no "nonsense" about it. Here was an exceptional law passed against his party, at the very time when President Wilson was being greeted with that emblem in Brest, by the workers of Paris. The red flag as Van Lear certainly knows, is the insignia of the workers of the world, to whom it symbolizes international brotherhood and eternal peace.

Because the filthy capitalist press is trying to attach other and false meanings to it, is no reason why, in our judgment, Van Lear should desert the

emblem of his party, under which our fathers fought the battle of Bunker Hill.

There is some criticism among the rank and file, to the effect that Van Lear did little or nothing, while in office, to strengthen the propaganda of Socialism. In this connection it must be remembered, that Van Lear always took the position that municipal issues and politics have no bearing whatever upon Socialism. Hence his attitude as Mayor, on those questions. Perhaps he is quite right in that. It would be expecting a trifle too much of him, to attend to the pressing problems of the city, and at the same time propagate the ideals of his party, which in the vital matters he either forgot or repudiated.

However, owing to the grave issues involved at the time he was in office he could have made a rational figure out of himself, by assuming a class-

conscious attitude on the matters we have herein dwelt on. By doing that he would have also contributed inestimably to the strength and purpose of the party. But he willed otherwise.

After all however, the career of Van Lear is no better or worse, but it does point out the absolute futility for the workers to repose their trust in politicians. Economic determinism works admirably here as elsewhere. The social-patriotism of Van Lear sprang from his love of office. It is not so much a question of character, as it is of environment. Unfortunately for them, many Socialists forget their "scientific Socialism," when estimating the antics of a Van Lear. It ought to be clear to all that the machinery of capitalist political structure either swallows up a man, or renders him impotent. But the organization of the proletariat on the job makes it invincible. W. ness: Europe.



## Peace and the Aftermath

By J. D. HOWELL.

AS we note proceedings at the peace conference we may shrug our shoulders and look wise, but the world's plenipotentiaries have the center of the stage just now. Later on the people at home, whose patience having become exhausted may take matters into their own hands; and after pulling down the barriers that separate them from a life that is worth while, remodel the world for human beings to live in. The plutocrats are having their day. They are guarding well their interest in material things that seem to entirely absorb the mind of the peace conference as its first instalment of business, while the crying needs of the masses await a more convenient season. The most prominent member at the peace table has suggested that food will hold in check the great human mass that threatens to break forth into jarring sounds of volcanic thunder to disturb the harmony of the upper

spheres of society. While food is a prime essential to happiness, yet even the great are sometimes loath to concede that the laboring class has other faculties than a stomach, and an appetite to be supplied. We would suggest to the wise ones, that it will take more than food to quiet the unrest that today permeates the world. Our social life is like a seething caldron. It is thoroughly turbulent. From center to circumference, the whole social body is fast becoming one mass of angry fermentation. Is it scarcity of food that causes this condition? There is no scarcity of food. Nature has not failed to bless man's labor with abundant harvests. But human greed has blocked the channels of trade, overriding the law of supply and demand, and has established a reign of prohibitive prices. And the nations have failed in their individual capacities to relieve this condition. Will they do otherwise collectively while at the peace table? Is this great



economical problem to be passed to the session; or left as unfinished business after the conference has adjourned? Is not this question that touches the very heart of humanity a weighty one? Is it not of equal importance to the fixing of boundaries, and the working out of a scheme of ruling the islands of the sea and the colonies once governed by the enemy? How long can this impulsive movement of the masses, stirred by an awakened sense of bitter wrongs, stung by sharp-fanged hunger, be held in check, and made to await the deferred action of the peace conference? The governments have deceived the people with false promises, leaving them a prey to the profiteers. If the nations have failed in their individual capacity to protect their citizens, will it not be opportune for the league of nations to establish certain international reforms that will make reoccurrence of such wrongs impossible? How far the conference will venture toward the solving of this great economic problem, out of which has sprung the universal social interest, remains for the coming months to reveal. Nevertheless life is at a crisis. All over the world there are feelings of dread of

some awful things approaching, some huge catastrophe which will shake our social and political structure to its very foundations.

But whatever this universal unrest may portend, we must see that a storm of some kind is approaching. The lashing waves are already visible, and the angry roar of the thunder can be heard. But what of the power to direct the course and to choose out a peaceful harbor? Is there a social conscience in democracy equal to the task? Or is democracy only materialism in action? In this hour of dread and apprehension, democracy may become as great a peril as was autocracy, if it be governed by those principles of materialism everywhere common to plutocratic philosophy. In a real democracy there could be recognized but one class, and that class composed of the workers: for he who does not work himself must of necessity live off the labor of others, and could not be regarded otherwise than a parasite. Is the near future to witness the extermination of this class? We hope so? During the war period it was regarded as a crime to be living in idleness. Why is it less criminal in time of peace?

## Notice to Contributors

From now on "The One Big Union Monthly" will go to press not later than the 15th of each month. All literary contributions should be in about the 5th, except news matter requiring smaller space. Such matter will be accepted up to the 13th of each month. If arriving later it will have to lie over to the next issue. We should appreciate articles descriptive of the industries, with photographs if suitable. Help the Editor to make each issue just what it should be. If our magazine is good, people will read it in preference to other matter.

## Notice to Distributors

The first issue of "The One Big Union Monthly" has been very well received, and was soon sold out. We want to make each succeeding edition larger than the previous one. We want the magazine to get out to the people. If you see your way clear to increase the order you should do so. Also see if you can get other distributors to take up the sale of it. Perhaps there are news stands and stores in your town that would handle it. Help us to place it with reliable customers.

## Notice to Subscribers

Should you not receive this magazine on time, do not be uneasy. There is no fault at this end of the line. The post office is probably holding it back for the benefit of democracy or some such thing. The One Big Union Monthly expects to be running long after the present incumbents of the post office are down and out and forgotten.

## Correcting the Editor

To Editor One Big Union Monthly,  
1001 West Madison St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:—

WITH the best interests of our magazine in mind, I wish to take exception to your article on page eight about "Parcelling Out," referring to the Russian farmers as attempting to use anarchistic principles in solving the Land Question.

Will say that I believe it was the N. P. L. farmers in North Dakota that some years ago threatened to cut down wheat acreage to just enough for their own family use in case certain demands were not complied with, such as prices, grading and marketing. According to my interpreting of your understanding of anarchism you would call the N. P. L. farmers anarchists as far as their demands were concerned. I also wish to take exception to your reference about the average anarchist.

I wish to state that according to the Philosophy of Anarchism, even if it was used in Russia now or in the future, it would not deprive the outside world of any needed surplus.

And I believe that the average anarchist is aware of the principles on which anarchistic philosophy is founded, and same has no reference to the present Russian situation either as a political or economical program. The constitution of the Russian Bolsheviks is a political constitution and means applied socialism.

Yours for the O. B. U.,  
Card No. 248304,  
Union No. 400, Del. No. 2337.  
ALBERT SORTEBERG.

# Is Religion a Handicap to the Labor Movement?

By L. MENCHEN.

Is religion against industrial democracy? Must we destroy the church before we can attain the ends of industrial freedom? Or shall we ignore the fact that thousands of men and women are followers of the church in its different brands and varieties?

These are questions that many a thinker is asking himself today. The writer, in debating with a Christian Socialist on this subject, was told that social progress can go on without in any way interfering with religion. He was even told that Jesus Christ was a Socialist himself and were he alive today he would be one of the first to go to Leavenworth.

It is quite different with Rev. Dr. John M. Vandermullen of the First Presbyterian Church of Oak Park, Ill., who, in a sermon at Nashville, Tenn., (taking it from the Bible, of course), declared, "That the eight-hour day was not based on fairness or justice. Instead, it is based on selfishness and the desire to loaf. The demand for eight-hour legislation is a demand which seeks to give the laboring men privilege over the doctor, the lawyer and other professional men." This pastor, who is supported by none other than the toilers, knocks them at every opportunity he has.

The workers must realize as they never did before that the main object of the church is to keep them in ignorance of the fact that they are being exploited and robbed by the master class. And while these self-made men of God are dependent on the workers for support, they go hand in hand with the capitalist class and the present ruling powers.

The writer recollects an incident that occurred to him several months ago. While walking through the loop district of Chicago in search of a job, he was stopped by several "pay-triots," (those gentlemen who were holding dollar-a-year jobs in order to escape military service), and ordered to buy a Liberty Bond. He used the privilege of free speech and told them that not having the price of a deposit, he was unable to buy a bond, which, by the way, was the truth. He was arrested and held in jail for investigation by the federal government for 40 hours. During this period, none of his friends knew of his whereabouts, as he was not allowed to telephone anyone of his arrest, while five gentlemen of the Billy Sunday type were freely and unquestioningly admitted for the purpose of saving the souls of the prisoners.

Another little instance is that of the charity wards of the hospitals of Chicago. A patient may lie in his bed dying; he may never see his mother or whomever he desires to see, before he dies, un-

less he is lucky enough to die on a visiting day, which is fixed once or twice a week as the hospital authorities see fit. Again, the men and women of God find their way without the least trouble into the presence of the sick, helpless and dying, and preach their gospel to them even though undesired by the latter. The control of the workers' minds seems to be so essential to capitalism that they rape the defenseless worker's mind in the sickroom.

The Chicago Tribune in its editorial columns recently stated that the only hope of suppressing Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism in the United States lies in preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ among the masses on a much larger scale, and as a result a big appeal for funds was issued from the holy headquarters for this purpose. How long will it be before the workers realize that industrial freedom can never be attained unless they wake up to the fact that Billy Sunday, priests, pastors, preachers and the like are leading them astray? They are in with the exploiting class to crush the workers. They lead them away from the idea of social revolution and preach religion and obedience instead, while the workers are financing the game.

Let us drive these parasites away. They are a hindrance to the worker individually as well as to the labor movement.



TAKING THE BULL BY THE TAIL

## The Marine Transport Workers' Convention

**W**E reprint herewith the Marine Transport Workers' call for a convention.

It is desirable that every organization concerned take immediate action. The question of a world union of Marine Transport Workers has got to be solved and be solved quickly. The workers need it and demand it. Send your delegates and let us make the convention a success.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 27, 1919.

### Fellow Workers of the Marine Transport Industry:

The undersigned Conference Committee is elected by the Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers, of the Industrial Workers of the World, and as we speak in behalf of tens of thousands of Marine Transport Workers, in this and in other countries, we request your respectful attention for the following proposition.

Already before the great world war the promptings were constantly pouring in on our main office, asking our organization to take the initiative in calling a conference that might lead to a world union of our industry, a union built on such modern principles that it could count on the support of the most advanced elements of Marine Transport Workers.

The war temporarily ended all efforts in that direction. But no sooner was the war over, before the same persistent demands began crowding upon us again. Men of all nations are now clamoring for us to take the initiative in such a move for a modern world union of Marine Transport Workers.

In taking this step and sending out this call, we do so in connection with the calling of a general conference of our own delegates from the North American continent, proposing to take advantage

The revolution that the I. W. W. wants cannot be made in a day, nor in a month, nor in a year. Capitalism is in no immediate danger from us. Our revolution cannot be made in an outburst of popular rage, nor can it be made by a riotous mob, nor by armed soldiery. It has first to be made in the brains of the workers, and then it has to be transplanted into the field of industry. This is practical, economic work of a peaceful nature, and it will take years of time.

I. W. W. does not plan to start uprisings. That is done by those who want political power, a thing we do not want or need. All we want is to press the idea of industrial organization through the brains of mankind. That is educational work. After that is done the transformation will come naturally and will be a case of economic reconstruction rather than a revolution in the old sense of the word.

Drop everything and organize industrially.

of this conference and make it an international conference, as far as the short time intervening will allow.

We hereby issue a formal call to all organizations of Marine Transport Workers in the United States, Canada and Mexico, and all other countries which this call reaches to send instructed delegates to a conference to take place in **Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.**, on April 28, 1919, with the object of elaborating plans for such a world union of Marine Transport Workers.

In view of the concerted attack of our masters upon our ranks, it is to be hoped that every organization, local, district or national, that possibly has a chance to send a delegate will do so, in order that our deliberations and decisions may rest on the broadest possible basis.

The attendance of as many foreign delegates as possible is desirable, in order that we may work out a plan for a world wide organization. We have positive proof that such an organization and such co-operation is demanded all over the Earth. It is only a matter of finding the best forms for this co-operation, and the longed-for World Union of Marine Transport Workers will become a living reality, instead of a sailors' Utopian dream.

The place in Chicago where the conference will meet will be decided on later, and will be made known to all concerned. In the meantime we suggest that you immediately enter into correspondence with The Conference Committee, and beg to remain,

Yours for world-wide solidarity,  
THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE,  
per **John Sandgren**, Sec'y.

Address all communications to The Secretary,  
**1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.**

There will be no happiness for any of us before capitalism is gone.

Capitalism has scuttled the good old ship of society. The only thing to do is to save it through industrial organization, and that has to be done at once. If we do not hurry we shall be wrecked on the shoals of revolution.

The capitalists are not interested in saving society. All they think of is saving their private ownership and control.

The Lithuanian foreign secretary says that the worst thing about Russia is that the pernicious doctrines of Bolshevism are held by a majority of the people. Is majority rule to be added to the list of Soviet crimes?—Howard Brubaker in the *Liberator*.

# The Majesty of the Law

By EMMANUEL JOCHELMANN

Honor the Law! Obey it! Never transgress its appointed paths!

Behold what has it given to us: Courts, Judges, prosecutors, police, hangmen, death-chambers, electric chairs, eminent lawyers, the third degree and many other notable features of which it is properly proud!

The Law is cruel. It bites; it lacerates the flesh of the human body and destroys the soul of its victims!

Medical science is constantly on the look-out for methods to alleviate the misery of those that come to seek its aid. It has invented either, twilight sleep, local anesthetics and many other means of minimizing pain.

Religion has for its mission to succor, to console, to comfort the afflicted. Both of these institutions, whatsoever their faults, have served humanity.

The Law instead of doing or attempting to do what these two have done in their respective fields, constantly endeavored to trap and entangle, to crush, to damn.

The doctor seeks to remove a patient's disease,—the Law adds to his disease.

The Law seems not to consider those who are unfortunate enough to be dragged before it as its peers. It mistrusts itself and those with whom it is connected;—and truly does it do this.

Its detrimental influence is felt everywhere: in the shop, in the office, in matrimony, in birth, in death. It thinks not of the frailty of the human being brought before its bar, but of the majesty of the Law . . .

\* \* \*

I knew him as Kawin. He was young in years, but his heart was ancient. He never spoke of the future and little of the past,—the present seemed all to him.

It was quite by accident that we became acquainted. I met him one morning as I was crossing a bridge in a large city. I noticed a young man shabbily clad and somewhat stooped, walking rapidly from one end of the bridge to the other. He repeated this performance several times.

On the previous day I had read in the newspapers of an escaped lunatic. Thinking this was he I rushed up to him. He stopped.

"I'm not a keeper," I said, "What are you going to do?"

"I'm obeying the law!" he gave back, not in the least perturbed.

"In what manner are you obeying the law?" I questioned.

"Oh," he responded, ponderously, "You don't know the city traffic ordinance pertaining to bridges!"

I confessed my ignorance of the matter.

"Well," with a comical air of superiority, "the law on that point says, that the time that a pedestrian can remain on one place is limited to seven and a half minutes. You see I'm too early for work and I'm obliged to keep walking back and forth."

"Oh," I said, "where are you working?"

"Down there,—at the main office."

"Say," he continued, as he scanned my black bag, "you aren't working in a lawyer's office, are you?"

I declared that I was innocent of that crime.

"Humph," he sniffed, as though he regretted even the time spent in talking to me. Then a whistle sounded and he left me abruptly.

Sometime after I chanced to meet him again and from that time on we were friends. He seemed unwilling to discuss his history. In truth, he was loath to talk except on this one theme. Nothing in the world could mar his enjoyment of the subject of the Law. At times he would babble on this subject for hours. To him all things were subordinated to the Law. No, he never had studied law. Neither had his father, nor his grandfather!

His one ambition (if ambition it could be called) was to sit at the feet of someone who knew the Law. To finger huge leather-bound, dusty books was his dream. To carry a lawyer's portfolio would have been an honor unrivalled among all honors.

To him the Law was a beneficent spirit. Law, past and present, satisfied him absolutely. He fashioned all his thoughts, habits and opinions according to its dictum. Always he expressed his respect and his fear of it. When he came to marry he thought only of the legal phase of the proposed step.

Thus he was swept on by the events of time. His family was happy. He loved his wife, his children. And, above all, he still retained a peculiar sort of "love" for the Law. All his happiness, he maintained, depended upon it. He had acquired a house for himself and all went well until one never-forgotten day. A transportation company wished to lay railway tracks in the little town where he lived. Kawin's house which stood in the way was demanded by the company. His wife refused to give up the house. It was her home—her all. The Government commissioner arrived in town. He talked to Kawin. Kawin argued with his wife. But to no end. Then the official, who was prepared for such an emergency, ordered his assistants to survey the land on which the house stood. When this order had been complied with, he announced that the house was set contrary to the building laws, therefore, it should be confiscated. This was done. The Law had triumphed over Kawin's wife. Soon after came her tragic death. All this came to poor Kawin with stunning force. He couldn't

grasp the meaning of it all—it was like an enigma to him. He knew that he had obeyed the Law—could it thus have rewarded him?

Still he did not falter from his oldtime belief and trust. Only when his children were taken away from him and put into a Home did he seem to lose courage. On divers occasions, when walking through the streets, I noticed that he glanced furtively over his shoulder. When anyone spoke to him he manifested every sign of mistrust, even irritation, so that in time he was shunned by everyone.

Years passed. I lost all trace of him. One day I noticed a bent figure moving swiftly toward the great city square. Something in his gait brought back to me the memory of the young man who years ago I had met on the bridge. I pursued him and found my presumptions to be correct. I greeted him, but received no response. He increased his pace. I followed him. We entered the great municipal building and rushed through the doors of the court room where a session was in progress. I followed him. Punctiliously he removed his hat as he entered the chamber.

With a sharp jerk of his little body he took up his position in front of the judge. Raising his hand pleadingly, the shrill voice that used so eloquently to propound the glory of the Law spoke as if repeating a chant:

“I have obeyed the Law throughout my whole life; I have honored and respected it even though it robbed me of those that were dear to me. I now appear before you, conscious of my action, and demand the law’s sanction to take my life,—to take my body in my own hands and dispose of it as I see fit for I realize that my life belongs to the state and” . . .

Court attendants, policemen and clerks set upon him and amid the confusion that he had created he was hustled out of the room . . .

\* \* \*

Two days afterwards I heard that he had taken his life in the psychopathic ward of the General Hospital. He had separated the arteries of his throat with a bit of broken glass . . .

\* \* \*

He was beyond the Majesty of the Law.



*The Ruler of Tomorrow*

## THE COMMUNIST ACADEMY IN MOSKWA

By ARVID G. HANSEN.

(Russian Correspondent of “Socialdemokraten” of Christiania, Norway.)

**D**RIVEN by necessity, the Bolsheviks have used brutal force in their effort to stabilize social order. This, however, does not prevent them from worshipping science, and that perhaps more than the socialists of any other country, particularly in regard to social science. For the first time in the World’s history has there been created a special scientific institute for social-economic research, and that is established in the Bolshevik capital. And it rests entirely on the solid foundation of Marxian sociology.

The regulations for this new Academy, which by no means displaces other universities and scientific institutions, even if the study of law now is reduced to a minimum, are dated Jan. 12, 1918.

The Academy is a free association of scientific investigators and instructors in the domain of social science and related sciences, who all have one thing in common, namely that their work proceeds from a socialist or communist foundation. The Academy has two categories of members. On one side are the appointed functionaries: professors, instructors and assistants as well as collaborating investigators. The Academy distributes stipends and prizes, and creates special institutes, libraries, laboratories, museums, etc. It renders reports of its activities to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Commissariat of Education. The whole establishment is, as you will understand, on a grand scale, and as a result it is by no means inexpensive. The budget is somewhere round 3½ million rubles.

I was present at the solemn opening of the Academy on Oct. 1st. It is an old boarding-school a little ways out of Moskwa, that has been adapted for the purpose. It is beautifully located. It is easy to see that it has been a school. In the large glass cases one still sees large collections of school supplies, collections of insects and stuffed birds, instruments for instruction in physics, chemical preparates, etc. Professor Propoffsky, who has charge of the preparatory work for the establishment of the Academy, is running back and forth in his new-pressed pants and looks immoderately happy. Even the most radical Radek is present in black dress suit.

I look with interest at the 600 faces, that turn toward the cathedra, as the opening ceremonies commence. It is almost exclusively young working men, but the older generations are also to some extent represented. The Jewish element is not in the majority, not even among the professors. For the first time in history there are gathered a selection of the best workingclass intelligence in a scientific institution, to devote themselves to profound study of social science. It is therefore easy to understand that there is an air of great solemnity over the young faces when Propoffsky begins to speak and recounts how the Academy has come into existence, changing into thunderous applause as he concludes by declaring the world's first Socialist Academy opened.

Thereafter follow the speeches, one after the other. Radek and Mrs. Kollontay both dwell upon the immense importance of a socialist science of great vitality for Russian society.

The information is given that the total number of scholars is 900. They come to the Academy with financial support from all the different parts of Russia. Instruction is free, and so are the supplies needed. No high-school education or examinations of any kind are needed. Those who lack preparation will not be able to follow the courses. They will drop behind of themselves. All lectures as well as the scientific works of the members of the Academy will be printed and published by the Academy. Of the leading scientific names of the university I

#### POINTS FOR THE PROPAGANDISTS.

(From "The Brisbane Worker.")

Craft unionism divides the workers; Big Unionism binds them together.

\* \* \*

Craft unions can do little by themselves. The One Big Union can and will accomplish much.

\* \* \*

The One Big Union movement is the solid ground upon which the workers must build for the future.

\* \* \*

All workers are members of the one class in society. Then why not members of one union in industry?

wish to particularly mention the economist and philosopher Bogdanoff, Bukharin, Radek, Rjasanoff, Obolensky, Stecklow, Keresjentsjeff, Mrs. Uljanoff (Lenin) and Mrs. Kollontaj. Of the old professors there are only a couple attached to the Academy, namely Pjotroffsky, the communists' most prominent historian, and the social economist Reusner, and a few of the old assistant private instructors. There are altogether 40 to 50 who are giving lectures. A number of the most prominent men and women in the international labor movement are listed as honorary members: Franz Mehring, Liebknecht, Victor Adler, Giulbeaux, Romain Rolland, Klara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, and some others. Bucharin was made a member of the Academy for his work on the economic side of imperialism, which is said to be a very remarkable work. Without a scientific achievement of some kind or other none is admitted to the Academy.

All the professors are communists. But there are also a good many teachers who conduct seminary exercises in branches of a preparatory nature to the study proper, elementary courses in political economy, in history, and several other branches. To enable the scholars to study foreign literature, there are also some courses in foreign languages, half private. The old history of civilization is considered an antiquated hash. Sociology and the history of economic evolution on the contrary are considered the most important parts of socialist study.

You will get an idea of the grand scheme of the Academy when I tell you that there are in all about 500 courses, divided in 3 main parts: 1) The faculty of social history; 2) The economic-financial faculty; and 3) The technical-economic faculty.

In the midst of revolutionary struggle and an endless work of new-creating in every line, a work which in spite of all has brought Russia nearer to socialism than any other country, the communists have thus succeeded in establishing a scientific institution which is one of the surest guarantees that the principles of communist society in their utmost consequences will be put into practice with a minimum of mistakes and costly experimenting.

Do you think the capitalist and the hiring press would condemn the One Big Union if it was really injurious to the welfare of the workers?

\* \* \*

One Big Unionism is not going to kick any trouble in industry. The trouble is already there. The One Big Union is going to kick it out, that's all.

\* \* \*

The One Big Union advocates believe that social ownership of the means of production should displace the present parasitical system of capitalistic ownership. Do you?

# A Joint Propaganda

By W. I. FISHER.

**W**E are facing a crisis in the history of the labor movement, which if met aright means great things for the social revolution. How will we meet it? Will we go along in the narrow ruts of the past and become a small podded sect or by changing tactics get control of the labor movement? Let us face the issue squarely. We are in revolutionary times, the labor movement is rapidly shifting from right to left. The influence of the I. W. W. as the representative of the extreme left is rapidly increasing. The capitalists understand this and are determined to use all their weapons of violence, lies and cajolery to prevent us from capturing the labor movement. That they can succeed in a measure is possible, at least they can greatly retard the revolutionary movement. But it rests with us whether they will or not. If we refuse to recognize the trend of events we can be crushed temporarily. If we take advantage of circumstances and strive to unify the revolutionary forces we will get control in a short time of the labor movement.

What would we suggest?

Several things.

First, an agreement between all revolutionists and revolutionary organizations for a joint propaganda upon the following lines:

1. Revolutionary industrial unionism as the basis of the labor movement.
2. Release of all political and class war prisoners. Stopping of all reactionary measures against labor.
3. Recognition and assistance to the Communist (Bolshevik) revolution now going on in Europe.

After agreeing upon some such propaganda which we are convinced all social revolutionists can agree to, it is then our business to organize our propaganda. By entering into all labor struggles and striving to get control of them we can spread most effectually our propaganda.

Creation of workers', soldiers' and sailors' councils can be an effectual means to that end. They can become as times goes on the new administrative

bodies of labor to set over against the capitalist chambers of commerce, merchant and manufacturers associations and various law making and enforcing bodies and thru their administrative control of industry supplant the capitalist control of industry with working class control and administration.

We have to develop popular assemblages as a means to educate the workers. The open forums in Seattle, Washington, are not only immensely popular but a great means of education. They were virtually controlled by the I. W. W. Such bodies should be started everywhere.

A series of working class daily papers in all our larger cities. A regular workers' newsbureau to supplement these dailies to gather information for the workers. This could counteract the lies of capitalism promulgated thru its press.

But how are we to go about doing all this? Well, a suggestion is in order so we will offer one. Let every revolutionary body send representatives to Chicago, May 1, 1919, and meet just after the conference for release of political prisoners and discuss the principles, ways and means for a common revolutionary propaganda. Out of that propaganda will come a unity of ideals and an understanding of our common interests, consequently there will spring out of this a unified labor movement.

The I. W. W. is the logical organization to start such a movement. In fact, all we have built up is at stake if we do not. We are not strong enough to withstand the united attacks of the capitalist power and we will have to call in to our aid our allies, the other radical labor bodies. We are in revolutionary times and all movements of labor are swinging rapidly from right to left. Now is our supreme opportunity to promulgate our principles thru the formation and organization of a common propaganda. Are we big enough to measure up to the standard? Upon our action depends our future.

The craft union is no good for anything any more. It does not win any battles for hours and wages, and for taking over production it is no good at all. It simply cannot be done. The world is laughing at them. "Gompers does not belong to this generation," the French say.

Seeing that the Bolsheviks have to resort to industrial organization in order to take over production, would it not be wise to do that organizing already now while we can do it without any great suffering. If we delay it we will have to do it anyhow, but under the most unfavorable circum-

stances.

The I. W. W. does not fight religion; no more so than it fights astronomy or chemistry; but by the look of things we will soon have to unmask the activities of the church. This institution has fallen into the control of our enemies like most everything else. Operating as it does in the dark and on a field considered sacred they are harming us a good deal. Many of our troubles can be traced back to Wall st. via the priest of the Catholics or the minister of the Protestants. Let us go after them, but let us leave religion alone.

# Bolsheviks No More

**M**OST people do not know that "Bolshevik" is only a nickname, a nickname that lost its significance everywhere except in U. S., where the capitalist class is using it to mislead the workers. The bolsheviks pride themselves on being **communists** and call themselves so.

Allow us to quote a foot note from "The Soviets at Work," by Nicolai Lenin (Seattle Union Record Publ. Co.):

"The Bolsheviks—formerly a faction within the Social Democratic Labor Party—have recently changed their name to Communist Party to distinguish themselves from other Social Democratic groups.

The terms Bolsheviks and Mensheviks date back to 1903, when at a congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party a difference arose on a seemingly unimportant question (editorial supervision of the party organ) when upon a vote which decided the question there naturally was a majority and a minority. Those who were with the majority were nicknamed Bolsheviks and those with the minority Mensheviks, deriving their names from the Russian words Bolshinstvo and Menshinstvo, meaning majority and minority respectively." (Foot note by Alexander Trachtenberg of Rand School.)

Those that we in this country call Bolsheviks, call themselves communists, thereby signifying their economic program. What remains of the Finnish Socialist organization recently adopted the name of communists at their congress in Moskwa. Frequently the so-called Bolsheviks of Germany, Austria and other countries are also inadvertently referred to as communists by the capitalist press.

There is nothing official from Bolshevist source as to the details of the supposed communist program, so we have to take them by their word.

We, the I. W. W. people, are industrial communists with a definite program, which we have been trying to put into practice for a number of years.

Can it be that political socialism is gradually discovering the untenability of its position and is trying to slip over into our path without being noticed or discovered, and without losing leadership and the place on top in the sun. If they do, we will have a good laugh at their expense.

Are they trying to swipe our program without leaving a receipt? Or are they merely wandering the road of repentance, asking for the favor of obscurity?

No matter what their purpose might be, they will meet the I. W. W. at the end of the road.

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## The Spartacus Movement in Germany

By RAGNAR CASPARSON

**A**UTHENTIC information on the inside conditions of the German revolution is scarce. For a time, the press seemed to make it a business to make us believe the Spartacus group was crushed. By the way, it is no longer a group, but a large party. The papers seemed to try to make us believe that the revolution had reached a homogeneous expression of the popular will. This news seems to have been a little hasty. Spartacus' life seems to be tough, yes, even strong enough for development, as late events prove. The Spartacus men are the Bolsheviks of the German revolution and the Russian revolution is being repeated along the same general lines in Germany.

Long the battle had gone on in Russia between the Kerensky regime and the Leninites and nobody ascribed any particular importance to the repeated revolts of the latter, before they suddenly astonished the world by their victory over the half-bourgeois Kerensky party. The same applies to the German Spartacus people. Liebknecht was looked upon in the light of an irresponsible bawler, and his adherents as crazy people or highly irresponsible persons. The disorderly populace of a big city related to the well-known Hooligans of the

Finnish revolution, are supposed to be the main part of the left wing of the German revolutionists. But we should be careful about using such superficial judgment.

Each revolution has a tendency to become radicalized, and to go towards the left. The German revolution will make no exception to this historic rule. The revolution in Germany will not be in the furrows leading to its final end before the soldiers have returned to civil life. When they again come back to the shacks which once were their wigwams in which they could rest in undisturbed peace, when they find their children starved to death, when they find their wives broken down by disease and starvation, the factories shut down, ruin and disaster grinning from every corner, then Spartacus will find adherents by the thousands. Then the German revolution will enter upon the thorny path of Russian Bolshevism and then the real revolution will come. Then it will separate the chaff from the wheat, then it will be proven whether Hindenburg and consorts really are for the freedom of the people, or if they are only hoisting a red rag in order to be more undisturbed in an attempt to build up a new military power.



# A Call for an International Communist Congress

The following call for an international communist congress is reprinted from "The Revolutionary Age" which states that the sending out of this call was decided upon by the Russian Communist Party (The Bolsheviks) at their recent congress in January, 1919.

## First Section

### AIMS AND TACTICS

In our estimation, the acceptance of the following principles shall serve as a working program for the International:

1.—The actual period is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist system;

2.—The first task of the proletariat consists today of the immediate seizure of government power by the proletariat;

3.—This new governmental apparatus must incorporate the dictatorship of the working class, and in some places, also that of the poorer peasantry together with hired farm labor, this dictatorship constituting the instrument of the systematic overthrow of the exploiting classes.

4.—The dictatorship of the proletariat shall complete the immediate expropriation of Capitalism and the suppression of private property in the means of production, which includes, under Socialism, the suppression of private property and its transfer to a proletarian state under the Socialist administration of the working class, the abolition of capitalist agricultural production, the nationalization of the great business firms and financial trusts;

5.—In order to insure the Social Revolution, the disarming of the bourgeoisie and its agents, and the general arming of the proletariat, is a prime necessity.

### Second Section

#### ATTITUDE REGARDING SOCIALIST PARTIES

7.—The fundamental condition of the struggle is the mass action of the proletariat, developing into open armed attack on the governmental powers of Capitalism.

8.—The old International has broken into three principal groups: the avowed social-patriots who, during the entire duration of the imperialistic war between the years 1914 and 1918, have supported their own bourgeoisie; the minority Socialists of the "center," represented by leaders of the type of Karl Kautsky, and who constitute a group composed of ever-hesitating elements, unable to settle on any determined direction and who uptodate have always acted as traitors; and the Revolutionary Left Wing.

9.—As far as the social-patriots are concerned, who stood up everywhere in arms, in the most critical moments, against the revolution, a merciless fight is the alternative; in regard to the "Center,"

the tactics consist in separating from it the revolutionary elements, in criticizing pitilessly its leaders and in dividing systematically among them the number of their followers; these tactics are absolutely necessary when we reach a certain degree of development.

10.—On the other hand it is necessary to proceed in a common movement with the revolutionary elements of the working class who though hitherto not belonging to the party, yet adopt today in its entirety, the point of view of dictatorship of the proletariat, under the form of Soviet government, including the syndicalist elements of the labor movements.

11.—It is also necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations, who, though not in the wake as yet of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

12.—We propose that the representatives of parties and groups following these tendencies shall take part in the Congress as plenipotentiary members of the Workers International and should belong to the following parties:

1.—The Spartacus group (Germany); 2.—The Bolsheviks or Communist Party (Russia); Other Communist groups of: 3.—German-Austria; 4.—Hungary; 5.—Finland; 6.—Poland; 7.—Estonia; 8.—Lettonia; 9.—Lithuania; 10.—White Russia; 11.—Ukraine; 12.—The Revolutionary elements of Czecho-Slovakia; 13.—The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party; 14.—The Roumanian Social-Democrats; 15.—The left Wing of the Servian Social-Democracy; 16.—The Left Wing of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party; 17.—The Norwegian Social-Democratic Party; 18.—The Danish groups of the class struggle; 19.—The Dutch Communist Party; 20.—The revolutionary elements of the Belgian Labor Party; 21-22.—The groups and organizations in the midst of the French Socialist and syndicalist movements who are in solidarity with our aims; 23.—The Left Wing of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party; 24.—The Italian Socialist Party; 25.—The left elements of the Spanish Socialist Party; 26.—The left elements of the Portuguese Socialist Party; 27.—The British Socialist Party (those nearer to us are the elements represented by MacLean); 28.—I. S. P. R. (Great Britain); 29.—S. L. P. (England); 30.—I. W. W. (Great Britain); 31.—The revolutionary elements of Shop-Stewards (Great Britain); 33.—The S. L. P. (U. S. A.); 34.—The elements of the Left Wings of American Socialist Propaganda (tendency represented by E. V. Debs and the Socialist Propaganda League); 35.—I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World), America; 36.—The Workers' International Industrial Union (U. S. A.); 37.—I. W.

W. of Australia; 38.—The Socialist groups of Tokio and Samon represented by Sen Katayama; 39.—The Young Peoples' Socialist International Leagues.

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**3rd Section.**

**THE ORGANIZATION AND NAME OF  
THE PARTY.**

13. —The Congress must be transformed into a common organ of combat in view of the permanent struggle and systematic direction of the movement, into a center of International Communism which will subordinate the Interests of the Revolution from an international point of view.

The concrete forms of organization, representation, etc., will be elaborated by the Congress.

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**The Textile Strike**

**BULLETIN FROM PATERSON, N. J.**

The strike of the textile workers which began on Feb. 3, is temporarily called off.

The following Strike bulletin, issued by the I. W. W. Textile Workers, gives a concise picture of the whole situation.

**To the Silk Workers of Paterson**

**Fellow Workers:**

The resumption of work in the silk mills of Paterson does not mean that the strike is over. The workers have no way receded from their original demand for the 8-hour day and the 44-hour week. **That demand was just and it still stands.** There will be no lasting peace in the industry until it is granted.

The local A. F. of L. officials, following the established tactics of that organization, are trying to trick the workers into accepting a compromise. The strike had no sooner begun than they went into secret conference with the employers and worked out a plan by which they hoped to deliver the workers to the bosses for 47 hours of drudgery per week.

In order to bolster up their weakened authority over the members of their own organizations, they cooked up the scheme of calling in the War Labor Board, in order to use its official prestige, etc., to awe the workers into submission. The War Labor Board, after going through a few fake motions of reluctance, fell in with the plan and ORDERED the silk workers to go back to work on what everyone knows is merely a camouflaged 47-hour basis.

The scheme of the silk manufacturers and their tools, the A. F. of L. officials, is to have the War Labor Board add to the present schedule, four and a half hours on Saturday, making the 47-hour week. The capitalist papers have virtually admitted that this is the official plan.

**Will it succeed?**

That will depend on the silk workers themselves

AND ON NO ONE ELSE. You were sincere in your decision for the 44-hour week. If you stand by that decision, you can force the employers to comply with it, no matter what rules the War Labor Board may presume to lay down for you. By your splendid demonstration of working class solidarity when 95 per cent of the workers quit in a body on Feb. 3, you showed that you can enforce your demands **IF YOU CHOOSE TO.**

**Remember you did not call in the War Labor Board. You were not consulted or represented in any way in the conferences and negotiations. It was a deal between the bosses and a clique of labor politicians willing to sell out the workers in order to keep the favor of the manufacturers and hold on to their comfortable jobs.**

When the War Labor Board hands down its decision, it will be for you to say whether that decision shall stand. If it is not satisfactory to you, if it does not recognize your demands and respect your rights, it will be for you to use your industrial power to enforce your demands and protect your rights.

**It is you who do the hard work in the silk industry; it is for you, therefore, to say under what conditions that work shall be done.**

Meanwhile, prepare for the next struggle! The class war, between the workers and those who live off their labor, **MUST INEVITABLY GO ON.** There can be no peace until the workers take over the management of the industries and oblige the leisure class to **GO TO WORK.**

This can be accomplished, and the workers be freed from their present condition of industrial slavery, only by the organization of the workers in each industry into **ONE BIG UNION.** The present strike is but another illustration of the suicidal consequences of the workers allowing themselves to be split up into separate craft unions, with conflicting interest and all the bewildering entanglement of craft union machinery. If we had had one industrial union of the Paterson silk workers, we would have won our demand within a week, and we would now be **going to work at 8 a. m.**

**Only when the workers in each industry organize in one industrial union that shall include every man and woman in that industry will they be able to make their power felt and force the employers to grant them their rights.**

Do your part to bring that about right here in Paterson. Join the I. W. W., "the one big union of the workers of the world."

Yours for industrial freedom,

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

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 O. Henry makes one of his characters say, "I can lick the man that invented poverty." It would be far better if he'd organize with his fellow-workers to abolish the system that causes it, instead.

# Dissemination of Syndicalist Ideas Among German Industrial Workers

By A. MELKER.

**A**FTER November 9, that is, the day when the German Republic was established, much was said in the papers about great strikes taking place in the Oberschlesien mines. It is of quite great interest that these strikes did not first break out in the mines of Saxony or Westphalen, for in those places the workers had been educated by social democracy in the last fifty years and had been organized in the social democratic, so-called free trade-unions, while in Oberschlesien the workers, who were nearly all Poles, were not at all in favor of the German social democracy.

Now, this means that these Polish workers (in Oberschlesien the majority of the people are Polish) were not contaminated by the poison of social democracy which paralyzes the power of action of the workers by means of an imaginary old aunt, called Evolution, which on account of much usage was nearly all used up and could go ahead only very slowly, and for this reason, direct action, which in the revolution celebrated its greatest triumph, found it much easier to come into use with the less spoiled Polish workers than with the misguided social democratically schooled German workers.

The Polish workers were the first who after the outbreak of the revolution wanted to carry political revolution over on the economic field by immediately making such demands on the place of work for the improvement of their economic condition, demands which the social democratic member of the Reichstag, Hue, declared to be extravagant and which he warned the miners of Recklinghausen in the Rhineland not to adopt, meaning that those demands were so high that they bordered on insanity (for an imperial Socialist, of course). That these demands were not insane, is best proven by the fact that the largest part of them were granted without closing down the mines. The whole thing amounted to this, that a Count Henkel von Donnermark and a Prince Lichnowsky and others had to be satisfied with a smaller part of the product of labor.

After the Oberschlesien workers had started to use the direct action proclaimed also by the German syndicalists in such a vigorous manner, against Capital, other German miners began to follow. In the mines of the uncrowned kings Thyssen and Stinnes who with their directors had been arrested by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Muhlheim because their purpose was to call the French and English bourgeois governments to their aid to obtain protection for their stolen riches—in those

mines the workers followed the example of the Oberschlesien workers and struck for higher wages, more corresponding to the dear times. They asked for a wage of twenty marks a day and for workers between sixteen and eighteen years old, 8-10 marks per day, and here is to be noted that the old trade unions tried to persuade the workers to stop the strike, but then there happened what always must happen: the revolutionary workers turned their backs on their old organizations and their leaders and continued to strike of their own accord. Liebknecht and the syndicalist agitator, Th. Schuster, went there and the whole bourgeois and democratic press wrote that contrary to the aspirations of the old trade unions to quiet the workers, they would, under the influence of the radical elements, go out on strike again, and in Essen in the mines of Thyssen and Stinnes, ten thousand workers struck. Five days later it was already sixteen thousand. In other places, as in the mines of Hamborn, the strike was settled because an agreement was reached, but this agreement was not of a kind that would satisfy the radical elements. The calm now existing at some of the mines, like Wilhelmina Victoria and Hibernia, is only the calm before the storm. New strikes will blow up again.

**The German working-class has awakened and is going to develop in the syndicalist direction.** The other day the secretary in the syndicalist metal workers' organization, fellow worker Weisberg, wrote to me that in every place the workers are turning to the syndicalist organizations for assistance and information. A large part of the workers have pulled away from the centralist social democratic trade unions because they have now understood that these are incompetent to carry on the battle against Capitalism with good results. For instance: The old centralist trade-unions in Berlin had made an agreement with the employers that in the great Schwartzkopf works in Berlin, work should be performed only three to four days a week on account of lack of raw material and besides they made an agreement that the old trade-union was to be on an equal footing with the Employers' Association. Other organizations the Employers' Association did not recognize. The Social Democrats shouted jubilantly, "Now we are the equals of the employers."

But in this was an unsuspected trap, and that was, that the Employer's Association did not want to recognize other organizations as equally competent with the old ones. The result soon showed itself. The workers were not satisfied with the

other points of the agreements and as they had no other organization they turned to the executive committee of the Workers' Council. This Council entered into negotiations with the Employers' Association only to be told that they had already made an agreement with the trade-union and that settled it. The workers now understood with whom they had to do in the old trade-union movement.

Such events are bringing the workers more and more away from the old organizations and over to the new ones, among which the syndicalist organization has the best future.

That is the impression one gets in reading the letter from fellow worker Schuster, who writes about his agitation trip to the industrial district in Rhineland Westphalen known as the Ruhr District. He writes as follows:

"For the Free Union of Metal Workers (Syndicalists) I went to Muhlheim, as the fellow workers there were calling for help. What I there saw in the course of eight days, I shall never forget. We syndicalists know that the workers in these parts had before vainly struggled for improved conditions. Revolts and wage battles were not uncommon, but they were all without result. The Christian and old Social Democratic methods were completely insufficient against such stiff-backed employers. The faith of the working-class in their own power, was under such conditions disappearing more and

more, and the workers indifferently accepted terms and conditions which in other places would have been quite impossible. Those agitators who before the war went to the Ruhr District came back without courage and in despair. All effort was in vain, but now the leaf has turned. The revolution, commencing November 7, has changed conditions.

No more one sees resigned faces. All over, the people are jubilant over the revolution and great enthusiasm prevails at all meetings. All over, there are found syndicalist organizations. The seed we sowed years ago, which apparently fell on barren fellow workers worked with success in the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. At the election of the executive committee, our fellow workers were in the majority. All over, the meetings were exceedingly well attended. In Dusseldorf there was formed a syndicalist union with over two thousand members. Everything that I saw justifies the conclusion that syndicalism in Germany is going forward with great strides and that the working-class intends to put an end to exploitation by means of direct action."

We dare not say as yet that the syndicalist ideas about abolishing wage slavery have come to expression in the last strikes but syndicalist tactics, direct action, has conquered for itself a place in the German labor movement. It is a beginning which justifies hopes that it will continue on the same road for the future.

Future belongs to Syndicalism.



# Oh Physician! Heal Thyself!

**R**AYMOND ROBINS of the American Red Cross mission in Russia is to be congratulated on his testimony regarding the Bolsheviki given before the U. S. Senate committee. He has made it clear that allied refusal to co-operate with the Soviet government was responsible for the Brest-Litovsk treaty and that French financiers fomented intervention in Russia in the attempt to save the billions in bonds loaned to the Czar.

But Raymond Robbins, the witness in behalf of Russia, is greater than Raymond Robins, the physician who undertakes to prescribe a cure for Bolshevism and the I. W. W. As a witness Robbins shows honesty and fearlessness, coupled with knowledge and discernment. As a physician he is a bad diagnostician, unable to grasp fundamental conditions and prescribe a remedy accordingly.

Discussing means "to stop Bolsheviki propaganda in this country," with Senator Overman, Raymond Robins said, according to the press:

"Remedy the wrongs, and you eliminate the breeding places of Bolshevism. The I. W. W. sprout and grow on economic wrongs, left-over spots in our civilization, like the lumber camps of the Northwest. Take the fear of unemployment, accidents and sickness from workmen's homes, and you remove the need of Bolshevism. Laws against the red flag, or any other hysteria, directed at superficial things, are of no avail in the long run. Get at the fundamentals."

This final bit of advice, Raymond Robins fails to follow himself, as we have already indicated.

Bolshevism is the fruit of a world-war, which was preceded, for about thirty years, by a struggle

for world-supremacy, which contributed greatly to the world-war's terrible advent. Has the struggle for world-supremacy been made impossible by the world-war, or has the world-war made inevitable a more intense world-commercial struggle, with prospects for more Bolshevism as its logical fruit? We leave Raymond Robins, social diagnostician and physician, to answer.

Again, before the world-war, the course of all industrial nations was towards the program of unemployed insurance, workmen's compensation, etc., prescribed by Raymond Robins. Did this program destroy the capitalist necessity to struggle for world-supremacy? Did it remove the struggle for world-supremacy as a contributing factor to world-war? Did it prevent the latter event and the Bolshevism that grew out of it? History, current history, records the answer, far too tragically for all who care to understand.

Raymond Robins' mistake consists in seeing in Bolshevism and the I. W. W. symptoms of retarded development in civilization; whereas they are really both symptomatic of over-developed capitalism. As a result, his remedy is wrong.

Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism flourish wherever capitalism flourishes. From highly governmentalized Australia, to the shop steward movement in Great Britain and the most advanced economic movement in progressive Paterson, N. J., the I. W. W. idea of industrial democracy grows because capitalist autocracy and all its attendant evils grow too.

End capitalism, Raymond Robins, and you end Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism. You create a new society.—J. E.

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If you tell a person that one leg of his pants is up and the other down, if you tell him that somebody has put a funny handbill on the seat of his coat, if you tell him that his watch has slipped out of his pocket and is hanging by the chain, you are not criticising him; you are helping him. If we constantly remind the sympathizers of Bolshevism that they first of all should organize industrially, we are not picking faults with them, we are helping them.

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Have you noticed what spiritual and intellectual freedom comes to the I. W. W. man who never compromises? That freedom, that independence, that happiness they cannot take away from us even if they bind us to a post in a cellar of the jail.

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Seymour Dening, New England essayist, says of those who wave the flag instead of striving to solve social problems: "They would bandage a poisoned wound with the national colors."

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I. W. W. is hated by all servants of the evil spirits, because they dislike, truth, justice and solidarity, as much as a buzzard dislikes hat mince pie.

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Senator Borah warns the Senate that "Bullets won't crush the Soviets." And we'd like to say, by way of paraphrase, that oppression won't kill the I. W. W. either.

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The crook in silkhat and spats recognizes the crook in rags without the exchange of a word. They find one another without speaking any compromising words. From that there is only a step to partnership and co-operation. The clubman and the dick are entirely alike. The only difference is in the exterior.

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The wealthy thieves who exploit mankind are filling up the machinery of "justice" with their cousins, the smaller criminals, and together they will continue to rule mankind until we shake them off.

## A. F. of L. Gunmen in Battle

THE Plumbers Union in Chicago had a business meeting and election of officers the other night. As a result both the candidates for the lucrative office of business agent are in the hospital as well as three other members with pieces of lead in their bodies.

It is a well-known fact that A. F. of L. officialdom to a large extent consists of gunmen and other men of low character who profit by their office in the many different ways that the ingenuity of a trained grafter can devise. The membership is often obtained through sheer bulldozing by these gunmen. The average worker pays his tribute to these in the same manner as the saloon keeper or the brothel keeper pays tribute to the police in some cities, that is "for protection."

The A. F. of L. is out of date. It can no longer stand on its principles. To hold it together requires the services of gunmen and strong arm men who hold sway with a reign of terror.

## The Mooney Congress

Labor in America has held a great Congress (The Mooney Conference) without so much as a by-your-leave from Samuel Gompers. It has voted a general strike in complete defiance of the A. F. of L. and all the sacred labor-contracts which it has sworn to uphold. That is a blow at craft unionism stronger than any other that could be struck.

The most intelligent, perhaps the most important, resolution of the whole convention—calling for the appointment of a Committee to carry on the educational propaganda necessary "to reorganize the rank and file of the American labor movement on an industrial basis as a reflection of the industrial character of production," was ruled out by the Committee as "foreign to the call of this convention." If opened up for a discussion, this practical plan of action would have carried the convention. But after all, a general strike is a general strike.—Crystal Eastman in the Liberator.

## Report of Auditing Committee Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, I. W. W., Butte, Montana, March 6, 1919

From January to September 1918 (inclusive).

RECEIPTS—			August.		
	January.		Balance from July .....	\$ 1,558.21	
Balance from 1917.....	575.31		Receipts .....	8,808.23	8,808.23
Receipts .....	8,842.10	\$ 8,842.10			
Total Receipts .....	\$ 9,417.41		Total Receipts .....	\$10,366.44	
	February.			September.	
Balance from January .....	\$ 647.39		Balance on hand .....	\$ 1,973.90	
Receipts .....	4,669.42	4,669.42	Total Receipts, Jan. 1 to Sep. 1.....	\$50,239.55	
Total Receipts .....	\$ 5,316.81				
	March.		EXPENDITURES—		
Balance from February .....	\$ 886.61		January .....	\$ 8,770.02	
Receipts .....	6,906.99	6,906.99	February .....	4,430.50	
Total Receipts .....	\$ 7,793.30		March .....	6,903.29	
	April.		April .....	4,590.09	
Balance from March .....	\$ 890.01		May .....	7,688.31	
Receipts .....	5,127.06	5,127.06	June .....	3,804.79	
Total Receipts .....	\$ 6,017.07		July .....	4,261.42	
	May.		August .....	8,392.54	
Balance from April .....	\$ 1,426.98		Total Expenditures .....	\$48,840.96	
Receipts .....	7,294.56	7,294.56	Total Receipts Jan. 1 to Sep. 1.....	\$50,239.55	
Total Receipts .....	\$ 8,721.54		Total Expenditures, Jan. 1 to Sep. 1.....	48,840.96	
	June.			\$ 1,398.59	
Balance from May .....	\$ 1,033.23		Balance on Hand, Jan. 1.....	575.31	
Receipts .....	3,507.11	3,507.11	Balance on Hand, Sep. 1.....	\$ 1,973.90	
Total Receipts .....	\$ 4,540.34		Books handled through General Headquarters, I. W. W., FROM Sep. 1 to Jan. 1, 1919, and balance turned into General Headquarters account to credit of No. 800.		
	July.		Jan. 14, 1919—Statement from Gen. Headquarters shows balance to credit of No. 800.....	\$894.14	
Balance from June .....	\$ 735.55				
Receipts .....	5,084.08	5,084.08			
Total Receipts .....	\$ 5,819.63				

MICHAEL J. SCANLON,  
EUGENE SMITH,  
JOHN A. McDOUGALL,  
Auditing Committee, No. 800.

# Agricultural Workers Industrial Union

No. 400, I. W. W.

## **Agriculture Workers, Attention!**

You who follow agriculture work as monthly men, and those of you who only follow this occupation during the spring and summer months should read this leaflet and see if there are not some reasons given as to why you should get together with others of your kind, and how you can best do this.

Every year there are thousands of you who make the harvest, some in the California district, some in the north-west and many start in as far south as Texas and follow the game clear through up to the great wheat fields of Canada; most of you go in there as individuals in response to newspaper advertisements which state that big wages are being thing you usually run into when you get there is thing you usually run in to when you get there is a host of men like yourself looking for work and a few farmers looking for help.

A farmer will ask you to go to work for him, and in reply to the question as to what the wages are he will tell you that he will pay the same as his neighbors—the going wages; if you think that is not enough to compensate you for your trouble in getting there and your work, you will refuse to go to work but the farmer will keep on trying to get help till he will finally land a man who is nearly broke and is forced through economic necessity to take any kind of a job. You may move to some other town but the same conditions will confront you as the farmers are organized and have a common understanding as to what the position of the farmer would be if the men who make the harvest fields were organized and went in there with a common understanding as to what they wanted and how they were going to get it.

The farmers must have their grain cut and in order to do this they must have help; of course you will always hear the cry that they will let it rot in the field rather than pay the wages demanded, but the farmers know as well as we do that this would be suicide for them and their families and finally they will have to come through.

The Agriculture Workers Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W., was launched in 1915, and since its inception it has taken in thousands of members and as a result of same wages have been raised, hours of labor cut and conditions bettered for seasonal workers all over the country; we have delegates wherever this work is found and they are looking for the unorganized to get them into the A. W. I. U. No. 400, so that all Farm Laborers will be able to stand together, with the Slogan of An Injury to One is An Injury to All, making a common demand and thereby gaining more of the product of their toil.

As an instance (and this has happened many times since the A. W. I. U. came in to the field) take any threshing rig with twelve teams working, the boys

decide that they want a raise in wages, a shortening of hours, or some other matter, they will not go up to the farmer as individuals and tell him their troubles for if they did he would fire them one at a time and his work would go on just the same; what they will do is to elect a delegate to go to the farmer with their demands and state to him that unless they are granted at once, he will be without a member of his crew.

The farmer will think twice before letting a whole crew go off his place, but even if he did and you were in the same organization as the men who went on strike, the old methods of staying away and picketing the job would not be carried on, but instead, the farmer unknowingly and at once would get another I. W. W. crew which would apply job tactics till he finally was forced to come through with the demands as first put up to him.

A crew of unorganized men cannot do this as one is afraid of another, and they present their demands as individuals; this is the way the farmer likes to get them because he can deal with them effectively, using one against the other; in all cases where the I. W. W. have gone on strike they have won most of their demands in short time, and remember that it is not some one sitting in an office who tells them when to strike, how to strike or what to strike for; these things are determined wholly and solely by the men who are on the job; men who know what they want and how to get it.

Now that the boys are back from the trenches there are more unemployed than there has been for a few years and this is just what the farmers, like any other employer of labor, want because they know that the more men there are looking for jobs the cheaper they can hire them and therefore the more profits for themselves.

There is no need to think that because the farmers tell you that they are exploited by the rich land owner that they have any more sympathy for you; remember that it is to the farmer's material interest to hire you and get the most he can out of you for the lowest possible wage; he organizes with other farmers for this purpose and in order to offset this is surely to your material interest to organize with other farm laborers in the A. W. I. U. No. 400 so that you may get more of the good things of life with the least possible expenditure of time and energy.

As soon as you get into this union you will learn that we are not only concerned in getting more wages and shorter hours but that our final aim is that some day we will be strong enough to take over and run industry for those who produce everything; this spring and summer we have a chain of delegates from one end of the grain belt to the other who will be in constant touch with the main office which will issue semi-weekly bulletins informing the mem-

bers what is going on all over the agriculture belt; where men are wanted and the wages and hours at the different places.

#### Enemies of the Agriculture Workers.

Our most bitter enemies in the harvest fields are not the farmers themselves but the Commercial Clubs, Professional High-Jacks, Tin-horn Gamblers and Bootleggers and they certainly are birds of a feather as the first try to see that you will not get high wages, while the others try to see that if you are fortunate enough to make a few dollars you will soon be relieved of them.

The reason the Commercial Clubs fight the A. W. I. U. No. 400 is that they know that we have the right plan to get more wages and shorter hours and knowing this they fight us so that we will be hampered in putting it into effect, because the more money the worker gets in the form of wages the less the farmers will have left for the Commercial Club in the form of Rent, Interest and Profit; the High-Jacks, Gamblers and Bootleggers are twin brothers to the Commercial Clubs and are used by them to break up such organizations as the A. W. I. U.; in 1916 hundred of these thugs were furnished with guns and put aboard trains at Mitchell and Redfield, South Dakota, for the express purpose of breaking the solidarity of the harvest hands but they failed in their mission and as a result of same many of them were beat over the heads with their own guns; since the War started these outfits have had more luck than usual because they have pulled off their slimy tricks and given out to the world that it was done for Democracy and in the name of Patriotism, thereby hiding their real motives. Their alibi is gone now and this year we will have a clear cut line up in the harvest fields of workers and shirkers without any side issues.

By using common sense tactics and organizing quietly and persistently we can perfect and extend our already strong organization throughtout the agriculture belt which will eliminate these parasites and pests who are living off the sweat of the workers.

There are thousands of men lying in jails all over the country for their loyalty to Labor and it is more than likely that this summer there will be a general strike to release all these Class War Prisoners, so get lined up in the A. W. I. U. No. 400 right away so that we will know just where you stand when the crisis comes.

Remember that as an individual you are powerless, but when you speak and act as an organized force you have the world at your mercy.

All members who have been in the organization for six months or over and who are now in good standing should get credentials and supplies from the main office, and the branches, or from any of the stationary delegates who are located in all the main towns throughout the agriculture belt.

Address all communications to Sec'y.-Treas. A. W. I. U. No. 400, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



## Financial Statement, A. W. I. U.

No. 400, I. W. W.

February, 1919.

#### RECEIPTS—

71 Initiations .....	\$ 142.00
1054 Dues Stamps .....	527.00
General Defense Stamps .....	72.00
Relief Stamps .....	108.00
Gen. Org. Stamps .....	39.00
Day's Wage Stamps .....	37.00
Sioux City Smoker Proceeds .....	16.12
Mpls. Br. Proceeds from Entertainment .....	21.00
Misc. Donations for Defense .....	41.50
Donation for Propaganda .....	10.00
Buttons .....	10.75
Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc.....	196.95
Subs. to Solidarity .....	2.50
Misc. Subs. ....	8.50
J. Terrell, Donations to Hall .....	30.00
Moneys paid on acct. by Br. Secys. and Delegates .....	310.44
A. S. Embree, acct. typewriter .....	25.00
J. Ward .....	2.00
C. N. Ogden, office supplies .....	1.00
Misc. Receipts .....	.50
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues....	3.50
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues .....	8.00
L.W. I. U. No. 500, Initiations.....	6.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Initiations.....	76.00
O W. I. U. No. 450, Dues.....	104.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Dues.....	33.50
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Initiations.....	6.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues.....	4.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues.....	4.00
G. R. U., Dues .....	10.50
Total Receipts .....	\$1857.26



## DISBURSEMENTS—

Personal Deposits .....	\$ 137.50
Headquarters, Per Capita .....	593.25
Headquarters, on acct. ....	5.25
Comm. on literature .....	14.60
Literature, Bulletins, etc. ....	51.29
Subs. to Industrial Unionist .....	7.35
Subs. to Liberator .....	7.50
Subs. to Solidarity .....	1.50
Subs. to Rebel Worker .....	10.50
Dist. & Br. Secy's Wages & Dels. Comm. ....	649.75
Mileage .....	69.95
Moneys held by Br. Secys & Dels. ....	431.40
Main Office Salaries .....	259.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. (Branches) .....	125.19
Stationery & Fixtures .....	10.66
Postage, Express, Wires .....	79.61
Allowance on reports fr. other I. U. Neil Guiney, acct. Joint Office Ex- pense for January 1919 .....	119.00
Repairing typewriter .....	5.00
Express to Sioux City .....	1.10
Money Order returned from P. Hig- gins .....	8.25
Collector Internal Revenue .....	7.43
Joint acct. Expense for month of Feb. ....	9.02
Office Expenses .....	.80

Total Disbursements .....\$2804.66

## RECAPITULATION—

Total Receipts .....	\$1857.26
Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1919.....	2605.49
Grand Total .....	\$4462.75
Total Disbursements .....	2804.66
Cash on hand, March 1, 1919.....	\$1658.09

Cash Receipts and Expenditures, Main Office,  
A. W. I. U. No. 400.

February 1919.

## RECEIPTS—

Feb. 1, A. S. Embree, acct. typewriter...\$	25.00
T. Whitehead .....	.25
Chas. Baker .....	.75
J. Terrell, Subs. ....	3.00
E: Antijuntti, Report .....	2.50
Delegate No. 122F, Report .....	2.00
Delegate No. 13F, Report .....	14.50
3, W. Hosford .....	.50
Floyd Dyer, Report .....	7.35
Delegate No. 2035, Report .....	4.25
4, F. Derch .....	.25
5, John Eininger, Subs. ....	1.50
Mat Arnold .....	2.00
6, Delegate No. 2066, Report .....	3.50
7, C. F. Bentley, Report .....	7.39
8, C. W. Anderson .....	3.00
10, Geo. Keyes, Report .....	1.00
Delegate No. 2034, Report .....	10.00
Delegate No. 290F, Report .....	12.50
13, M. Patton .....	1.00
Ray Lewis .....	.25
Ben Eaves, Literature .....	1.00
14, Robt. Nelson .....	.25
J. North .....	.75
Delegate No. 2056, Report .....	20.00
Delegate No. 2094, Report .....	4.50
17, W. Hosford .....	.25
Delegate No. 2086, Report .....	6.00
Delegate No. 2016, Report .....	8.50
Delegate No. 2129, Report .....	15.50

Delegate No. 2128, Report .....	29.50
C. N. Ogden .....	1.00
F. Bergendahl .....	10.00
Delegate No. 67 .....	10.00
J. L. Dunn .....	6.00
20, Ed. Rahn, Report .....	7.50
Jim Ward .....	10.00
21, Delegate No. 184F, Report .....	11.80
Delegate No. 2055, Report .....	11.50
Tom Doyle, Report .....	10.00
24, Delegate No. 958, Report .....	5.00
Delegate No. 2016, Report .....	6.00
Delegate No. 187F, Report .....	12.50
C. F. Bentley, Report .....	17.07
J. Eininger, Subs. ....	3.00
Mike Patton, Subs. ....	1.00
26, Delegate No. 16F, Report .....	5.50
Delegate No. 184F, Report .....	16.00
Delegate No. 3F, Report .....	100.00
27, Delegate No. 178F, Report .....	5.30
28, M. K. Fox, Office Receipts .....	15.02

Total Cash Receipts .....\$ 453.63

## DISBURSEMENTS—

Feb. 1, Young Typewriter Co., Repairing typewriter .....	\$ 5.00
C. E. Payne, Sub. to Solidarity Labor Defender, Sub. to Rebel Worker .....	1.50
M. K. Fox, wages .....	28.00
M. K. Fox, acct. Sheridan .....	25.00
M. K. Fox, acct. J. Fisher .....	50.00
M. K. Fox, acct. A. Bare .....	30.00
P. Stone, Express to Sioux City .....	1.10
4, M. K. Fox, acct. M. O. returned from P. Higgins, July 13, 1918 Neil Guiney, acct. Joint Office Expense for Jan. ....	8.25
5, Collector Internal Revenue, Sales Tax, Dec., 1917 .....	199.76
7.43	
8, M. K. Fox, Postage .....	3.55
Int. Prtg. & Publishing Co., stick- ers for O. W. I. U. No. 450....	34.87
Jeanette Wosczyński, wages .....	21.00
M. K. Fox, wages .....	28.00
W. Sheridan, wages .....	28.00
10, J. Cronin, advanced on acct. ....	30.00
H. Bradley, advanced on acct. ....	30.00
14, M. K. Fox, Postage Stamps .....	35.00
M. K. Fox, Wages .....	28.00
Walter Sheridan, Wages .....	28.00
Jeanette Wosczyński, Wages .....	21.00
20, John Nedellic, Bal. of Personal Deposit .....	132.00
Jeanette Wosczyński, Wages .....	21.00
Walter Sheridan, Wages .....	28.00
M. K. Fox, Wages .....	28.00
25, Golas Truzenika, acct. Russian B. O. to March 1, 1919.....	13.05
P. Stone, Per Capita .....	500.00
26, W. Sheridan, acct. wire to J. Ter- rell .....	25.00
Joint Acct. Expense, for Feb. ....	9.02

Total Cash Disbursements...\$1401.03

## RECAPITULATION—

Total Cash Receipts .....	\$ 453.63
Cash Bal. Feb. 1, 1919.....	2605.49
Grand Total .....	\$3059.12
Total Cash Disbursements .....	1401.03
Cash on hand March 1, 1919.....	\$1658.09
MAT. K. FOX, Secy.-Treas. A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.	

**SUPERIOR DISTRICT**  
**Lumber Workers Industrial Union**  
**No. 500, I. W. W.**

Financial Statement February 1919.

RECEIPTS—

132 Initiations .....	\$ 264.00
1003 Dues Stamps .....	501.50
4 General Defense Stamps .....	2.00
Day's Wages Stamps .....	28.00
Class War Prisoners' Relief Stamps..	56.00
Organization Stamps .....	26.00
Card Cases .....	23.50
Buttons .....	25.50
Literature Sales .....	77.15
Paper Sales .....	18.05
Subscriptions to I. W. W. Press.....	1.50
Frank Little Buttons .....	.50
Duplicate Cards .....	.50
2 Initiations in General Recruiting Un- ion .....	4.00
General Recruiting Union Dues using No. 500 stamps .....	5.50
A. W. I. U. No. 400 using No. 500 stamps .....	2.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 700, pro rata .....	5.21
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, pro rata rent, light and heat .....	17.84
Delegate 2150, Balance on report brought forward .....	24.10
Delegate 135, Balance on report brought forward .....	9.50
From W. W. Mayham .....	1.00
August Walquist Remitted on Ac- count .....	10.00
Virginia Branch Balance on hand Feb. 1, 1919 .....	10.00
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$1113.35</b>

EXPENDITURES—

Remittance to Main Office No. 500....	\$ 302.58
District Office Wages to Secretary....	112.00
Delegate No. 11, wages 4 days dup- licating reports .....	16.00

Rent, Light and heat, Superior Office	51.98
Stationery and Fixtures .....	9.75

Superior, Wis., March 3, 1919.

Postage, Express and Drayage .....	20.05
Stationary Delegate at Duluth, wages	110.55
Delegates' commissions on initiations	45.50
Delegates' Mileage .....	1.25
Delegates' Postage .....	.44
Miscellaneous Labor, Superior Office	1.25
District Organization Committee, wages .....	76.00
District Organization Committee, mileage .....	5.25
Delegates L. W. I. U. No. 500, Con- vention, wages .....	48.00
Delegates L. W. I. U. No. 500, Con. August Walquist from Peter Stone....	40.00
Delegate No. 2150, Bal. due on Re- port .....	24.10
Delegate No. 135, Bal. due on Report vention, mileage .....	9.50
Delegate No. 11, Advanced on acct... Delegate No. 11, on acct. of D. O. C. trip to Minneapolis .....	175.36
Delegate No. 11, on acct. of D. O. C. trip to Minneapolis .....	10.00
Delegate No. 11, on acct. of D. O. C. trip to Minneapolis .....	25.00
O. J. Arness, Acct. Mimeographing D. O. C. Minutes.....	2.50
Advertising in Industrialisti .....	10.00
Subscriptions to Industrialisti .....	.80
Subscriptions to I. W. W. Press.....	1.50
Refunded to W. W. Mayham .....	1.00
Virginia Branch, Expenditures, Sec- retary's wages .....	56.00
Virginia Branch, Light .....	.51
Virginia Branch, Postage and Ex- press .....	6.40
Virginia Branch, Milage .....	2.40
<b>Total Expenditures .....</b>	<b>\$1165.69</b>

RECAPITULATION—

Cash on hand, Feb. 1, 1919.....	\$ 594.36
Total Receipts .....	1113.35
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$1707.71</b>
Total Disbursements .....	1165.69
<b>Balance on hand, March 1.....</b>	<b>\$ 542.02</b>

## JOB NEWS

### Superior District.

The Superior District Organization Committee held a four days' session Feb. 9 to 12. A lot of work was done, including auditing of Books and checking the supplies; also instructing delegates to General Convention of L. W. I. U. No. 500.

Isaac Hermanson, a member of No. 700, was arrested at his boarding house, Saturday, March 22, for selling goods without a license, and held until Monday following and then fined \$13, with he paid rather than go to the City bastille on stale punk and coffee seconds. He had been selling I. W. W. literature to his boarding mates, when one of them stooped on him and got him pinched.

had been working and agitating for the O. B. U. to the slaves, by one of the owners of the camp and arrested at the east end of Duluth. A warrant was sworn out for him, charging criminal anarchy and other dope for use in suppressing the workers. He was taken back to Two Harbors in Lake Co., and held one week. The complainant failed to appear against him, so he was released.

134 members were initiated in Superior District during the short month of February, and March starts out with 32 initiations with good prospects for continuance of this record.

The Marcus-Nelson camp out of Tam Rack, Minn., employs about 35 men in camp. Sentiment for the O. B. U. is bad on account of stump ranchers and stew bums. Only one member there, and no delegate. Work 10 hours a day with bum beds and bum board. Low wages, \$55. Fare to Camp from Duluth, \$1.78. This is a good place for some rebels to get to, and start a campaign of education.—Card No. 434,736.

Claudy & Traverse Camp 9 at Maple, Minn., employs 43 men. Sentiment toward I. W. W. is hostile, one member having quit there, was followed to Duluth and arrested. (See third paragraph above.) Nearest point of transportation, Knife River. Work 10 hours, both piece and day work. Sanitary conditions poor. Boarding accommodations medium. No hospital fee. Fare from Duluth, \$2.43. There is room for some real live rebels to begin action.—Card No. 414,872.

HERE IS THE PEACH OF ALL.—The John Schroeder Lbr. Co. of Bayfield, Wis., tell you that they want you to work out of Bayfield, that you are to leave Bayfield on a logging train. But when

they get you to Bayfield, they either give you the choice of going back or boarding a boat (when it is able to run) or walk the ice for several miles to Apostle Island (Presque Isle). Camp No. 3 boards 110 men at \$50 low. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board fair. Sentiment for O. B. U. favorable. About 30 lined up. Work 12 hours. No hospital fee. Fare from Superior, \$2.88.—Card No. 255,470.

This company has a number of camps on the other islands near Presque Isle. The same game of SHANGHYING that is common to all, prevails in all.

A good place for live delegates and members to get a ticket at the Federal Employment Office and do some good business to make this camp well known to all workers and line up a number in the O. B. U.

800 reports about 400 new members during the month of February. So you can judge as to the job the Master Class is having in suppressing the I. W. W. Let the good work of suppression continue.

Dist. Sec.-Treas., Superior Dist.  
AUGUST WALQUIST.

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

### Bulletin No. 6.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 27, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

The General Executive Board has sent out a call for the General Convention, setting the date for same, May 5, 1919. Any member who has any suggestions or resolutions pertaining to the good and welfare of the general organization, should send them to the General Executive Board to be acted upon. Same should be sent in as soon as possible. Many matters of importance will come up at the General Convention. It is very important that we of No. 600 have representation at the General Convention.

According to the amount of dues paid into R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 in the past six months, we are entitled to one delegate to represent No. 600 at the coming General Convention. Considering the position No. 600 is in geographically, also that the time is so short, we think it best to put out a call for nominees for the following offices: Secretary-Treasurer, Organization Committee, same to consist of five members, nominee for delegate to the General Convention, same to be placed on referendum ballot, which will be sent out to be voted upon.

To avoid delay, be sure your nominees will accept nomination. Also, if they qualify. Qualifications for above offices: Secretary-Treasurer should be member of the I. W. W. in continuous good standing for two years. Organization Committee, candidates should be in continuous good standing in the I. W. W. for one year, six months of which should be in R. R. W. I. U. No. 600. Delegate to

General Convention, should be in continuous good standing in the I. W. W. at least one year and in R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 at least 90 days prior to the nomination and election of delegate.

All nominees' names and cards should be sent to this office for inspection not later than March 10, 1919, so that we will be able to get out referendum ballot as soon as possible.

Any members who have any suggestions or resolutions to offer pertaining to the affairs of R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, should send same to this office as soon as possible, so they will be on hand for the Organization Committee to act upon when they go into session.

As the finances of R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 are very low at present, the members should do all in their power to help pay the expenses of the Organization Committee, also the expenses of the Delegate to the General Convention.

The General Headquarters has put out a stamp, namely, the General Organization Stamp, which sells for \$1.00. The General Executive Board has authorized this stamp to be used as follows: 25 per cent. goes toward paying the expenses of the General Convention, and 75 per cent. goes toward helping the weaker Industrial Unions. All delegates should push this stamp, as the General Organization is in need of funds in order to get the General Convention assembled, also, the weaker Industrial Unions need support. Every member should have at least one Organization Stamp in his book.

The U. P. R. R. is pushing a union called "The Maintenance of Way Union," in the State of Nebraska. The ones who are most active in pushing it are the foremen and time-keepers. This union was organized to keep out the I. W. W. Most of the men are kicking against it. The boss gives them until pay-day to join; if they do not join then, they are discharged. The section men are afraid they will be called slackers if they do not join. The majority of those joining are the old-timers who think that by joining the Maintenance of Way Union they will be able to hold their jobs, as the boss is placing a lot of old timers on the scrap heap. It is not fooling them, however. They realize the time has come when they have to join either the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L.



**RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION  
No. 600, I. W. W.**

**Financial Statement Dec. 11, 1918, to March 1, 1919**

**RECEIPTS—**

62 Initiations .....	\$ 124.00
574 Due Stamps .....	287.00
Defense Stamps .....	25.00
Relief Stamps and Donations .....	37.50
Day's Wage Stamps .....	15.00
Gen. Org. Stamps .....	1.00
Personal Deposit .....	5.50
Buttons .....	6.25
Literature Sales .....	66.40
Papers and Subs. ....	40.60
Duplicate Cards .....	.25
Adv. by Gen. Hdqts. ....	331.00
Returned by delegates .....	30.28
Turned in by Branches .....	34.29
Reports for other Ind. Unions .....	25.50
A. W. I. U. No. 400, acct. ....	8.75
L. W. I. U. No. 500, acct. ....	18.50
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$1056.82</b>

**DISBURSEMENTS--**

Gen. Hdqts., Per Capita .....	\$ 40.00
B. O. Papers .....	36.40
Subs. Papers .....	5.00

Supplies .....	54.50
Relief and Defense.....	5.00
Comm. to Dels. Lit. and Init.....	24.40
Br. Secy's and Delegates wages .....	33.33
Adv. to Dels. for Organizing.....	35.00
Turned over to other Ind. Unions.....	25.50
Allowance to Ind. Unions, supplies....	78.50
Held out by Ind. Unions.....	66.00
Main office wages .....	231.00
Postages, Express, Wires .....	27.84
Stationery and Fixtures .....	1.95
Rent, Heat and Light .....	10.63
Personal Deposit .....	4.00
Moneys held by Br. Secy's .....	14.34
Dues paid for jail members, by office .....	6.00
Printing, 5000 stickers .....	13.25
Moneys turned in to Gen. Hdqts.....	70.20
Mileage .....	30.41
<b>Total Disbursements .....</b>	<b>\$ 813.25</b>

**RECAPITULATION--**

Total Receipts .....	\$1056.82
Cash on hand Dec. 11, 1918.....	0.00
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$1056.82</b>
Total Disbursements .....	813.25

Cash on hand March 1, 1919...\$ 243.57

C. N. OGDEN,

Act. Sec.-Treas. R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.

**Cash Receipts and Expenditures Main Office R. R.  
W. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.**

**RECEIPTS—**

Dec. 12, Delegate X23, Report .....	\$ 16.50
Delegate X1, Report .....	1.00
17, Delegate X2, Report .....	6.00
16, C. N. Ogden, Office Report.....	25.00
18, N. Guiney No. 500 acct., Report.....	1.50
24, Delegate X1, Report.....	25.24
26, C. N. Ogden, Office Report.....	4.75
28, Delegate X3, Report .....	22.30
Delegate X3 for No. 300, Report .....	3.50
Delegate 2569, Report .....	7.00
C. N. Ogden, Office Report .....	3.00
30, T. Whitehead, No. 573, acct.....	1.75
31, Delegate X1, Report .....	1.00
N. Guiney No. 500, Report .....	7.50
N. Guiney, adv. on allowance.....	1.50
Jan. 2, Delegate X3, Report .....	4.50
3, Delegate X25, Report .....	15.95
4, C. N. Ogden, Office Report.....	15.50
8, Portland Branch, Report .....	19.29
Delegate X37, Report .....	5.00
10, Delegate X3, Report .....	4.93
Delegate X9, Report .....	7.00
C. N. Ogden, Office Report.....	3.20
No. 700 Del. to forward .....	25.50
18, C. N. Ogden, Office Report .....	24.65
Delegate X3, Report .....	7.45
20, Delegate X37, Report .....	4.00
21, Delegate X22, Per Deposit.....	4.00
Sub. to New Solidarity.....	1.00
S. Duszak, Per Deposit .....	1.50
Sub. for paper .....	1.50
C. N. Ogden, Office Report .....	3.00
24, Delegate X24, Report .....	4.00
Delegate X3, Report .....	7.53
25, Delegate X28, Report .....	2.50
Delegate X22, Report .....	.50
26, Delegate X29, Report .....	2.75
30, C. N. Ogden, Office Report .....	7.00
Delegate X3, Report .....	11.10
Portland Br. Acct.....	9.30
A. W. I. U. No. 400 Acct.....	8.75



Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union, I. W. W.



than that in which they have to work. Is it not easy for a boss who, realizing this, grinds you and me into a state of absolute subjection? Without co-operation on our part, without a union of some sort to offset this condition it becomes very easy for him to impose a twelve hour day at a wage so low that it serves only as a means of bringing us back to work the following day. The serfdom of medieval ages cannot compare with this.

How miserable it is for a cook to spend 12 hours beside the infernal heat of a kitchen range working as if possessed, constantly obsessed by the blatant cries of meal orders during rush hours. Is it any wonder that these workers, sapped of their very life energy—a soul crushed and warped—become the drunkards or lunatics of tomorrow?

Still worse—there is the much ridiculed "Pearl-Diver" (dish washer). Seldom if ever, do we see him dressed as a human being should. Ragged, unkempt, scorned by his own comrades in toil, and rarely getting over a dollar and a half a day. Yes, it must be a blessing to him to think that as a last resort he may find oblivion through the joyful medium of drink.

The waiters and waitresses are in much the same category, sore-footed, flat-footed, they carry on the struggle for existence. Annually thousands are carried off with consumption and other disorders. In other respects the social position of the former is on par with the others of this class, while the latter is apt to sink even lower in the social mire. I venture to say that hundreds of Chicago's hotels and restaurants have generously contributed to the White Slave trade. All because long, unbearable hours, meager wages, and a vicious tipping system, which places them under obligation to others, has made the "easier way" more desirable than the tortures of wage slavery.

It is well to remark in passing that this state of affairs has the same cause and effect among the domestic workers as well as in any other industry where women are robbed and exploited. (The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, in their statistics give ample proof to the ravishing tendency these industrial conditions inflict on waitresses alone.)

Fellow workers, let us change these conditions! We know that the power of the boss on the job is the potential factor, which places us in the exploited position we are in. We are robbed of the major portion of the wealth we produce, because we are too weak to resist.

There is but one solution, and that is—THE INDUSTRIAL UNION PLAN. A union that will organize all within this industry into one union; so when we find it necessary to strike, we can do it successfully, leaving the shop en-masse—in one fighting compact body. Or by withdrawing our efficiency while at work, in this way causing a silent strike, which is more powerful in its application than any other method of attack.

Trade unionism has always failed. They persist

in dividing the workers into crafts, where each craft or trade acts independent of the other, each one tied up with contracts which expire at different periods, preventing in this way that solidarity of action so necessary and essential to working class welfare; thus the workers have been defeated times out of number. Instead of a cooks' union, waiters' union and so on down the line, why not have a One Big Union of the whole? This is the only form of unionism which will prevent us from scabbing on each other in time of strike. An injury to one of our members must at all times be an injury to all! It is always to the material interest of the boss to keep you divided. Unity is the forerunner of success.

#### Domestic Workers.

Linked in close proximity to the Hotel and Restaurant Industry, the working condition of Domestic workers everywhere are so near and identical, that at present they are placed in the same Industrial Union. In the homes of the small bourgeoisie and the palatial mansions of "high society," housemaids, cooks, second girls, nursemaids, laundresses, seamstresses, butlers, and all others employed in this industry are compelled to be menials, doing their dirty work and tending to their every want, and then withal the worker receives only a mere pittance in the way of pay, with a few hours off (on Thursday) occasionally, and the work is of such a nature that there are times when the working hours are never-ending. And this servile element is not only contented at you being their slave but you are constantly reminded, in haughty terms that you are their inferior. Your only answer to this must be ORGANIZATION! On that magic word rests your independence!

**"You Who Would Be Free Must Strike the Blow!"**

The Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Industrial Union offers the only way out; unorganized you are powerless, united you present an undefeatable front. Which do you choose?

By organizing industrially every employee of the of the hotels and restaurants and in the domestic service will have created a power, a force that can at its will paralyze every hotel and restaurant, every home that employs domestic workers can be made to "wash its own dirty linen." Under this form of unionism when a strike is called if necessary, no ice, no milk, would be delivered nor any supply necessary in the operation of any given place of business, nor in any home where domestic workers are out for better living conditions.

We would not leave the bus boy to take the place of the waiter, we would not tolerate a housemaid acting the part of a butler, and the dish-washer scabbing on the cook; every one of them should leave the job and let their slogan be "all for one and one for all!" Under these circumstances the issue would be clear and clean-cut—workers arrayed against your common enemy—the boss!

Again I say, organize into an industrial union. It means shorter hours and better pay. It means

more time to live and enjoy life, to develop mentally and physically. Moreover, you are destroying unemployment in your own ranks. The reason for low wages is that there is an over supply of labor power on the labor market. That can only be remedied by you, on the job, reducing the working hours.

In concluding this brief outline, it is fitting to quote the last paragraph in our preamble:

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of produc-

tion must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old"

If you are not a member of our organization, then join today. Initiation fee \$2.00 and dues 50 cents.

For further information write the Secretary-Treasurer,  
ERNST HOLMEN,  
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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

Bulletin No. 26.

Chicago, Ill., March 4, 1919.

Fellow Workers:—

The G. E. B. has issued a call for a General Convention of the I. W. W. to convene on May 5, 1919.

They have also decided that the basis of representation and votes to the various Industrial Unions shall be on the amount of dues paid for the months of October, November and December, 1918, and January, February and March, 1919, as shown on the journals of the Industrial Unions.

On the above basis, the C. W. I. U. No. 573 would be entitled to from 10 to 13 delegates with one vote each.

Therefore, in accordance to the instructions given me by the organization committee to issue call for No. 573 convention about a week prior to the General Convention, and to name the date and place of convention, The C. W. I. U. No. 573 Convention will convene on April 24, 1919, in the City of Chicago, Illinois.

The organization committee recommended that the convention be a Mass Convention. I take it this means, besides the delegates elected by the branches, whose mileage and wages would be paid by the Industrial Union, that members in good standing who can attend at their own expense, will be seated with voice and vote.

As we have 10 active branches extending from coast to coast, whose membership varies greatly, we recommend the following:

That members in touch with Seattle office be allowed three delegates; those with Portland, two delegates, Stockton, Cal., one delegate; also one delegate to the following branches: Great Falls, Mont., Omaha, Neb., Des Moines, Iowa, Chicago, Ill., Detroit, Mich., New York and Philadelphia, Pa. This would make thirteen delegates, and these could represent the C. W. I. U. at the General Convention.

The estimated expense to the Industrial Union, for wages and mileage one way, only, and during a seven day session, is \$1,100, also the wages for these delegates while attending a seven day session at the General Convention would cost \$364.00 ad-

ditional, should the General Convention last long, which is likely, so figure accordingly.

Should Seattle and Portland decide to elect one delegate each, they would be allowed three and two votes respectively.

As the expenses of these conventions will strain the financial resources to the limit, and as it is imperative to the success of the organization these conventions be held, it follows it is also imperative that the very best constructive organizing talent be elected, and all units of the organization should co-operate and contribute to bear the financial burden.

The constitution provides for the payment of mileage to the delegates to the General Convention, by the General Organization. As most of the Industrial Unions are holding conventions just prior to the General Convention, the following suggestion was made to the G. E. B. with the co-operative idea in view.

That the Industrial Unions provide mileage to the convention and the General Organization provide the return mileage of delegates. This was discussed and adopted by the General Executive Board.

The G. E. B. have also made a new ruling on the General Organization Stamp now on sale, namely that 25 per cent. shall be used to pay delegates mileage to General Convention and 75 per cent. to assist the weak Industrial Unions now in the field, and others now in formation.

The sale of these Organization Stamps have not been pushed among the members of No. 573 on account of the organization committee's discontent with the former disposition of this fund created, from now on we should make up for lost time, and see that every member of the C. W. I. U. No. 573 has one or more in his membership book.

Construction organization problems and plans for carrying them out demands the first attention of all delegates, after which it may be profitable to discuss errors, and criticize methods of the past, but in the spirit and view only of preventing continuation.

All branches should hold meetings as often as possible, discuss all problems you wish to bring



before the conventions, then make resolutions embodying your desires.

Problems pertaining to Construction Industry should be sent for action to the C. W. I. U. Convention, while problems of interest of a general nature, present to the General Convention.

The G. E. B. appointed me to act as Secretary-Treasurer and to take office March 10, until the convention elects a permanent Secretary-Treasurer as provided in the constitution.

Three members of the C. W. I. U. Organization Committee have been called in to audit the books, and they will appoint someone to act as Secretary-Treasurer till the convention, when election of a new one takes place.

**JOB NOTES.**

Omaha, Neb.—There will be all kinds of construction work in this district as soon as the season opens. The Skinner packing plant is paying 50 cents an hour for labor on their new plant. There are a couple of teaming outfits in South Omaha paying 40 cents an hour for four-ups, and there are also several gandy outfits on the U. P. and the C. B. & Q. out of here paying 40 cents per hour.—(Sec'y.)

Kennewick, Wash.—Warren Construction Co., Camp No. 1, employs about 60 men, team and concrete work; wages for concrete work 50 cents an hour, wages for team hands \$55.00 per month and board. Must have blankets. Camp No. 2 starts Monday, Feb. 17. Conditions the same as Camp No. 1.—(Del. 14.)

Messa, Wash.—Porter Conley Construction Co. has already started on a \$28,000.00 team job, 30 miles east of Pasco.

Bend, Ore.—Shindough & Carlson Construction Co. has a million dollar job of building 7 miles of logging road; work starts at once.

Astoria, Ore.—Contracts were signed in February between the Port of Astoria and the Astoria Flouring Mills Co. for the erection of a 3000 barrel

flour mill at port docks in this city. Construction is to begin at once. The flour mill is to be the largest in the state, with a daily capacity of 3000 barrels. The structure will cost about \$500,000. Six million bushels will be required to keep the mill in operation during the year. The mill will be built adjacent to the elevator and million-bushel grain storage bins recently constructed.

Actual construction work on the Warrenton reclamation project is well under way. Work has been in progress for the past week, and it is expected that the third driver will be in operation by March 1. The work on the bulkhead, which marks the start of the project, is the first step toward what will ultimately mean a greater Warrenton and grater Columbia River District.

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago branch of the C. W. I. U. is here to stay. They have a nice hall at 951 W. Madison street, literature selling like hot cakes. They had a raffle for a \$30,000 suit of clothes, a \$9.00 pair of shoes and a \$5.00 hat. They cleared \$155.00.

They held a smoker Saturday, March 1, on the Sioux City plan, and cleared some money also. They have elected an Organization Committee, and they will be heard from in future bulletins. They are going to hold another smoker in the near future. They have a few active delegates, and will get more right along.

All delegates are requested to fill out member's records and last transfer on Report sheets.

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

F. H. BOHN, THOS. WHITEHEAD,  
Chairman, Org. Committee. Sec'y-Treas.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT, C. W. I. U. No. 573,  
I. W. W.  
February, 1919.**

RECEIPTS—

201 Initiations .....	\$ 402.00
2298 Dues Stamps .....	1149.00
Relief Stamps .....	509.00
Gen. Org. Stamps .....	63.00
Day's Wage Stamps .....	49.00
Buttons .....	112.50
Literature, Dup. Cards, Cases, etc.....	156.76
Monies paid on acct., by Br. Secys. and Del. ....	729.19
Misc. Donations for Defense .....	4.28
Subs. to Solidarity .....	12.75
Monies refunded, Hall Rent .....	50.00
Monies refunded, Misc. ....	1.00
S. B. I. U. Pro Rata Expenses .....	109.80
Misc. Receipts .....	28.00
Donation for Organization purposes	900.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 300, Initiations	4.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 300, Dues.....	1.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325, Dues .....	10.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Initiations.....	6.00
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Dues.....	63.00
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Dues .....	2.50
O. W. I. U. No. 450, Initiations.....	4.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Initiations.....	2.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, Dues.....	32.00
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, Dues.....	4.50



## THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

R. B. W. I. U. No. 600, Initiations....	2.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Initiations....	6.00
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, Dues.....	19.50
G. R. U., Dues.....	61.50
G. R. U., Initiations .....	28.00
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>\$4522.27</b>

## DISBURSEMENTS—

P Stone, Per Capita.....	\$ 30.50
P. Stone on acct supplies .....	5.50
Seattle Defense Com., G. D. Stamps	240.50
Donation Foreign Language Literature .....	300.00
Donation Relief of Deportees.....	100.00
Donation Relief of C. W. Prisoners	100.00
Donation Rebel Worker .....	200.00
Br. Secy's. & Del. Wages & Comm.	771.18
Mileage .....	47.33
Monies held by Brch Secys. & Dels.	1689.63
J. Engdahl, Jail Relief Stamps .....	1.00
Main Office Salaries.....	326.50
Rent, Light, Heat, etc. ....	210.50
Neil Guiney, Joint Exps. for January	199.76
C. W. Connor, Pro Rata Exps. Hall	48.24
Stationery and Fixtures .....	41.83
Postage, Express, Wires .....	39.12
Literature .....	58.05
T. Whitehead to C. W. P. Jail due Stamps .....	15.00
Allowance on supplies .....	70.25
Donation, Industrial Unionist.....	200.00
J. Engdahl, Offset Chge. Del. No 622	16.15
J. Engdahl, Aud. Comm. Mistake Rectified .....	6.50
J. Engdahl, Rent of typewriter.....	5.00
J. C. Falconer, Fitting up Hall.....	10.44
C. W. Connor, Jan. 22, Over Deposit	9.51
H. J. Brown, Rep. and Dec. Hall.....	4.80
Jim Ward, Pro Rata and Exps. Hall Repair .....	8.90
Jim Ward, Deposit on Gas .....	2.50
Misc. Exps. ....	20.32
B. O. and Subs. to Papers .....	54.59
<b>Total Disbursements .....</b>	<b>\$4833.10</b>

## RECAPITULATION—

Total Receipts .....	\$4522.27
Cast on Hand Feb. 1, 1919.....	2920.08
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$7442.35</b>
Total Disbursements .....	4833.10
<b>Cash on Hand March 1, 1919.....</b>	<b>\$2609.25</b>

Cash Receipts and Expenditures, Main Office,  
C. W. I. U. No. 573, Feb. 1919.

## RECEIPTS—

Feb 1, H. Nicholls, Report .....	\$ 2.50
5, Henry Town, Report .....	18.80
Albert Scribner, Report .....	4.70
6, J. Robinson, Report .....	2.00
Jesse Lemens, Report .....	4.60
Elmer Wirta, Report .....	5.00
7, C. F. Bentley, Report .....	14.05
James Kelley, Report .....	10.26
8, Wallace Wheeler, Report .....	20.75
10, W. W. White, Report .....	8.80
T. L. Jackson, Report .....	4.25
11, Peo Monoldi, Report .....	5.00
Jas. C. Falconer, Report .....	10.00
12, Henry Town, Report .....	45.00
Leo Korkonen, Report .....	10.39
13, C. W. Connor, on acct. ....	329.42
Harry Breen, Report .....	8.50

15, T. Whitehead, Office Report.....	14.10
Wallace Wheeler, Report .....	28.30
I. Schwartz .....	26.00
20, Jim Ward, on acct. ....	20.00
J. Robinson, Report .....	6.00
24, C. F. Bentley, Report .....	14.26
C. C. Cline, Report .....	8.75
26, W. W. White, Report .....	8.75
Peo Monoldi, Report .....	7.10
27, H. Nichols, Report .....	8.00
28, Henry Town, Report .....	11.00
T. Whitehead, Office .....	12.15
Albert Scribner, Report .....	2.50

Total Cash Receipts .....\$ 662.54

## DISBURSEMENTS—

Feb. 1, Joe Selzer, Back Wages .....	\$ 48.00
Neil Guiney for check protector	15.00
Young Typewriter Co., Rent.....	4.00
Hazel Mehling, Wages .....	21.00
F. H. Bohn, Wages .....	28.00
Harry Trotter, on acct. ....	20.00
Thos. Whitehead, Wages .....	28.00
Bank Exchange for January.....	.50
3, John E. Nordquist, upkeep of Des Moines Branch .....	50.00
Night Letter to Seattle .....	.80
4, Express for Calif, Papers .....	.82
Neil Guiney, Joint Exps. & Rent for Months of Dec and Jan .....	199.76
Neil Guiney, Adv., acct. R. Weir, Wages .....	22.50
6, Telegram, Union City, Ind. ....	.35
Robt. Weir, on acct., wages .....	10.00
7, Postage Stamps .....	4.00
Sub. to Solidarity, M. Hock .....	.75
B. O. Ind. Unionist to Gt. Falls....	3.75
8, Robt. Weir, Wages .....	15.00
Hazel Mehling, Wages .....	21.00
F. H. Bohn, Wages .....	24.00
Thos. Whitehead, Wages .....	24.00
10, B. O. & Subs. New Solidarity....	34.89
B. O. & Subs. New Solidarity....	2.25
11, Harry Trotter, Organizing Exps.	20.00
13, Subs. to New Solidarity .....	9.75
Postage Stamps .....	9.00
14, Int. Prtg. & Type Co. ....	41.25
Int. Prtg. & Type Co., 2000 Copy Sheets .....	1.50
Gen. Office, Typewriter Repair....	7.50
15, F. H. Bohn, Wages .....	24.00
Hazel Mehling, Wages .....	21.00
Robt. Weir, Wages .....	10.00
Thos. Whitehead, Wages .....	24.00
18, Harry Trotter, on acct. ....	25.00
21, Wallace Wheeler, on acct. ....	50.60
A. Newman, B. O. for Feb. ....	3.45
Golos Truzenika, Russian B. O., Feb. ....	8.50
22, Hazel Mehling, Wages .....	14.00
Robt. Weir, Wages .....	14.50
F. H. Bohn, Wages .....	24.00
Thos. Whitehead, Wages .....	24.00
Int. Prtg. Co., 5000 Applications	12.50
24, J. E. Nordquist, on acct. ....	50.00
Telegram from Nordquist.....	.45
Postage Stamps .....	6.00
<b>Total Cash Disbursements.....</b>	<b>\$ 973.74</b>

## RECAPITULATION—

Total Cash Receipts .....	\$ 662.54
Cash on Hand Feb. 1, 1919.....	2920.08
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$3582.62</b>